

THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1792.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The CONCLUSION of the HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.



L O N D O N,

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row,
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P R E F A C E.

HOWEVER slender may be our claim to literary excellence on the present occasion, there are two points on which we can with some confidence challenge the attention of the Public; and these are, *diligence* and *impartiality*.

Diligence, because we are not conscious of having omitted a single fact of any importance which has occurred in any part of Europe; and,

Impartiality, because, as we are unconnected with every faction, and have no sinister bias whatever on our minds, our only study has been to ascertain the TRUTH. We have censured with equal freedom and with equal severity the atrocious acts of the Republican party in France; and the profligate combination of despots formed expressly for the destruction of Liberty in that country.

From a very copious fund of *original* information, we have endeavoured to form an accurate statement of the transactions of the French and combined armies in the last campaign; and where we have differed from the generally received accounts, it has been upon the very best authority.

P R E F A C E.

The history of the Indian War is complete, and is compiled from the official papers, and the most authentic narratives that have been submitted to the Public.

The affairs of Poland and of Sweden have been chiefly detailed from original communications on which we have reason to depend. The Debates of our own Parliament are given as in the preceding volumes; that is, the whole of the arguments on every question of importance is exhibited in an abridged state.

In our view of Literature, and in the other departments of the work, we can venture to assure the Public, that no pains have been omitted to render it in every respect deserving of their patronage.

From a very copious fund of original information, we have endeavored to form an accurate statement of the transactions of the French and continental wars in the last campaign, and which we have derived from the generally received accounts, it has been upon the very best authority.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

PART THE FOURTH AND LAST.

IN the preceding Number we entered, with some degree of extent, into the state of Poetry, as it subsisted in the period concerning which we are treating. The poetical translators, and the writers of Latin verse, were particularly considered by us; and we endeavoured to describe the general Spirit of the English Poetry of that age. This was accompanied with a view of the genius and character of Spenser, especially as exhibited in his "Fairy Queen." Before we proceed any farther in our narrative, one name must be added to the list of poetical translators, and it is a name of no small degree of eminence and celebrity. The person we mean is Edward Fairfax. As he lived till the year 1632, he is commonly reckoned among the poets of James the First's time.

But his grand work, the work indeed upon which his reputation wholly depends, the translation of Tasso's "Jerusalem Deliver'd," was performed by him in very early life,
1792. a and

and was published in queen Elizabeth's reign, to whom it was dedicated. It undoubtedly stands at the head of the poetical versions of that æra. Though Fairfax confined himself too literally to the task of following his original line by line, he still rose above this disadvantage, and far above the roughness and pedantry of his contemporaries. This translation in general is particularly distinguished by the harmony of its versification, in which respect he ranks nearly, if not entirely, upon a level with Spenser. Waller acknowledged that he learned his numbers from Fairfax.

Another circumstance omitted by us, relative to poetical translations, and which deserves shortly to be noticed, is, that there were numerous versions of Solomon's Song. Some of these versions were undertaken with religious purposes; but others of them, more wisely, had only a view to the poem as a beautiful pastoral drama. Perhaps there is no portion of the Jewish writings that could be selected with more propriety to be clothed in numbers. The "Canticles," in English verse, are among the lost productions of Spenser.

In reverting to the general state of English poetry during queen Elizabeth's reign, as distinguished from translations and the dramatic species, a few words must be added concerning the great genius now mentioned. Various poems were written by him, besides the "Fairy Queen;" among which that which has excited the most attention is the "Shepherd's Calendar." By the admirers of pastoral poetry it has always been held in high estimation, and it has no small merit of its kind. It has been the subject of imitation to succeeding writers; and the same has been the case with regard to his "Astrophel," or elegy on the death of sir Philip Sidney. It is a pastoral elegy; and we know that pastoral elegies have been fabricated in this country, by a long train of versifiers, till they have become insignificant, and even disgusting. It need not be added, that we except the Lycidas of Milton.

So strongly was the age of Elizabeth devoted to poetry, that poetical publications were more numerous than those

of any other species of composition in our language. One effect of this taste in the nation was, that there were two collections of "Flowers" selected from the works of the most fashionable poets. The first was entitled, "England's Parnassus; and the other, "Belvidere, or, the Garden of the Muses." "England's Parnassus" had the superiority, both in point of method and selection. Thus a custom was begun, which in our own time has been carried to a blameable excess. If such compilations are not wholly destitute of utility, they have the disadvantage of contributing to the number of superficial readers, and of preventing many authors from being entirely read, the whole of whose productions might justly claim a diligent perusal.

The admiration of the period we are speaking of was not confined to living writers. Our three old poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, appear to have maintained their rank, and to have been regarded with high estimation. A sumptuous edition of Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*" had been published a little before the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. About the same time, Lydgate's "*Troy-boke*" was printed with great accuracy, and a diligent investigation of the ancient copies. This was the first correct edition of that work. Such was the reverence which Nicholas Briggam, a polite scholar, a student at Oxford; and at the inns of court, and a writer of poetry, entertained for Chaucer, that he deposited the bones of that poet under a new tomb, erected at his own cost, and inscribed with a new epitaph, which still remains in Westminster-Abbey. It was customary with the more accomplished and elegant courtiers to be frequent in quoting Chaucer. This fashion began in Edward the Sixth's reign, and was encouraged by the nature of our poet's compositions, which abounded with satirical strokes against the corruptions of the church, and the dissolute manners of the monks. The same fashion would naturally be exploded in the time of queen Mary; but there was nothing to prevent its revival under Elizabeth.

We have formerly taken notice of lord Buckhurst's "Mirrour of Magistrates," and of the assistance which he received from various writers in the prosecution of that work. This poem, or rather collection of poems, continued to be highly celebrated, and additions to it were repeatedly made, to render it more interesting and complete. An enlarged impression of it was given, in 1587, by John Higgins, a Somersetshire clergyman, who was already known to the learned world by some publications tending to the promotion of classical literature. To the "Mirrour of Magistrates" Higgins wrote a new "Induction," in the octave stanza; and without the assistance of friends, he began a new series from Albanact, the youngest son of Brutus, and the first king of Albanie, or Scotland, continued to the emperor Caracalla. In this edition, among the pieces after the Conquest, first appeared the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by Churchyard; of sir Nicholas Burdet, by Baldwin; and of Eleanor Cobham, and of Humpfrey duke of Gloucester, by Ferrars. Two legends are introduced, said to have been composed fifty years before; the subjects of which are, king James the Fourth of Scotland, and Flodden Field. The part in which Higgins's poetical spirit is most displayed, occurs in his story of "Queene Cordila," or Cordelia, king Lear's youngest daughter. The completion of the "Mirrour of Magistrates," by Richard Niccols, belongs to the next reign.

Though this work is a prime object in the poetical history of the age, and there were many competitors for fame who tried their strength in it, it is now almost entirely neglected. This may in part be imputed to the feeble, tedious, and obsolete execution of some of the narratives, and in part to the difference of taste which takes place in different periods. Our ancestors were more fond than their posterity of long historical and moral poems, the design of which was to enforce a conviction of the vanity of human life, from a view of the calamities to which the greatest public characters have been exposed.

It will not be expected that we should endeavour to recite the names of all the writers of general poetry that appeared during the reign of Elizabeth. Several of them, though applauded by their contemporaries, are now found to have been entitled to no more than a small degree of praise. George Gascoigne, in addition to his merits as a translator and a dramatist, may here be mentioned as having been esteemed one of the best love poets of his time. He obtained also some reputation as a satirist. Gabriel Harvey deserves to be remembered with respect, on account of a copy of verses written by him, signed Hobbinol, and which is prefixed to Spenser's *Fairy Queen*. It has even been said that this poem, if he had composed nothing else, would have rendered him immortal. Harvey was the author of several Latin performances, both in prose and verse, and appears to have been held in high estimation by the first wits of the age. — George Turberville's compositions, besides his translations, were of various kinds; such as epitaphs, epigrams, songs, and sonnets; and poems describing the places and manners of the country of Russia, where he resided for a time, as secretary to Sir Thomas Randolph. He was one of those who endeavoured to refine the English style. — Sir John Harrington deserves little notice as a poet, independently of his translation of Ariosto. His Epigrams, however, are not destitute of wit. — If, amidst so many claims to admiration and applause, Sir Walter Raleigh is to be spoken of as a poet, his title to that appellation belongs to the period to which we are now confined. His poetical pieces were entirely the amusements of his youth, his attention being soon directed to superior pursuits. If to excel in poetry had been the object of his ambition, there can be no doubt but that, from the strength and greatness of his mind, and the stores of knowledge which would have aided his imagination, it might have been in his power to have risen to a high degree of eminence.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining what is the exact proportion of fame that is due to Sir Philip Sidney as a poet. He was a passionate admirer of the art of poetry, and his productions in this way were very numerous. It is

universally agreed, that he was unfortunate in his attempts to introduce the Roman measures of verse into our language, those measures not agreeing with the genius of the English tongue. When, agreeably to the custom of many of his contemporaries, he adopts the Alexandrian line, it is not possible to read him with pleasure. Sir Philip succeeds better when he writes according to what is the ordinary mode of our versification. Here, however, he is often tedious, not unfrequently quaint, and sometimes he indulges to false wit. Considering that he was a man of true genius, and had such a genuine taste for poetry as to distinguish Spenser with extraordinary admiration, it is rather surprising that he did not appear with superior advantage in his own performances. But let us not imagine that he has no title to our approbation. Some few of the smaller pieces scattered through the *Arcadia* are poetical and pleasing; and perhaps a diligent inspection would be able to trace occasional beauties in the larger ones. Such is the judgment which we have formed from a cursory attention to the subject. Sir Phillip's Sonnets, and his *Astrophel*, and *Stella*, we could not prevail upon ourselves to read.

Joseph Hall, who, in process of time, became successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, is entitled to particular distinction as a satyric poet. At the beginning of his celebrated "*Virgidemiarum*," he claims the honour of having led the way in this species of composition;

"I first adventure, follow me who list,
"And be the second English satyrist."

This assertion of our poet is not strictly true; for there were various satyirical writings previously to his appearance. But he was the first who distinguished himself as a legitimate satyrist, upon the classic model of Juvenal and Persius, with an intermixture of some strokes in the manner of Horace. Succeeding authors have availed themselves of the pattern set them by Hall.

Sir Richard Maitland was the principal Scotch vernacular poet of this period. His productions were various,
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and are read with pleasure by those who are competent masters of the local and obsolete language in which they are written.—John Maitland, afterwards lord Thirlstane, the second son of sir Richard, has lately found a place among the poets of his country, on account of one or two pieces brought to light and published by Mr. Pinkerton. It appears from the “*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*,” that he was the author of several Latin Epigrams.—Alexander Arbuthnot, Alexander Montgomery, and John Rolland, may be passed over without farther notice; nor is it merit, but rank, that induces us to mention James the Sixth of Scotland. He published, in 1585, “*The Essayes of a Prentise in the divine Arte of Poesie*,” and in 1591, “*His Majesties poetical Exercises at vacant Houres*.” King James acted the critic as well as the poet. At the end of the first of these performances are, “*Rewlis and Cautelis of Scottis Poesie*,” which, says, Mr. Pinkerton, are curious, though stupid. The eighth chapter of these rules contains the “*Kyndis of Poetry*,” and mentions, 1. “*For long Histories*.” 2. “*For heroic Acts*.” 3. “*For heich and grave Subjects*.” 4. “*For tragic Matters*.” 5. “*For flyting, or Invectives*.”

We close the subject of the poetry of this period with some view of it, as displayed in the dramatic form. The first regular tragedy which England produced was early in queen Elizabeth's reign; and this was the *Gorboduc* of Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurst; whom we have before celebrated as the original contriver of the “*Mirroure of Magistrates*.” On account of the originality of the *Gorboduc*, it may, perhaps, be thought to deserve a little more notice than could otherwise be allowed to a single piece. It is written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of the legitimate drama. The first exhibition of it was in the great hall of the Inner Temple, by the students of that Society, as part of the entertainment of a grand Christmas; and in January, 1561-2, it was again represented before the queen at Whitehall. It was not intended for the press; but having

been surreptitiously and carelessly printed, a correct edition of it was given in 1571. In the dramatic conduct of the fable, the unities of time and place are eminently and visibly violated; a defect which Shakspeare alone was able to cover by the magic of his poetry. There is a chorus of four ancient and sage men of Britain, who regularly close every act, the last excepted, with an ode; the design of which is to draw back the attention of the audience to the subject of what has just passed, and to illustrate it by recapitulatory moral reflections, and poetical or historical allusions. In the imagery of one of these Odes, no faint traces may be discerned of the hand which drew the terrible guardians of Hell-Gate, in the "Induction" to the "Mirror of Magistrates." The other odes contain beauties which cannot fail of being pleasing to many readers. Every act is introduced, as was customary in our old plays, with a piece of machinery called the "Dumb Show," shadowing, by an allegorical exhibition, the matter that was immediately to follow. In the construction of this spectacle and its personifications, from the absurdity of which Shakspeare revolted, much poetry and imagination were often displayed. The tragedy of Gorboduc never was a favourite even among our ancestors, and it has long fallen into general oblivion. This is to be attributed to the nakedness and uninteresting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the speeches, the want of a discrimination of character, and almost a total absence of pathetic or critical situations. It must, however, be granted, that the language of Gorboduc has great purity and perspicuity; and that it is entirely free from that tumid phraseology which afterward took place among our dramatic poets. Sir Philip Sidney, speaking of this tragedy, says, that it is full of notable morality. Moral reflections are undoubtedly multiplied beyond all reason and propriety: nevertheless, they have sometimes uncommon merit, and contain much dignity, strength of observation, and good sense, couched in clear expression and polished numbers. In one of the editions of Gorboduc, it is confidently asserted, that the three first acts were written by Thomas Norton, and the two last

last by Thomas Sackville; but Mr. Warton, who has been our guide in our account of the play, is decidedly of opinion, from the internal evidence, that the whole performance came from the pen of lord Buckhurst. Every scene of it is marked with his characteristical manner, which consists in a perspicuity of style, and a command of numbers, superior to the tone of his times.

Christopher Marloe, whom we have mentioned as a translator, appeared with greater lustre as a dramatic poet. Six tragedies were written by him; and he began a seventh, which was completed by another hand. There are manifest traces in his plays of a just dramatic conception; but they abound with tedious and uninteresting scenes, or with such extravaganzies as proceeded from a want of judgment, and the barbarous ideas of the times. It is remarkable, and indicates the credulous ignorance of the age, that the subject of one of his pieces should be the Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr. John Faustus. Marloe's chief fault in description is an indulgence of the florid style, and an accumulation of conceits, resulting, however, from a warm and brilliant fancy. It has even been said of him, that he bore some resemblance to the incomparable Shakspeare.—The person who finished the tragedy of Dido, left incomplete by Marloe, was Thomas Nashe, who was likewise the author of a comedy. George Whetstone wrote a comedy, intituled, “Promos and Cassandra,” which no otherwise deserves to be noticed, than as it is said that Shakspeare founded upon it his “Measure for Measure.” Whetstone was a various writer in prose; but his poetical compositions were of too quaint and pedantic a nature to deserve the attention of posterity. Besides other works, he drew up a Life of George Gascoigne, who claims a place amongst our dramatic poets, not only as the translator of the “Jocasta” of Euripides, and the “Supposes” of Ariosto, but as the author of a tragi-comedy, called “The Glass of Government,” and a Masque, intituled, “The princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle.” This Masque is composed partly in prose, and partly in rhyme; and is a relation

tion of the entertainment given to queen Elizabeth at Kenelworth, by Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, in the month of July, 1575.—John Lilly wrote a number of comedies, which were acted before the queen, and seem to have been much applauded in their day. He has been highly extolled as a reformer and purifier of the English language; but the affected turn of his compositions, and especially of his “Euphues,” a romance, does not give credit to such an encomium.—Another comic writer of this reign was Robert Green. He was a man of great humour and drollery, and by no means deficient in point of wit; which talents, however, were prostituted by him to the base purposes of vice and obscenity. It is said of him, that he was the first author who wrote for bread.—George Peele exercised his abilities for the stage in a different form. His “Arraignement of Paris” was a dramatic Pastoral; his “Edward the First” an historical play, and his “King David and Fair Bethsabe,” a tragedy. He wrote, likewise, another tragedy, called “The Turkish Mahomet, and Hyren the fair Greek,” which has not been printed. The story, no doubt, is the same as that upon which Dr. Johnson’s “Irene” is founded. Other poems were written by Peele; and it has been particularly understood that he was a good pastoral poet. He has not, however, in this respect, been remembered or ranked with Spenser.

But all the dramatic authors we have mentioned, and the lustre they shed on the reign of queen Elizabeth, are of little significance, compared with the glory which was reflected upon it by its having produced Shakspeare, that master of human nature and human life; that prodigy of invention and imagination; that commander of the sublime, the pathetic, and the comic; that painter of eternal passions and eternal manners; that miracle of description, moral wisdom, and deep penetration; and that treasure of pure poetry. It was in the latter end of this period that he wrote some of his finest pieces, and displayed the wonderful sources and energies of his mind. We pretend not to give a minute character of Shakspeare. This it would be

be impossible justly to do, in many pages. Besides, we design to bring him forward in the next reign, surrounded with his great competitors, but far surpassing them all.

Some of the persons already characterised were so various in their compositions, that we might rank them among the miscellaneous writers of the age. But we shall confine ourselves to a few names not yet introduced, with an exception to sir Philip Sidney, who must not be forgotten in this department. A strong title to his being here remembered arises from his "*Arcadia*," which was long highly celebrated and greatly admired. It is now sunk into a very general neglect, owing to the changes of public opinion, and indeed to the prevalence of a better taste. But if allowance be made for the extravagant and unnatural manner in which romances were formerly conducted, and the models which were looked up to with applause, the "*Arcadia*" must be considered as no small monument of invention and ability. This too, may be alledged in favour of the romances which were then in fashion, that they abounded with excellent morality, and tended to inspire the mind with noble sentiments. What sir Philip has observed concerning "*Amadis de Gaule*," may in some degree be applied to his own performance. "*Truly*," says he, "I have knowne men, that even with reading "*Amadis de Gaule*, which God knowes, wanteth much of a perfect poesie, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of curtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage."—But there is another production, on account of which sir Philip Sidney deserves to be recorded with honour as a miscellaneous writer. This is his "*Defence of Poesie*," which will probably long continue to be read with pleasure by persons of true taste and discernment. It is an ample and masterly vindication of the art, and there are many passages in it which display great power of composition.

Henry Cuff, the unfortunate secretary to Robert Devereux earl of Essex, has here some claim to remembrance, in consequence of his "*De Rebus gestis in sancto Concilio Nicæno*," translated out of Greek into Latin, and his
 "Treatise

"Treatise on the Differences of the Ages of Man's Life." The latter is a curious and philosophical performance; but the value of it is diminished by its partaking too much of that uncouthness of language which was generally prevalent. Cuff had in his master a superior model of English style, But Cuff had habituated himself to write like a scholar, while the earl managed his pen with the freedom of a man of the world. Cuff's Latin letters to John Hotman exhibit distinguished marks of genius and learning.—Sir Walter Raleigh was the author of some miscellaneous pieces in queen Elizabeth's time; but we refer our principal character of him to the next reign.—To the names already given may be added that of sir Geoffrey Fenton, secretary of state in the kingdom of Ireland. If we had adverted to him in his proper place, he would have been ranked as a translator, for he chiefly figured in that capacity. His principal works were "Golden Epistles," gathered from Latin, French, and Italian authors; and a translation of "The History of the Wars of Italy, by Francis Guicciardini, in twenty Books." This translation was undoubtedly a very valuable present to the public, as Guicciardini is a masterly historian, and the historical information communicated by him is highly important. Sir Geoffrey Fenton had a flowing style, which reflects credit on his judgment and taste,

From the miscellaneous we pass on to the noble authors, several of whose productions come under the head of miscellanies. Having before amply considered lord Buckhurst as a poet, nothing remains to be said of him in this place, excepting that some of his letters have been preserved in collections of state papers. It is, likewise, as a poet, that we are to introduce Edward Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford. Several of his poems are printed in a noted collection of the day, entitled, "The Paradise of dainty Devices." Mr. Walpole, upon the authority of Anthony Wood, says that the earl was an admired poet, and reckoned the best writer of comedy in his time. As, however, it is acknowledged that the very names of all his plays are lost,

lost, we must be permitted to doubt whether they ever existed. The accurate and diligent editors of the *Biographia Dramatica* have found no place for Edward Vere.—William Poulett, marquis of Winchester, was no otherwise distinguished than as having printed a volume of *Essays*, which seem to have been little more than a compilation.—In a former Number, we celebrated Robert Dudley, earl of Essex, as excelling in English composition. This character he justified in several pieces written by him, not from the ambition of appearing in the world as an author, but from the necessity of reciting his own actions, or vindicating his own conduct. His productions of this kind are drawn up with dignity and spirit, and the letters of his, which are scattered through various collections, impress a high opinion of his talents.—The great statesman, William Cecil, lord Burleigh, who began and maintained his career as a writer in the preceding reigns, continued it in the present. The pieces which public or private occasions called out from him were full of gravity, wisdom, and sentiment. If his *Letters* and *Dispatches* be taken into the account (and they are continually increasing by new publications), he must be regarded as a voluminous author.—Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, and a younger son of the famous earl of Surrey, was said to have been the learnedest among the nobility, and the most noble among the learned. If the last circumstance was designed to convey any encomium upon him as a man, nothing could be more unjust; for his personal character was abominable and odious. That he had abilities, is unquestionable, and his learning may be acknowledged. But the proofs which he gave of it were of no great consequence. His “*Defensative against the Poison of supposed Prophecies*,” contains some curious matter. He wrote “*An Apology for the Government of Women*,” which has never found its way to the press. Devotion, also, employed his pen, though his conduct was so contrary to whatever deserves the name of religion.—To the list of noble authors, may be added the names of the lord chancellor Hatton, who drew up a *Treatise* in the way of his profession; and
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of Henry Cary, first lord Falkland, a family devoted to literature through four generations. This lord wrote "The History of the most unfortunate Prince King Edward the Second; with choice political Observations on him and his unhappy Favourites." It was not published till after his decease.

We come now to an object of great consequence in the history of knowledge during this reign; and that is, the state of female literature. Here we must begin with her majesty herself, the illustrious queen Elizabeth; and in so doing we pay not a compliment to her rank, but her merit. She was truly and substantially learned, having studied the best ancient as well as modern authors, and being an uncommon mistress of the Greek and Roman tongues. The confinement and persecutions of her youth afforded scope for the acquisition of eminent intellectual attainments; and Roger Ascham was one of her preceptors. How well skilled she was in the Greek language, was manifest from her writing a Comment on Plato, and from her translating into Latin a Dialogue of Xenophon, two Orations of Isocrates, and a Play of Euripides. Into English she translated Plutarch de Curiositate. Her Versions from Latin authors into her own tongue were Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, Sallust's Jugurthine War, and part of Horace's Art of Poetry. With her general learning, queen Elizabeth united an uncommon readiness in speaking the Latin language; a talent which some very good scholars do not possess; though it was more frequent in that age than it is in the present. This talent she displayed in three Orations; one delivered in the university of Cambridge, and two in the university of Oxford. An extraordinary instance of her ability in this way was exhibited in a rapid piece of eloquence with which she interrupted an insolent ambassador from Poland. "Having ended her oration, she, lion-like, rising," say the historians, "daunted the malapert orator no less with her stately port and majestic departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks, and turning to the train of her attendants,

“ants, said, God's death! my Lords, I have been forced this day to scoure up my old Latin that bath long lain rusting.”

By her contemporaries Elizabeth has been highly extolled for her poetry; but this must be set down to the flattery of the age. However, she had a capacity for Latin versification. We leave it to the more copious narrator, to take notice of her translations from the French, her prayers and meditations, her speeches in parliament, and her letters; which last are dispersed, in vast numbers, through a variety of collections.

The beautiful, the unfortunate, and the imprudent Mary queen of Scots has been ranked as an author, and she is entitled to the character. With her great rival Elizabeth, indeed, she makes but a feeble comparison, having been far inferior to her in deep learning. She rather excelled in those lighter parts of literature that were fashionable in the court wherein she had been educated. To the Greek tongue she was probably an entire stranger; but that she was acquainted with the Latin, was apparent from her writing poems in that language, as well as in the French and the Scotch. She composed also, a “Consolation of her long Imprisonment, and royal Advice to her Son.” Many of her Letters occur in public libraries, and are frequently finding their way to the press, in consequence of the minute attention to historical information which is now so generally prevalent. As to the famous Letters to James earl of Bothwell, which have been so much the subject of controversy and debate, it is no part of the present narrative to enquire into their authenticity.

Quitting such high rank, we introduce the name of Elizabeth Jane Weston. She had, it is said, great natural talents, which were much improved by a polite education. Many languages were understood by her, and she was particularly intelligent in the Latin tongue; in which she wrote several things both in prose and verse with very good success. Such was the estimation in which her performances were held, that she was taken notice of by some of the most learned foreigners of the time, and was honoured with their correspondence. The praises they bestowed upon

on her were copious, and even Scaliger was one of her encomiasts. As her life was principally spent abroad, she was more known to the learned upon the continent than to her own countrymen. However, her fame extended to England; for Mr. Evelyn gave her a place in his Catalogue of Learned Women; Mr. Philips has introduced her among his Female Poets; and Mr. Farnaby has ranked her, in the poetical line, with sir Thomas More, Alabaster, and other names of eminence. It was Latin poetry to which Mrs. Weston chiefly devoted herself. We apprehend that part of the applauses which have been lavished upon her may be imputed to the good nature and personal respect of her contemporaries, and to the ready acquiescence of succeeding writers.

Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke, and the beloved sister of the matchless (as he is often called) sir Philip Sidney, has a claim to be here remembered. Having the advantages of the best education, she acquired such accomplishments of mind as to make an honourable appearance among the literati of the time, and to draw from them ample testimonies of her merit. Two works, which were published by her, were only translations; one being "A Discourse of Life and Death;" and the other, "The Tragedie of Antonie." Lady Pembroke was not only learned herself, but appears to have been a patroness of letters.

But among the women of this period who were devoted to the study of literature, the principal place seems to be due to the four daughters of sir Anthony Cooke. These ladies deserve to be somewhat particularly insisted upon; and the rather, as we shall hence be enabled the more exactly to appreciate the kinds and degrees of knowledge which then prevailed in the female world. The eldest of sir Anthony Cooke's daughters was Mildred, who, being put under the tuition of Mr. Laurence, an eminent Grecian, fully answered the care and pains that were taken in her education. In due time she became excellently acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues, and especially with the former. This appeared in a letter which she wrote to the university of Cambridge, in that language.

Her reading was not confined to the classic writers of Greece only, but extended likewise to the ancient christian fathers. Among the rest, she took great delight in perusing Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom : and Gregory Nazianzen. A piece of St. Chrysostom's was translated from the original, into the English language. She was, likewise, a patroness of literature. Besides being conversant in ancient learning, she had an admirable understanding, and is said to have been a good politician. Nor will this be thought surprising, considering her intellectual powers, and that, for more than forty and two years, she was the wife of the illustrious statesman William Cecil, lord Burleigh. As an evidence of her political talents, Mr Ballard has produced a letter written by her to sir William Fitzwilliams, at that time lord deputy of Ireland, which contains some excellent advice, and shews that she was not only a woman of great good sense, but well acquainted with the world. Five days after her decease, lord Burleigh wrote what he calls a Meditation on the Death of his Lady, in which her zeal for the maintenance of learning is particularly remembered.

Anne, the second daughter of sir Anthony Cooke, became the wife of the lord-keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, and was the mother of the illustrious Francis Bacon. She had the same liberal education which was bestowed upon her elder sister, and perhaps under the same tutor. Having added much acquired knowledge to great natural endowments, she made an eminent figure among the literati of that period, and hence acquired so extraordinary a reputation, that she is said to have been constituted governess to King Edward the Sixth. If this be a fact, it is a very surprising one ; since she could not be much more than twenty-five years of age at the death of that young monarch, and only nineteen years old when he began to reign. However that matter may stand, it is certain that she early became distinguished for piety, virtue, and learning, and that she was skilled in the Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues. Before she married sir Nicholas Bacon, she had given to the world a specimen of her literary industry, in translating,

out of Italian into English, twenty-five Sermons, written by Barnardine Ochine, a celebrated divine of that age, concerning the predestination and election of God. Not long after her marriage, Lady Bacon again employed her pen, much to her own honour, and to the advantage of her country. At that time the Roman Catholics in general, and the English fugitives in particular, industriously applied all the learning, wit, and malice they were possessed of, to the purposes of blackening the reformation of the Church of England, and of bringing our excellent reformers into contempt. Pope Pius the Fourth had called the council of Trent, and had sent his nuncio, Martinigo, to invite Queen Elizabeth to accede to it. The chief princes of Christendom interposed, likewise, by letters to her majesty, soliciting her to entertain the nuncio, and submit to the council. At such a crisis, it was deemed necessary to give the world an account of what had been done in the English parliament, and of the reasons on which it had proceeded; and to retort the many accusations that had been brought against our church by the papists. On this occasion, the learned, eloquent, and masterly pen of the incomparable bishop Jewel was employed, in drawing up, in the Latin tongue, an "Apology for the Church of England." This task he performed to the infinite satisfaction of the reformed churches, and to the shame and confusion of the Romanists. As the book made a great noise in the world, and excited no small degree of alarm among the advocates of the popish communion, the common people of England were earnestly desirous of becoming acquainted with its contents. But the literary men of that period being wholly engaged in refuting the calumnies raised by the Papists, and in answering the numerous seditious libels which swarmed hither from Louvain, Douay, and other places, Lady Bacon determined to gratify the curiosity of the public, and to promote the edification of her countrymen, by translating bishop Jewel's work. The version is said not only to be faithful, but elegant, due regard being had to the time in which it was made. When the translation was finished, lady Bacon

son sent the copy to archbishop Parker for his perusal, as a person to whom the care of the church of England, and of its doctrine, chiefly belonged. Another copy was sent by her to bishop Jewel, to be overlooked by him, lest she should in any point have mistaken his meaning. The translation was accompanied by an epistle to him in Greek, which he answered in the same language. Both the bishop and the archbishop, after reading over the version, found it to be so correct, as not to require the alteration of a single word. Lady Bacon must undoubtedly have been an excellent Latinist, and have thoroughly entered into the spirit of the work, when the original author of it could find nothing to amend in her translation. A letter written to her by the archbishop on the occasion, and which is preserved by Ballard, is highly to her honour. That her literary reputation extended beyond her own country, is evident from the famous Theodore Beza's Dedication to her of his Meditations. In Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Bacon's name frequently occurs; and we there meet with some of her letters at full length, and with extracts from others of them, which will fully justify the following character given of her by the historian now mentioned. "She frequently introduces Greek as well as Latin into her letters, sometimes with a view of secrecy, but more commonly from the custom of that age, wherein such an intermixture of languages had less the air of pedantry and affectation than it would have in the present. She was very strict in the duties of piety, and inclined to the principles of the puritans, to whom her husband had not been thought unfavourable: but her temper seems to have been severe and peevish, especially in the latter years of her life, when it was probably affected by her ill health. Her advices and remonstrances to her elder son Anthony, were generally delivered in a style of authority, and in terms of reproach, which rendered them less acceptable and effectual than otherwise they might have been".

Elizabeth, the third daughter of sir Anthony Cooke, and who was married, first, to sir Thomas Hobby, and,

secondly to John, lord Ruffel, son and heir to Francis Ruffel, earl of Bedford, enjoyed the same liberal education which was bestowed upon her sisters, and was equally happy in improving the advantages conferred upon her. Such was her progress in the learned languages, that she gained the applauses of the most eminent scholars of that age. It was observed by sir John Harrington, that if Madam Vittoria, an Italian lady, deserved to have her name celebrated and transmitted to posterity by Ariosto, for writing some verses in the manner of an epitaph, after his decease; no less commendation was due to the lady before us, who distinguished herself still more in a similar species of writing. Poetical inscriptions and epitaphs were a favourite kind of composition with lady Ruffel. She wrote epitaphs for her son, daughter, brother, sister, and a venerable old friend, in the Greek, Latin, and English tongues. The tomb in which were deposited the remains of her first husband sir Thomas Hobby, and of his brother sir Philip Hobby, was adorned by her with large inscriptions in Latin and English verse. Equal or rather superior honour, was paid by her to the memory of her second husband, lord Ruffel, who died before his father. A noble monument having been erected to him in the abbey church of Westminster, his surviving lady embellished it not only with Latin and English, but with Greek inscriptions. Lady Ruffel translated, out of French into English, a tract, entitled, "A way of Reconciliation of a good and learned Man, touching the true Nature and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ." This work was dedicated to her only daughter, Anne Herbert, wife to Henry lord Herbert; and the Dedication is concluded with a tetrastrich in Latin verse, expressive of good wishes, suitable to the opening of a new year. It is evident, from a letter written by her to lord treasurer Burleigh, relative to the conduct of one of her sons by sir Thomas Hobby, that she was a woman of uncommon sense and spirit.

Katherine, the fourth daughter of sir Anthony Cooke, and who was married to Henry Killegrew, esq. afterwards knighted, has had a place justly assigned her among the learned

learned ladies of the age, though she does not appear to have been the author of any distinct and separate treatise. Her natural genius being improved by the same excellent education which was bestowed upon her sisters, she became famous for her knowledge in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and for her skill in poetry. A short specimen of her talent in that art has been preserved by sir John Harrington and Dr. Thomas Fuller. On the monument erected to her memory, is an inscription composed by herself. Both the small pieces we have mentioned were written in Latin. The death of lady Killegrew was lamented in various epitaphs. Her sister, lady Ruffel, wrote one, partly in Greek and partly in Latin verse. Three others, in Latin verse, were written by Robert Mason Forman, minister of the reformed French church in London, by Andrew Melvin, and by William Chark. Such of our readers as are curious to see these productions, may find them in Ballard.

We have been the more particular in our account of the ladies who distinguished themselves by their intellectual accomplishments in queen Elizabeth's reign, as it will lead us to some observations on the general state of female literature in that period. It has been remarked by Mr. Wotton, that no age was so productive of learned women as the sixteenth century. Speaking of the flourishing condition of learning in that century, he says, it was so very modish, that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms; and that Plato and Aristotle, untranslated, were frequent ornaments of their closets. "One would think by the effects, that it was a proper way of educating them, since there are no accounts in history of so many great women in any one age, as are to be found between the years fifteen and sixteen hundred." Erasmus, also, describing those times, says, "*Scena rerum humanarum invertitur: monachi literas nesciunt et sceminæ libris indulgent.—Bellum est eum sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere.*" "The scene of human affairs is changed: the monks are ignorant of literature, and women are fond of books.—It is a pleasing circumstance,

“ that the female sex should at length have recourse to the “ ancient examples.” Learning was then held in such high estimation, that several great men were desirous that their daughters should be possessed of it, as well as their sons. The examples of king Henry the Eighth, in the education of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and of sir Thomas More with regard to Mrs. Roper, are thought to have chiefly contributed to the introduction of this custom. There can be no doubt but that the conduct of persons so illustrious would have much effect on the sentiments of our countrymen, and be productive of imitation. But, besides this, there was a concurrence of other causes; such as the recent origin of printing; the curiosity hence excited in the human mind; the admiration with which the ancient writers, so lately brought to light, were contemplated; and the distinguished honour that arose from literary pursuits. In short, the general spirit of the age nourished the principle of training up women in learning. Nor was a slight degree of learning deemed sufficient for them. They were rendered complete mistresses of the Greek and Latin, as well as of the modern languages. Their reading was not confined to the classic authors, but comprehended the fathers of the church. They could write Greek epistles, and compose Greek verses. It should be remembered, however, that the literature of the women of that period extended comparatively but to a few persons, and those only of considerable rank, the generality of the female sex being in a state of ignorance. There was by no means that diffusion of knowledge, that cultivation of mind, that taste for books, which we now meet with in almost every company of ladies. Neither do we find that the learned women of the sixteenth century produced such works as have continued to be read much by posterity. The most important production of any of sir Anthony Cooke’s daughters, was lady Bacon’s translation of Bishop Jewel’s Apology; and yet, who but an antiquary will now seek for it, or give himself the trouble of perusing it? Not a single poetess, deserving to be mentioned, arose in this country till the seventeenth century. The duchess of Newcastle,
Mrs.

Mrs. Katherine Philips, and Mrs Behn, appear to have been the first who could, in any degree, merit that appellation. If we come down to later times, we shall be sensible that, independently of poetry, the learned women of Elizabeth's reign have been far exceeded by the ingenious ladies of the present age, both in the general and extensive utility of their writings, and in the elegancies of composition. There is a remark to be made concerning the difference between the literature of the ladies of the sixteenth century, and that of the women of more recent times. The former entered deeply into the study of the ancient languages; whilst the latter, besides acquiring a skill in the modern tongues, especially the French and the Italian, have paid their principal attention to the cultivation of general knowledge; though a few of them have been no small proficients in the learning of antiquity.—Another circumstance observable in the learned ladies of the sixteenth century is, that they were most eminent for their piety. Religion was deeply impressed upon their minds, and, agreeably to the fashion of the times, religion was almost the sole topic of their writings.

In speaking concerning the state of Music during the reign of queen Elizabeth, as we have not a scientific knowledge of the subject, we shall take Dr. Burney for our guide; in doing which it is impossible that we should fall into any material error. Elizabeth, as well as the other children of king Henry the Eighth, had been taught music in the early part of life; and there is reason to conclude that she continued to amuse herself with it many years after she ascended the throne. Indeed, if she was ever able to execute any of the pieces that are preserved in a manuscript which goes under the name of "Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book," she must have been a very great player: for some of the pieces are so difficult, that it would be scarcely possible to find a master in Europe who would undertake to play one of them at the end of a month's practice. Such being her skill in the art, it might naturally be expected that

that she would be an encourager of music in general. Choral music in particular, which, in the zeal for reformation, had a multitude of enemies, was protected by her majesty. Her chapel establishment was nearly the same, in number and salary, as that of the two former reigns; and, perhaps, we never had so just a claim to equality with the rest of Europe, even where music was the most successfully cultivated, as at this period. There was, it is true, but little melody any where. Nevertheless, with respect to harmony, canon, fugue, and the laboured and learned contrivances which were then chiefly studied and admired, such proofs can be produced of great abilities in the compositions of our countrymen, that candid judges of their merit must allow them to abound in every kind of excellence which at that time was known or expected.

In 1559, the queen published Injunctions for the Clergy; in the forty-ninth of which there is one for choral music. According to this order, as plain-song was retained in most parish churches for the daily psalms, so in her own chapels, and in the choir of all cathedrals, and some colleges, the hymns were sung after a more melodious manner, with organs commonly, and sometimes with other musical instruments, as the solemnity required. It was by the moderation, liberality, and intelligence of this injunction, that choral music was saved from utter extirpation in England; for the opposition which was made to this species of music by the puritans, and the puritannically affected, was formidable in a high degree. Their violence and outcry against "playing upon organs, curious singing," and "tolling about the psalms from side to side," (meaning antiphonical, or alternate singing), were so great, that they could only be restrained by an exertion of all the power and firmness of which the queen was possessed. In a contest so arduous, and during the whole time in which the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was in agitation, the lovers of choral music, who had a veneration for this part of the solemn service of the church, trembled for its safety.—Two publications, by John Day, fixed the style of this music for nearly

nearly a century. The movement of it was grave, the harmony grateful, and the contrivance frequently ingenious. Modern times, however, have charged this kind of music with obscuring the sense of what was sung, by too frequent fugue; as well as by an utter inattention to the accent and expression of the words. But these imperfections were not peculiar to the productions of our own countrymen during the sixteenth century. They were the general faults of the age; being equally prevalent in the compositions for the church of every author, in every language throughout Europe.

Another object of attention at that time was "Metrical or Parochial Psalmody," different from the plain-song, or chanting, of cathedral and collegiate churches. This species of music was held in high estimation by the reformers of religion, both at home and abroad, from Wickliffe down to John Knox. Greatly as it was admired, and zealously as it was contended for, true taste must find in it much to be condemned. Though the promoters of it had each of them different ideas on the subject of sacred music, yet they agreed in stripping it of all the energy and embellishments of measure and melody. The Calvinists went so far as to deprive it of harmony. Nor were the original institutes of psalmody more favourable to poetry than music; for prosody, rhythm, and numerical cadence, are destroyed by giving to each syllable, whether long or short, a note of the same length. However beautiful the poetical measures may be in themselves, when they are sung in a drawling and isochronous manner, they not only afford no pleasure to the ear, but are scarcely intelligible.

Several of the Psalms had been translated into metre previously to Queen Elizabeth's reign; but the entire version of the Psalter was not published till 1562, when it was tacked for the first time to the Common-Prayer. To this version were added musical notes. There was, however, no bass or other part, but the mere tunes, which are chiefly German, and are still used on the continent by Lutherans and Calvinists. The first person in England who seems to have

have composed parts to the old melodies, was William Damon, whose publication appeared in 1579. These parts not being well received by the public, he printed others in 1591. In 1585, sixty Psalms were published by Cosyns, in six parts, in plain counterpoint, and adjusted to the melodies which before had been given by Day. But the most ample and compleat edition of the Psalms, in parts, that appeared in England during the sixteenth century, was the united production of nine different authors. These were John Douland, E. Blancks, E. Hooper, J. Farmer, R. Allifon, G. Kirby, W. Cobbold, E. Johnson, and G. Farnaby. In the former publications, forty tunes only are contained; but this furnishes one to every psalm. To the tenor part is assigned the principal melody; and the additional parts are *cantus*, *altus*, and *bass*. The counterpoint is constantly simple, of note against note; but the whole of it is in such correct and excellent harmony, as manifests that the art was at that time very successfully cultivated in England. This work was published in 1594. In the same year, a similar publication came from John Mundy, gent, bachelor of music, and one of the organists of her majesty's free chapel of Windsor; but his performance has no claim to particular distinction. Another Collection of Psalms appeared in 1599, by Richard Allifon. These psalms the Italians would have called *Salmi Concertati*, as they were intended for instruments as well as voices. In this collection the melodies are the same as in the earlier editions of the version by Sternhold and Hopkins; and the parts are so disposed, that four persons sitting round a table may perform from the same book. If credit is to be given to Allifon's contemporaries, his work abounds with uncommon excellence. But superior knowledge and superior impartiality have pronounced, that it has no merit beyond what was very usual at the time in which it was printed. The next publication of Psalm Tunes, in four parts, and the most complete that perhaps ever appeared in this country, was by Thomas Ravenscroft, who belongs to the succeeding reign.

Quitting

Quitting psalmody, we direct our attention to a superior species of church music, which, during the time of queen Elizabeth, was nowhere more successfully cultivated than in England, by Robert Whyte, Thomas Tallis, William Bird, Thomas Morley, and others.—Robert White, who preceded Tallis and Bird, was an excellent composer of church services in the style of Palestrina. He was not, however, an imitator of Palestrina, being before him in point of time. In fact, he proved himself to be a great master of the same species of harmony, before the productions of this chief of the Roman school were published, or, at least, circulated, in other parts of Europe. Admirable as his compositions were, they do not seem ever to have been printed; but those of them which have been preserved in manuscript are sufficient to excite not only wonder, but indignation, at the little notice that has been taken of him by musical writers. One or two of them do, indeed, name him with some epithet of approbation; and that is all. No musician had then appeared who better deserved to be held in admiration for knowledge of harmony, and clearness of style, than Robert Whyte.

Thomas Tallis was one of the greatest musicians, not only of this country, but of Europe, during the sixteenth century. The melody of the cathedral service had been previously adjusted to English words by Marbeck; but it was Tallis that enriched it with harmony. Nor indeed did he confine himself exactly to the melody of Marbeck; though that which he has used is of the same kind. But the harmony in which he has clothed it, is admirable; and the modulation being so antique, produces a solemn and very different effect from any music that has been composed in the present age. We are not to judge of the genius of the old masters from their instrumental music, but their vocal, in parts; where the want of accent, taste, and invention, was compensated for by harmony and contrivance. The Latin Motets and Hymns, which Tallis published jointly with those of his disciple Bird, are perhaps the best of his compositions that have been preserved. These compositions
have

have since been accommodated to English words; by Dr. Aldrich and others, for the use of our cathedrals; and the learned contrivances with which they abound, agreeably to the fashion of the times, are conducted with a wonderful degree of ingenuity and labour. But the most curious and extraordinary of all Tallis's productions was his Song of forty parts. It may now, perhaps, be esteemed as somewhat Gothic in its nature; but, notwithstanding this, it is a stupendous effort of harmonical abilities. The works of Tallis afford a decisive proof, that long before the performances and reputation of Palestrina had spread throughout Europe, we had choral music of our own, which for gravity of style, purity of harmony, ingenuity of design, and clear and masterly contexture, was not inferior to the best compositions of that great master.

Equal, if not superior praises are due to William Bird, the disciple of Tallis, and who long survived his preceptor. From the great number of his ecclesiastical compositions to Latin words, and the several portions of the Roman Ritual which he frequently set to music, and published late in life, it may be collected that he was long a zealous adherent to that religion. That he conformed, however, to the church establishments of queen Elizabeth's reign, is apparent from his having been a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and one of her majesty's organists. If we consider the elaborate style of composition which prevailed, particularly in the church, during the time of Bird, and that he, like his master Tallis, was not only ambitious of vanquishing its usual difficulties in the construction of fugues and canons, but sought new complications, perplexities, and involutions, in the motion and the arrangement of the parts, the list of his works will not only manifest his diligence, but the fecundity of his invention. One of his Sacred Songs, published in 1589, has long been sung in our cathedrals to the English words, "Bow thine ear, O Lord," and is an admirable piece of harmony. His pieces for the organ and virginal are almost without number. In the magnificent
folio

folio manuscript, which is generally known by the name of "Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book," there are nearly seventy of his productions. Crowded and elaborate as is the harmony, and uncouth and antiquated the melody, of all the performances in this collection, those of Bird are manifestly superior to the rest, both in texture and design. If he had lived in a later period, his genius would have displayed itself in works of genius, taste, and elegance. But at the time in which he flourished, nothing seems to have been thought necessary for keyed-instruments, excepting variations to old tunes, in which the harmony was so crowded, and the divisions of the times so rapid, as to render the performer's task extremely difficult. Invention was so young and feeble, that the old chants of the church, or tunes of the street, were its leading-strings and guides. Of Bird's sacred music, besides what is contained in Dr. Tudway's and Dr. Boyce's collections, several admirable monuments still remain in all our cathedrals. Though choral music had been cultivated in England, by several able harmonists, before Tallis and Bird had distinguished themselves; yet few compositions, anterior to their time, have been preserved; and of these few, scarcely any continue to be used in our cathedral service. The two great masters therefore, whom we have now celebrated, may with truth be called the fathers of our genuine and national sacred music. "Indeed," says the excellent guide whom we here follow, "I have been able to find, in all my researches, no choral compositions in other parts of Europe, superior to those which have been preserved of these authors, the pride of our country, and honour of their profession!"

Thomas Morley, a disciple of Bird, acquired more celebrity by his treatise, entitled, "A plaine and easy Introduction to practical Musick;" than by his skill as a performer, or his ability in musical composition, though in both these respects he was eminent in his day. If due allowance be made for the quaintness of the dialogue, and the style of the times, and if the work be considered as the first re-

gular treatise on music that was printed in our language, much praise will be due to the author for the learning and instruction which it contains. Its utility, indeed, is at present not a little diminished, by the disuse of many things which cost Mr. Morley great pains to explain; and by the introduction, since his time, of new methods of notation, new harmonies, and new modulations. But, though the work is redundant in some particulars, and deficient in others, it is still curious; and it cannot be denied that it was excellently adapted to the wants of the age in which it was written. If Morley be considered as a practical musician, his compositions, compared with those of his predecessors, will not be found to be so original as might have been expected. His melodies, however, are somewhat more flowing and polished than those of the old authors. A burial-service, which was set by him, and which is supposed to be the first that was composed after the Reformation, still continues to be used in Westminster Abbey, on great and solemn occasions.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was perhaps not rendered more illustrious by the musical productions of Tallis, Bird, and Morley, than by the practical performances of Dr. John Bull. His abilities on the organ and virginal seem to have been truly wonderful. Such was his reputation, that, by the recommendation of his royal mistress, he had the honour of being the first that was appointed music-professor to Gresham college; and the statute of the founder, requiring lectures to be read in Latin, as well as English, was dispensed with in his favour. He has had the farther honour to be the only person on the list of music professors, who seems to have been able to inform by theory, or to amuse by practice, those who have attended the musical lectures. In a Life of Dr. Bull, which was published about fifty years ago, a catalogue is given of more than two hundred of his compositions, vocal and instrumental. Considering that he was possessed of such extraordinary powers of execution on keyed-instruments, it is matter of surprize, in perusing his
7 lessons,

lessons, that there will be found not many new and pleasing passages; not so many, at least, as it might have been expected that his hand would have suggested to his pen.

The instrumental music of Queen Elisabeth's reign was not equal to the vocal. It partook of the pedantry and foppery of the times. Eternal fugues, upon dry and unmeaning subjects, were the means of establishing a reputation for learning and contrivance; and numerous divisions and variations seem to have been the only qualifications which entitled a professor to eminence for taste and invention. Bird and Bull (to whom may be added the name of Giles Farnaby) though great musicians, seem to have had no conception of brilliancy or embellishment, beyond what arose from breaking common chords into *arpeggio*, or rapidly running up and down the scale in notes tied, three, and often four times. However, with all their faults, they appear to have been the greatest players in Europe, till Frescobaldi introduced a superior style of treating the organ, divested of rapid and frivolous divisions, which disgrace that most noble and comprehensive of all instruments.

The secular vocal music of England, during the early part of Elisabeth's reign, was much inferior to that of the church, if a judgment can be fairly formed of it, from a book of songs, printed in 1571, by John Daye. Both the words and the music of these songs, which preceded those published by Bird, are truly barbarous. We are not, however, lightly to consider them as characterising the age in which they appeared, since there is no proof that they were ever in much public favour. Our countrymen did not first learn to admire the music of Italy from the sweetness of its language, or its fine singing, but from Italian madrigals, with a literal translation into English, adjusted to the original music, and published by N. Yonge, in 1588. These, being selected from the works of various celebrated masters of the continent, seem to have given birth to that passion for madrigals, which became so prevalent among us afterwards, and

and which has been so amply gratified by the composers of our own nation. Allowing for the wretched state of Lyric poetry in England at this period, (for Spenser's and Shakspeare's Sonnets had not yet appeared), Yonge's undertaking was tolerably executed. Indeed, there were sometimes such care and facility in the execution, that the expression of the original words was transfused into that of the version. A second collection of the same kind was published, in 1590, by Thomas Watson; a third, by Yonge himself, in 1597; and a fourth, by Morley, in 1598. Thomas Weelkes and George Kirbye printed their first books of English madrigals, in 1597. John Wilbye's were given to the world in 1598; and Thomas Bennet's in the succeeding year. Weelkes, Kirbye, Willbye, and Bennet, may be ranked among the best madrigalists of our country. Many of their productions have lately been revived at the concert of ancient music, and the catch-club, with such perfection of execution, that effects have been produced, of which it is probable the authors themselves, even in the warm and enthusiastic moments of conception, had but little idea.—Other musical composers of celebrity at this period, were John Mundy, Michael Este, John Hilton, Thomas Tomkins, John Farmer, and John Milton, the father of the poet. Several of these persons continued to flourish in the next reign.—Of John Dowland, it is asserted by Anthony Wood, that "he was the rarest musician that his age did behold." But the compositions which he has left behind him by no means justify so high an encomium. The fact was, that he was a captivating performer on the lute; but he does not appear to have possessed the genius and cultivation which were necessary to render him an excellent composer.

Instrumental music, in the sixteenth century, had made, comparatively, but a small progress towards perfection. The only instruments for which any tolerable music had been expressly composed, were the lute and the virginal; the wonderful powers of the violin being then scarcely known. It is therefore upon the church music, madrigals, and songs

in parts, that the reputation of our countrymen, during the reign of queen Elizabeth, depends. In point of harmony and contrivances, which are the chief excellencies of such compositions, the works of the English musicians were in no respect inferior to the productions of their most celebrated contemporaries on the continent. Taste, rhythm, accent, and grace, having then no existence, even in idea, could not be wanted or expected; and it is necessarily the business of artists to cultivate and refine what is in the greatest esteem among the best judges of their own nation and times. To this praise our composers attained; and no other period will be found in which we were so much on a level with the rest of Europe, in musical genius and learning.

Mr. Walpole (now earl of Orford) will be our guide in what is necessary to be said with regard to the state of painting in England, in the age we are considering. There is no evidence that Elizabeth had much taste for the art; but she loved pictures of herself. In them she could appear really handsome; and yet, to the honour of the profession, it must be observed, that she was the least flattered of any of her court. There is not a single portrait of her that can be called beautiful. The first painter who seems to have made any figure during this reign, was Lucas de Heere, a native of Ghent, and of a family peculiarly addicted to the arts. John, his father, was a good statuary and architect; and Anne Smither, his mother, painted in miniature with such diminutive neatness, that she executed a landscape, with a windmill, millers, a cart and horse, and passengers, and half a grain would cover the whole composition. From such parents Lucas de Heere could not fail to derive considerable advantages for the exercise of his profession. Nor was he a painter only, but a poet. He wrote the *Archard of Poesie*, and translated, from the French of Marot, the *Temple of Cupid*, and other pieces; besides which, he began the lives of the Flemish painters in verse. In what year he

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arrived in England is not certain; nor were his works at all known here, till several of them were discovered by the indefatigable industry of Mr. Vertue. From a list of them, it appears that de Heere was employed by the queen, and the principal nobility and gentry of the time.

Another painter, Cornelius Ketel, was born at Gouda, and early prosecuted his art with great ardour, under the direction of an uncle, who was a tolerable proficient in painting, but a better scholar. Ketel, after having practised in France, and in his own country, embarked, in 1573, for England, and was entertained in London by a sculptor and architect there, a friend of his uncle. Here his works grew into esteem; and he was much employed by the merchants in painting portraits, but was seldom engaged on history, to which his inclination chiefly led him. Having however painted an allegoric piece, of Strength vanquished by Wisdom, it was purchased by a young merchant, and presented to sir Christopher Hatton. By this incident Ketel was introduced to court, drew the portraits of some of the first characters of the age, and had the honour of painting the queen herself. At length, not satisfied with the glory he had acquired by his various performances, several of which were of an historical nature, he formed the scheme of making himself known by a method of painting entirely new. Laying aside his brush, he painted only with his fingers, and began with his own portrait. The whim took; so that he repeated the practice; and it is pretended that these fantastic works were executed with great purity and beauty of colouring. His folly increased so much with his success, that at last his fingers appeared to be tools of too easy a kind, and he undertook to paint with his feet. Even in this ridiculous caprice he was indulged with the applause of the public. It has been observed concerning the works of de Heere and Ketel, that those of the former are generally smaller than the life, neater, not so strongly coloured, and most commonly painted on board; while those of the latter are more strongly coloured, and with
a fuller

a fuller pencil, and are always as large or rather larger than nature.

The next painter, who resided for a time in England, is a name of superior note, being celebrated even in the lists of the great Italian masters. This was Frederic Zuccherò, the younger brother of Taddeo. He came over to London in 1574, and the queen sat to him for her picture, as did the queen of Scots. A second portrait of Elizabeth was drawn by him in a very fantastic habit. He painted likewise several other eminent persons; but his stay in this country was not long: for historic subjects were not in fashion, and he was offended at our religion.

Marc Garrard, a native of Bruges, and a son of a painter of the same name, practised history, landscape, architecture, and portrait. He was employed also in engraving, illuminating, and designing for glass-painters. By his etchings for *Æsop's Fables*, and his *View of Bruges*, he gained much estimation. He came into England about the year 1580, and remained here till his death, which happened in an advanced age. His works, which are very numerous, are in general neatly executed. One of his principal performances was a procession which he drew of the queen and knights of the garter in 1584, from which Ashmole took his plate for the history of that order. Though the portraits are small, they have great resemblance, with the uncommon fidelity of representing the air, stature, and bulk of the persons exhibited.—An Introduction to the general Art of Drawing, composed by the elder Marc Garrard, was translated and published in English, in 1574.

Henry Cornelius Vroom, whose inclination first led him to paint views of towns, was brought into England by a peculiar circumstance. When the great earl of Nottingham, by the defeat of the Spanish armada, had established the throne of his mistress; being desirous of preserving a detail of that illustrious event, he bespoke a suit of tapestry, describing the particulars of each day's engagement. The person who undertook the work, Francis Spiering, engaged Vroom

to draw the designs; and that the task was performed by him in an excellent manner, is so well known to all who have visited the house of lords, that it is needless to enlarge on his praise.

These were the principal performers in oil during Queen Elizabeth's reign. Several names, of inferior note, might be added; but it is not our purpose to enter into minute details.—With regard to painters in miniature, passing over Petrucio Ubaldini, it gives us pleasure to come at length to a native of our own country. This was Nicholas Hilliard, who was brought up to the business of a jeweller and goldsmith; but his genius soon carried him beyond the limits of his particular profession. The object to which his inclination led him, was painting in miniature; in which however he had not the advantage of an able instructor. In this exigence he betook himself to the study of the works of Holbein, whose manner of limning he ever imitated and held for the best. But though he copied the neatness of his model, he was far from attaining the nature and force which that great master impressed on his most minute works. Hilliard did not arrive at any strength of colouring; his faces being pale, and void of the proper variety of tints. One thing in which he excelled, was in a curious delineation of the exact dress of the times. He seldom attempted beyond a head. Whatever faults may now be found in him, it is certain that his performances were greatly valued; and we know that he has been spoken of in high terms of applause by contemporary writers. When he was young he drew the queen of Scots; and Elizabeth, in whose reign he continued in much vogue, sat to him often. He was a favourite with the ladies, many of whose portraits, by his hands, are still extant. He obtained yet greater favour from king James; for, besides drawing his majesty's and prince Henry's pictures, he received a patent, which was highly to his emolument.

But the greatest obligation that we owe to Hilliard is his having contributed to the formation of Isaac Oliver.

Hitherto

Hitherto the English were indebted to other countries for the best performances exhibited here in painting; but in the branch in which Oliver excelled (that of miniature), we may challenge any nation to produce a greater master, if perhaps a few of the smaller works of Holbein be excepted. Among our own countrymen, there is no artist who can be put into competition with Oliver, unless it be Cooper. Even Cooper, though living in an age of freer pencil, and under the auspices of Vandyke, scarcely compensated, by the boldness of his expression, for the truth and delicate fidelity of the older master. Isaac Oliver had a son, Peter, who alone approached to the perfection of his father. Of Oliver's family there is no certain account; nor is it a matter of any consequence, his genius having raised him above distinctions of that kind. Among his numerous and admirable pieces, there is a portrait of himself, in the possession of the present earl of Orford, which justifies all the encomiums that have been passed upon him. The art of the master and the imitation of nature, are so great in this picture, that the largest magnifying glass only calls out new beauties. Another of his invaluable works is at the lord Montacute's at Coudray, representing three brothers of that lord's family. Oliver did not always confine himself to water-colours. There are instances of his working in oil: but his productions in this species of painting, though far from being destitute of merit, are not to be compared with his other performances.

There appear to have been two gentlemen painters in the reign of Elizabeth. One was John Twisden, a divine, who drew a small portrait of himself, neatly executed. The other was sir Nathaniel Bacon, knight of the Bath, and a younger son of the lord-keeper. This gentleman really attained the perfection of a master. He travelled into Italy, and studied painting in that country; but his manner and colouring approach nearer to the style of the Flemish school. Some of his works are preserved at Culford, where he lived; and at Gorhambury, which was the
seat

seat of his father, is a large picture in oil, done by him, which is admirably painted.

The age of Elizabeth was not deficient in engravers; several of whom had considerable merit. It will be sufficient, in this place, barely to recite their names. The artists we refer to were, Dr. William Cunyngnam, Ralph Aggas, Humphrey Cole, John Bettes, William Rogers, Christopher Saxton, George Hoefnagle, and Robert Adams.—There was at this time a passion for the portraits of remarkable persons; and at the same period was introduced the customs of publishing representations of magnificent funerals.

There is no occasion to enlarge on the patrons of literature during Elizabeth's reign, as all those whose names we recollect in this view have already been noticed on other accounts. The persons that occur to us, as principally deserving here to be mentioned, are lord Buckhurst, lord Burleigh, archbishop Parker, Thomas Radcliffe earl of Suffex, Robert Devereux earl of Effex, and sir Philip Sidney. We apprehend that the two last of these illustrious men should be ranked above the rest as the *Mæcenases* of the age.

Of literary foundations there was one at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. At Oxford, Jesus College was established by Dr. Hugh Price, treasurer of St. David's. The advantages of this institution are chiefly confined to the Welch; its benefactors, its principals, and its scholars, having, with very few exceptions, been natives of the principality.—At Cambridge, Emanuel College was founded by sir Walter Mildmay, and Sidney-Suffex College, by the lady Frances Sidney, countess of Suffex. It may truly be said concerning each of these seminaries, that they have produced names which reflect honour upon religion and learning*.

* Fairfax, Warton, Cibber, *Biographia Dramatica*, Berkenhout, Pinkerton, Walpole, *Biographia Britannica*, Ballard, Anthony Wood, Burney, &c. &c.

The literary history of queen Elizabeth's reign is a curious and interesting object; on which account it has demanded an extent of discussion that could not be supplied or merited by any former period. Various branches of science and of art were, indeed, in an imperfect state, compared with what has been attained in succeeding times. Nevertheless, the age we have been treating of, constitutes a great epocha in the Annals of British Knowledge and Literature. It was productive of manly, vigorous, and enlarged minds. Several of its authors were very illustrious; and some of them will continue to be read and admired by the latest posterity.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1792.

1792.

A

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORICAL

For the Year 1891

BRITISH AND FOREIGN H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1792.

CHAPTER I.

Great Britain. Meeting of Parliament. Debate on the King's Speech. Debates on the War in India. Debates on the Armament against Russia. Mr. Grey's Motion for Papers. Reflexions on this Subject. Debates in the House of Lords. Debate in the House of Commons on the Russian Papers. On the Policy of the Armament and on the Negotiation with Russia. Reflexions upon this Subject.

THE transactions of the British parliament, in the session of 1792, were even less important than those of the sessions immediately preceding, and in comparison with the tumultuous scenes which have been acted in the other quarters of Europe, must, we are apprehensive, appear flat and uninteresting. The happiness and even the greatness of a nation is not to be estimated by the splendour of the materials which its history affords; a state of national prosperity is almost uniformly a tranquil state; the crimes and the calamities of mankind alone engage and agitate the human passions.

The session was opened on the 31st of January by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his satisfaction in announcing to parliament the marriage which had been celebrated between his son, the duke of York, with the daughter of his good brother and ally the king of Prussia. He acquainted them that a definitive treaty had been concluded under his mediation and that of his allies, be-

tween the emperor and the Ottoman Porte; and also, that, in consequence of their intervention, preliminaries had been agreed upon by the latter of these powers and the empress of Russia. He regretted that he was not enabled to inform them of the termination of the Indian war, but expressed his hopes, from the success which had already attended the bravery and exertions of the troops under lord Cornwallis, that it would soon be brought to an honourable conclusion. The friendly assurances that he received from foreign powers, and the general state of affairs in Europe, he added, appeared to promise to his subjects the continuance of their present state of tranquillity: in consequence of this he was induced to hope that some immediate reduction might be made in the naval and military establishment, and his regard for the interest of his subjects rendered him at all times desirous of diminishing the public expences.

To the commons in particular he was convinced it would afford satis-

faction, to learn that the extraordinary expences inturred in the course of the last year had been, in a great measure, already defrayed by the grants of the preceding session; and expressed his hopes that the reductions which might be found practicable in the establishments, and the continued increase of the revenue, would enable them, after making provision for the several branches of the public service, to enter upon a system of gradually relieving the people from some part of the existing taxes, and at the same time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt. He concluded with recommending it to the commons to turn their attention to the consideration of such measures as the state of the funds, and of public credit, might render practicable and expedient towards a reduction in the rate of interest of any of the annuities then redeemable.

The Address was moved by the hon. Charles Yorke, who enlarged upon the several topics which were intimated in his majesty's speech, and particularly on the general pacification so happily effected under British mediation. He observed, that the true system of British policy was not only to *preserve ourselves from war*, but to maintain as much as possible the *general tranquillity of Europe*, and that no other system was adapted to the politics of a commercial nation, or could possibly be consistent with its safety, wealth, and prosperity.

The motion for an address was seconded by sir James Murray, and was opposed by Mr. Grey. After replying with much spirit to some insinuations which had fallen from the preceding speakers, relative to the ill effects resulting from the conduct of opposition with respect to the Russian war, Mr. Grey proceeded to remark upon that part of the

speech which related to the war in India. He observed, that his majesty in his speech at the opening of the last session, had expressed in terms nearly the same with those employed in the present speech, the hope of the war being brought to a speedy conclusion. "It seems then a little extraordinary," said Mr. Grey, "that we should now be called to congratulate ourselves upon our success, while we remain in a situation not more favourable than at that former period, and still equally distant from our object." The other parts of the speech, he acknowledged to be exceedingly grateful to his feelings; but expressed his surprise, that some reduction of the establishments had not been adopted before, and trusted that at last it would be effectually carried into execution, and not merely employed as a bait for popularity. He was convinced of the pleasure it must afford his majesty to see a possibility of relieving his people from a part of their heavy burdens; but must observe, that it was rather unusual for a recommendation of that nature to come from the throne, because it looked somewhat like an encroachment upon the privileges of the house of commons. Perhaps he was over cautious; but the right, he observed, of determining all questions relative to money, was the most important privilege of that house, and could not be watched with too much care. He had only one thing further to remark. Last year a convention had been concluded with Spain, from which great advantages had been proposed; and among other conditions it had been stipulated, that a compensation should be made for the injuries sustained by the British merchants; but they had not been informed whether any means had been taken to obtain that compensation, or what progress had been made for that purpose.

Mr,

Mr. Grey concluded by moving an amendment, expressing the regret of the commons, that the prospect held out last session in his majesty's speech relative to the Indian war, had not been realized, and intimating that a procrastinated war must be attended with almost certain ruin to the finances of the company.

The Indian war was defended in general terms by Mr. Dundas, who, however, did not enter into a discussion concerning its commencement, as he observed that subject had been sufficiently investigated in the preceding session. Mr. Grey, he observed, had advanced, that there was a total failure of the purposes and objects of the last campaign. This, however, he denied to be the case: the object of the last campaign was to enable us to conclude a war unprovoked, and reluctantly undertaken on our part; and certainly every step that tended to accelerate this desirable conclusion, was entitled to the epithet successful. With respect to the propriety of stating in his majesty's speech the hopes he entertained that parliament might be enabled, from the growing increase of the revenue, to take off some portion of the existing burthens, he thought when the disagreeable task of being obliged to make demands that occasioned taxation remained with his majesty, it would be hard to deprive him of the pleasure of proposing such relief to his subjects. As to the novelty of the measure, the hon. gentleman, he added, might be pretty right; for he believed, any thing like an intimation from the throne, that there was a probability of *lessening the taxes*, was rather a novelty in any administration; but surely it was a novelty of that kind, which ought rather to be welcomed than repulsed.

Mr. Fox declared his approbation of several of the topics introduced into the speech and the address. He had always been of opinion that some reduction of the naval and military force might have been made at a much earlier period; and it was no excuse for unnecessary profusion that the nation was possessed of unexpected resources.

As to the articles of pacification effected by our mediation—He acknowledged frankly, that he was too blunt to see, and too dull to comprehend, how either the new or old line of demarkation between the house of Austria and the Ottoman Porte could be of the least importance to this country; but he could not help observing the curious manner in which the new line had been settled. It was said in the first instance, that preliminaries had been agreed on between the contending parties on the foundation of a *status quo*. Instead of negotiating and even aiming, however, to maintain an absolute *status quo*, how much more honourable and dignified would it have been to have resorted to the convenient term of existing circumstances, as applicable, surely, to the negotiation with Austria as to that with Russia, and to have taken the *status quo*, not as it had been, but as it ought to be in future. While he censured the absurdity of thus insisting on a *status quo*, in words, and conceding it in fact, he affirmed that neither for the new nor the old line of demarkation would he have hazarded the hundredth part of a British life, or the hundredth part of a British pound.

It had been intimated that new circumstances arising, had induced the minister to recede from his original proposition. None, however of these circumstances had been pointed out, though the discussions which had taken place in parli-

ment had been obviously alluded to. Mr. Fox considered such an allusion as the highest compliment that could be paid to the exertions of opposition, and as tending to secure to them the approbation and confidence of their constituents and their country. But it had been said that these discussions provoked the contest, and but for them Russia would have yielded. That it would not have been the interest of Russia to contend at the hazard of a war, he was ready to admit; but that a government, like that of Russia, not immediately under the controul of public opinion, might have been impelled by resentment or obstinacy to resist, was no improbable supposition. In that case, what must have been the consequence, had not the minority in parliament, and the sense of the people, interposed? The hon. gentleman who seconded the address had in the last session stood almost single in maintaining the great consequence of Oczakow. What he had then said, was now unsaid; and it required no moderate share of confidence to say to any gentleman, "That which you so ably contended for as of the highest importance, we have abandoned as of none: will you have the goodness to move an address, approving of what we have done?"

With respect to the repeal of taxes, which was most properly observed on by his hon. friend, who moved the amendment, as infringing on the privileges of the house of commons, for the uncandid and delusive purpose of catching at surreptitious popularity, he could not but remark, that the observation of his hon. friend had been treated by the right hon. secretary with unsuitable levity. It was not however in this light he meant to consider it. The situation of the country was that of owing a debt of great magnitude. For the

reduction of the debt, the house had appropriated one million annually; but in doing that, they never meant to decide, that in case the revenue should increase, they would apply no more than one million to that purpose. How much they ought in any circumstance to apply to the reduction of the debt, and how much to the relief of the people by a remission of taxes, was a question of great importance and difficulty. Now, in the present case, suppose he, or any other member, or even the majority of the house, to be of the harsh opinion, that *none* of the taxes ought to be remitted (an opinion which, however, he was far from entertaining) in what a situation would they be placed? To the public it would appear that the king was willing to alleviate the burdens of the people, but that their own representatives, feeling less for them than he did, persisted in making them bear what his majesty was willing to remit; and were men to be deterred from giving their honest opinion on a subject of such moment, or exposed to obloquy and odium if they did? It had been asked, if he would deny to the king the pleasing part of suggesting the repeal of taxes, when he had often the unpleasant duty of suggesting the imposing of them? The king's pleasant part was giving his assent to the repeal; and as the unpleasant part of originating new taxes fell upon the house of commons, so the pleasant part of originating the repeal of them ought to be their privilege. The right hon. secretary had said that not the king's recommendation, but the repeal of the taxes, was the novelty. Did he mean to say that taxes never were before repealed or reduced? Within one, two, or three years after the conclusion of every war but the last, a remission of half a million had taken place by the reduction of the land-

land-tax, and that without any suggestion from the king.

In making these remarks, he frankly exculpated the ministers from any design against the constitution, and believed the circumstances originated entirely in *mistake*; but he thought it his duty to notice it, because a strict adherence to the principles on which the three branches of the legislature had long acted with respect to the taxes, tended to preserve that constitution, on which he had heard so many deserved encomiums. To these encomiums he most cheerfully subscribed, when they were not introduced with allusion to the affairs of other countries; and for the purpose of conveying censure on other persons. In this way they were often introduced against him.—For himself, and those who like him had fairly avowed their approbation of what had passed in France, he thanked the hon. bart. who seconded the motion, for having furnished him with a better expression than he could have found for himself. "The constitution of France was essentially bad, and therefore every thing was to be risked to destroy it; the constitution of Great Britain is essentially good, and every thing is to be risked to preserve it." It was in vain, therefore, to say that they who rejoiced in the destruction of the one, must wish for the ruin of the other. There was no similarity between them. They were as radically different as good and evil, as freedom and slavery, and never to be mentioned in the same terms, or any inference made from the one to the other.

It must have been owing, Mr. Fox said, to the unwillingness of ministers to damp the pleasure arising from so many topics of satisfaction as the speech contained; that with the mention of the inestimable blessings of liberty and order, no notice

was taken of the violent interruption of order which had occurred in the course of the summer. The cautious omission, however, could not conceal the evil. It was impossible not to know, and not to lament, that towards the close of the eighteenth century, men, instead of following the progress of knowledge and liberality, had revived the spirit and practice of the darkest ages. A lawless mob reigned triumphant for near a week in a rich and populous part of the country, and those, whose duty it was to have denounced the rigour of the law, addressed them rather in terms of approbation than rebuke. Was not such a proceeding calculated to cherish the idea, that the principle on which they pretended to act was not disagreeable to government? It would have been well if his majesty had spoken of such riots with honour, and of every attempt to suppress them with approbation. These were not riots for want of bread—such every feeling heart must pity while it condemned. Neither were they riots in the cause of liberty, which, though highly blameable, and highly to be reprobated by every good man, and every true friend to liberty, had yet some excuse in their principle. They were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining; but of men, who, assuming to themselves the office of executive government, set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of an entire description of their fellow citizens, which had furnished persons as eminent, as good subjects, and as zealous supporters of the family on the throne as any other in the kingdom could boast.

Having spoken of the topics and omissions of the speech, he now gave his reasons for voting for the amendment. His majesty professed his hopes, that by the bravery and exertions of the officers and troops, the

war in India may soon be brought to an honourable conclusion. These hopes were of less value, from the same prospect having been held out last year, which they all knew had not been fulfilled. He had always considered the system of offensive wars in India, as unjust, impolitic, and, whatever might be their apparent success, eventually mischievous. That we might be premature in thanking the commanders for their victories in India, was possible; for in the American war how many officers were thanked for splendid victories, which only led us, by one uniform tenor, to eventual misfortune, and the loss of the entire object for which we were contending. For the victory at Camden, for instance, the thanks of that house were voted to lord Cornwallis, and reached him just time enough not to pass through the hands of an American general.

Mr. chancellor Pitt did not conceive it necessary to enter into a discussion concerning the origin of the war in India, as that matter had been amply canvassed, and in the last session had received the full and deliberate decision of that house respecting its expediency, policy, and justice. He defended the measure of thanking victorious generals for victories achieved, even pending a war; and mentioned several instances of its propriety and happy effect.

Mr. Pitt professed to regret as much as any man, the circumstance of the riots at Birmingham; but he was sorry it had been introduced in the manner it was, and could have wished that the right hon. gentleman had rather used his discretion than his zeal, because he was sure that moderation and perseverance were the best means of getting rid of the effects of such disorders.

With respect to the adjustment of differences between Austria and the

Porte, it had been stated, that it ought to have been effected upon the principle of a *status quo*; and it was argued that this principle had been departed from, by a different modification of the line of demarcation, which the hon. gentlemen treated so lightly, that he would not value it at the hundredth part of an English pound. He was surprised to hear that it was thought of so little importance; and insisted that it was known, expected, and admitted at the treaty of Reichenbach, when the *status quo* was determined on as the terms of adjustment. The chancellor defended very much at large the conduct of administration in endeavouring to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and asserted, that the views and conduct of ministers, throughout the whole negotiation, were directed to objects which appeared for the interest and honour of the country. He was ready to own that their exertions had not succeeded to the full extent of their wishes: but gave it as his opinion, that the negotiation would have terminated more successfully, had it not been for opinions delivered both in and out of that house, particularly on the point respecting Oczakow.

In mentioning the state of the country, Mr. Pitt said, it afforded him heartfelt satisfaction to be able to describe it in so flourishing a condition; and contended that a constant attention to the *lessening of the public burdens*, and *paying off the national debt*, was the best security for the *continuance of its prosperity*. He granted that the privilege of originating all taxes and repealing them, was vested in the house of commons; but he saw no reason why his majesty might not express his hopes, and the pleasure it would give him, to see the revenue of the country in such a situation as to enable the house of commons to take off any part of them.

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To prevent improper speculation, he thought it necessary to give now a short statement of the revenue and expenditure of the country, which he would pledge himself would be found true and faithful; and he also gave notice that he would, at an early day, call the attention of the house to this subject.

State of the Revenue and Expenditure.

The whole amount of the revenue last year, up to the 5th of January, amounted to the sum of

£.16,690,000

Average of the last two

years - - - 16,600,000

Average of three years 16,400,000

Average of four years

was less than the last

year by 500,000l.

and only amounted

to - - - 16,200,000

This was in itself a circumstance of great satisfaction. In the last year there were some causes peculiar to the year, although the bulk of the increase of last year arose from permanent causes.

In going through this statement, he made frequent references to the finance committee of last year, and said, that though he considered the increase as permanent, it was not his intention to appropriate or divide the whole of this surplus, because it was surely necessary to provide against possible events that might occasion additional expences; for this purpose he meant to reserve — £.500,000 and all this was without interfering with the annual million for paying off the national debt.

The next question was with regard to the expenditure. He understood, from what he had heard, that he should differ from some

others with regard to the reduction of the taxes. He contended that taxes should be taken off to the yearly amount of — £.200,000 It would have been greater, had they not lately been put to some extraordinary expence, from the state of their foreign colonies. He took the annual expenditure to be

£.15,800,000

By comparing this with the revenue, the excess of the last year, after the annual million was paid off, amounted to - - - £.900,000

Excess for two years a-

mounted to - 800,000

For three years to 600,000

For four years to 400,000

He wished to make an allowance of 500,000l. every year for fluctuation, and meant only to take the excess of the revenue at an average of four years, which amounted to 400,000l. and was less than the excess of the revenue of last year by half a million. He wished to divide this 400,000l. between annihilating the national debt and taking off taxes, to wit, 200,000l. for each purpose; and there were four articles from which he proposed to take it off. The three first were assessed taxes, viz. from carts and waggons; from female servants; and three shillings a year from all houses under seven windows. These three put together would amount to more than 100,000l. The last tax that he meant to reduce was that on candles, from which he intended to take off a halfpenny in the pound, which would amount to near another 100,000l.

Such were the topics which occupied the first day of the meeting of parliament, and they almost include the whole of the business which was transacted during the session.

The subject among these which appears most immediately to have interested

interested the opposition, was the Indian war. So early, therefore, as the third of February, Major Maitland gave notice of a motion which he intended to bring forward on a future day, relative to the production of certain papers; and Mr. Hippesley availed himself of the opportunity to request some information from Mr. Dundas, on a subject which he considered as of some importance. When he had originally moved for papers, a letter of the late sir Archibald Campbell was produced, denying his assent to the purchase of Cranganore. He understood that a notarial copy of a letter from sir Archibald, or major Bonnerman, had been sent home, in contradiction of the original information; and, as this was a matter of general report, Mr. Hippesley thought it in justice due to the house, that, if it existed, it should be produced.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, he should have had no objection to the production of the paper in question, but as he considered that no good had arisen from discussions on such demands last session, and also knew that no advantage could ensue, and that much hazard and danger might be incurred from similar motions in the present state of the war in India, he should oppose the motion. After some farther conversation, therefore, with Mr. Hippesley, it was agreed, that both major Maitland's and Mr. Hippesley's motions should be made on the following Thursday, viz. the ninth of February.

In our last volume, the arguments relative to the origin and conduct of the Indian war were so amply stated, that but little can be necessary on the present occasion. Repetition is always disgusting to a reader; there is, therefore, no necessity for recurring to the causes of the war; and, with respect to the conjectures of the

parliamentary orators concerning its issue, in their place we can substitute what will be more generally acceptable, that is, facts; but these will belong more properly to a future chapter.

On the ninth of February, major Maitland, in moving for the papers which he wished to be produced, took a general view of the motives and the state of the war with Tippoo Sultan. He adverted to that system which had been formerly adopted with respect to India, and which originated from a quarter, to which, in point of ability, the house and the nation had always been indebted; that system was a system of forbearance and moderation, inculcated the most pacific principles, and held out, as the great object of our policy, the strict observance of tranquillity. He stigmatized the present war as pernicious in its tendency, and fatal in its effect. We had no longer the recovery of tranquillity in our own hands: we are in the power of our allies—and who were they? Allies whose sole object was plunder, and who were desirous of a continuance of the war, in order to promote their mercenary views. He intimated his apprehensions, that hereafter it might be necessary to defray India debts with British burdens, and to expiate the mischiefs of Indian avarice and ambition by British sacrifices, by an addition to taxes which were already too aggravated, and an increase of restrictions already too generally experienced. He now wanted only a few papers, which were necessary to elucidate the papers that had been already produced. The first was a letter from lord Cornwallis to the Nizam, dated July 7th, 1789. This letter, from the use which had been afterwards made of it, he could not help regarding as a piece of diplomatic artifice. After having read
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an extract from this letter, he said, it proved three points: first, that when the letter was written, there existed an amicable intercourse between Tippoo and the English, a circumstance which completely refutes every idea of a previous insult, or hostile intention: secondly, if any treaty was formed to ratify the tenth and eleventh articles of the former treaty of 1768, it was to be considered as a treaty of partition, and afforded Tippoo just cause of suspicion and jealousy: thirdly, that the conduct of the British government in that country, with regard to Tippoo, could be placed in no other point of view than as a breach of treaty.

The next papers for which he meant to move, were those relative to a loan to the Mahrattas. It was the business of that house to keep a watchful eye over every money transaction, especially where it appeared in so questionable a shape as in the present instance. The Gazette stated the loan to be considerable.—After having received it, the Mahrattas went westward. Had this sum been necessary to purchase their co-operation? The other papers he wanted were all those relative to the proposals of peace that had been made by Tippoo, and the reasons that had operated for rejecting the same. Major Maitland concluded his speech by moving for these several papers, and was seconded by

Mr. Francis, who declared that he would have been content with seconding the motion in the usual form, but for the extraordinary declaration which had been made by the secretary of state for the affairs of India, viz. "that he would object to the production of papers, because it might lead to discussion, &c."

Mr. Francis declared that he had sat

eight years in parliament, and however they might differ on other subjects, he had never heard a difference of opinion on this point; every party having agreed, "that the transactions in India could not be made too public in this country." The case that constitutes an exception to a rule so acknowledged must be very powerful indeed, nor could the most subtle imagination conceive a specific danger or inconvenience from the production of the papers in question. The papers regarded events which happened several months ago on the other side the globe; the scene of action was distant, and the result of the communication could not reach it for a considerable time; not probably till the war itself would be at an end. Mr. Francis urged that it was even unjust to lord Cornwallis himself, to permit his letters only to come before that house by piecemeal, garbled and extracted by the presidency of Madras; and the reputation of general Abercrombie, he asserted, was still more neglected, being left entirely at the mercy of private letters.

Another object, he observed, into which the house was bound to inquire, was the expence of the war; and another, not less important, was the conduct of our allies, which there was reason to apprehend was not such as had been expected, though they had appeared opportunely enough to share in the plunder of Seringapatam, had lord Cornwallis been so fortunate as to capture it. Other reasons, he said, might be adduced to support the motion, but enough had been said. He concluded by observing, that the necessity of the inquiry would be virtually acknowledged and enforced by the refusal of the papers, as it would amount, in effect, to a palpable confession that the papers would not support

port the character which had been given, in general terms, of the war; but, on the contrary, that it would not bear to be exhibited in detail to the inspection of parliament.

Mr. Dundas defended his former assertion relative to the propriety of occasionally withholding Indian papers, and controverted Mr. Francis's position, that they could seldom prove injurious to the interests of Britain. He said, that the scene of action being distant, was rather an argument against exposing important papers. Let gentlemen recollect the ignorance of the natives with respect to the customs of that house, and their practice in debates. Let them recollect that they cannot there, as here, where they are near the scene of discussion, have every misapprehension explained, and every doubt removed. The effect, indeed, he contended, which discussions in this country might have upon the princes in India, unacquainted with the language and mode of proceeding in a British parliament, was still more to be dreaded than in the case of European princes, by whom both these were better understood. With respect to the motions that had been made, however, he did not think they would answer the hon. gentleman's purpose, but, excepting one of them (that which regarded the propositions of peace which had been made by Tippoo) he should have very little objection.

In consequence of this concession of the minister for India, all the motions of major Maitland, except the last, were carried without a division; and the letters and extracts relative to the purchase of Travancore, which had been mentioned on the former occasion by Mr. Hippley, were also voted without any debate.

On the information contained in these papers, major Maitland, on

the 15th of March, grounded a series of resolutions relative to the Indian war. He complained of the unfair manner in which discussions on that subject had been treated by the other side of the house, by blending the measure itself with the character of the man who was to conduct it, and considering every inquiry into the justice and policy of the war as an attack upon lord Cornwallis.

Adverting to the avowed cause of the war, the hon. major recapitulated most of the arguments which we have stated in the preceding volume. He said, that so early as the government of sir Archibald Campbell, in Madras, the plan for extirpating Tippoo had been laid. On the ground of policy, equally with justice, he deprecated such a plan, as, he asserted, that, by extirpating Tippoo, we should raise up an enemy infinitely more formidable (the Mahrattas) who were withheld only by the balancing power of Mysore from becoming the scourge of the British nation in India.—As enemies, the Mahrattas were terrible; as allies, the little experience we had of them, evinced they were not to be depended on. Major Maitland concluded with moving four resolutions, the object of which was, a general censure on the executive government for having commenced the war. Mr. Grey seconded the motions.

Mr. Powys declared—That the whole of our system in India had been so repugnant to his feelings, and had so completely disgusted him, that, of late years, he never could endure to turn his thoughts to the affairs of that continent, but when he found them inseparably connected with the constitutional interests of this country. He thought, that every drop of blood that was shed, every shilling that was spent in

in India was totally lost to Great Britain.

In the present instance, however, he conceived that the whole of our calamity unavoidably sprung from our general system with regard to that country, and, unless we determined at once to abandon the whole of that system, we could not do otherwise than support the measures of the present government in the country. The first and greatest of all the evils of Europe was Asiatic dominions; and this would continue to be the case as long as Europe should continue to rank itself as a possessor of territory in the East. As far as lord Cornwallis was implicated in the present charge, he declared, that his conduct appeared to him unexceptionable. With respect to the letter of lord Cornwallis to the Nizam, he protested, he could not regard it in the light of a treaty, or any thing like a treaty. The person to whom it was addressed, he believed, did not so regard it, and he was not desirous of viewing it with a more piercing or scrutinizing eye than the person to whom it was written.

The motions were also opposed by lord Mornington, general Smith, colonel Phipps, Mr. Pybus, and Mr. Dundas; and supported by Mr. Anstruther and Mr. Hippley. At length, after some conversation, it was agreed that such part of the motions, as related to the origin of the war, and the sending of troops into the Travancore country, should be adjourned to Monday: the rest were either negatived, or carried with amendments proposed by ministry.

Though Monday, however, had been the day originally proposed, it was Wednesday the 28th of March before the adjourned debate was resumed,—It was opened by

Major Maitland, who observed, that from the triumphant tone which gentlemen on the opposite side had assumed in moving for certain papers, he had expected that, on the perusal of these papers, he should find himself compelled by the force of truth to retract all the opinions which he had entertained on the subject of the war in India. He should be most ready, on all occasions, to renounce error; but the perusal of the papers which ministers had produced, had actually served to confirm his former opinion. They had shewn, that when there was, first, a question of sending troops into the Travancore country, the English minister at the Rajah's court received instructions from our government, at Madras, to represent the matter in such cautious terms, as not to alarm the Rajah at the idea of introducing into his dominions, (not what he asked for, a small force, just to shew that he was under our protection, but) absolutely an army, and such an army as, in former days, would have carried victory through every part of Hindostan. It was evident then, that, in this case, government acted not at the request of the Rajah, but in consequence of a settled plan of hostilities, which they had resolved to carry on against Tippoo.

From one of the papers also, it appeared, that in another case of an actual attack by the Rajah of Cherica upon a British post, the government of Bombay had resolved to settle the affair by negotiation. Why was this difference made? but because his lordship had determined on an offensive war against Tippoo, as was further evident from his letter to the Nizam, which breathed nothing but hostility against that monarch.

Colonel Phipps defended the necessity of the war upon the same ground

ground that had been occupied by ministry in the preceding session; and Mr. Richard Johnson mentioned a conversation with lord Cornwallis, in which his lordship expressed his strong and anxious apprehensions, from a knowledge of Tippoo's movements, that hostilities with him were almost certain; lamented the exceeding personal inconvenience, public, as well as private, that it would be to him, and commissioned Mr. Johnson to assure ministers at home, that nothing but the most indispensable necessity could urge him to a war.

Mr. Francis, in reply to the last speaker, observed, that the house was not to consider the words, but the actions of lord Cornwallis; not what he had said, but what he had done. The papers on the table were authentic documents, and would shew whether the words and deeds of the noble lord were in union or at variance. Several collateral arguments were introduced in the course of the debate, of which, however, the public are already in possession, through the medium of our former volumes. Major Maitland's motion concerning the war was amended by administration, so as completely to destroy its force, and in that state it was carried.

Not satisfied, however, with the triumph they had obtained, ministry determined to derive an additional advantage from the opposition which had been made to the war, and to turn the document, by which it was attempted to criminate lord Cornwallis, to the increase of that general's reputation. It was therefore moved by col. Phipps, "that the agreement entered into with the Nizam by lord Cornwallis, in his letter of the 7th of July, 1789, the establishment of a military post at Travancore, &c. are consonant to the wise and politic views

established by the parliament of Great Britain, as the rule of conduct to be observed in the British settlements in India."

The motion was strongly resisted by major Maitland, Mr. Hippeley, and Mr. Fox. It was observed, that the object of this motion was to confound the whole transactions of India in one indiscriminate vote of approbation. To vote not only that the war was just in its outset, but that it was so at this very moment, whatever opportunity may have occurred for bringing it to a conclusion. It was pledging parliament prematurely; it was rash and indecent. The division of Tippoo's country, indicated in lord Cornwallis's letter to the Nizam, was a sufficient evidence of hostile intentions on the part of Britain. The acquisition of territory as a cause of the war, was reprobated by opposition: and no less the ungenerous idea of taking advantage of the Sultan's present situation, in order to annihilate his power, when France, his ally, was unable to assist him. It was known that overtures of peace had been made and rejected. Why was not this matter explained? why was the house left in profound ignorance respecting the terms that had been offered? To combine the civil and military powers of a whole country in one man, responsible to no power in the country, where he acted, was, however high and respectable the character, a measure also strongly to be condemned, dangerous as a precedent, and perhaps even in the present instance injurious in its effects.

In support of the motion, it was urged by Mr. Pitt, that it regarded only the origin of the war in India, and the reasons upon which it was undertaken. The motions brought forward by opposition he considered as an attack upon the character of

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lord Cornwallis, and the construction which was put upon his letter to the Nizam was peculiarly so. As to the point which had been urged with so much vehemence, the carrying on the war after proposals of peace had been offered, he asserted that it did not apply to the present case, for the points here to be considered, were the origin of the war, and the conduct of it, as appearing from the papers on the table. Gentlemen were pleased to say, that terms of peace had been offered.—He had no information of such terms—He knew of none. True it was, that Tippu had sent vakeels to treat for peace, but without explaining the conditions; and on the whole, it appeared to be his object to separate us and our allies in India. The natural and fair conclusion from all this, and still more from the character of lord Cornwallis, was, that no honourable terms had been offered. The resolution before the house did not pledge us for the carrying on of the war; it only approved of its origin on our part, and on the continuance of it as far as we had any knowledge of the circumstances. The question was carried without a division.

The next business of consequence that occupied the attention of parliament, was the *armament against Russia*. The papers relative to that armament had been delivered in early in the session, and on the 13th of February, Mr. Grey rose to remark some deficiencies in the documents which had been submitted to parliament. He stated, that the dispatch from count Osterman and count Woronzow was dated Oct. 31, 1790, and the next paper, viz. the memorial from Mr. Whitworth and count Goltze was dated May 26, 1791. It seemed impossible, that during so long an interval, nothing should have taken place between the

court of Petersburg and his majesty's ministers, or between the latter and the Ottoman court. He proceeded to point out other omissions equally extraordinary; the one was an extract of a dispatch mentioned in one of the papers, and referred to by the duke of Leeds, in one of his letters: the extract itself Mr. G. conceived ought to be before the house, or it would not be possible to understand the propriety of the observations upon it. The preliminaries of peace between the empress and the Porte were also wanting, and were necessary, in order that the house might see, after the country had nearly been drawn into an expensive and unprovoked war, how far his majesty's interference had been necessary, or the armament justifiable. We ought also to know what had passed on the subject between our court and the court of Berlin. There was another material paper too, which had not been laid on the table, and that was an account of the whole expence of the armament. Before he moved for these papers, he begged to know whether any objection would be made to their production.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he considered what had been said rather as a notice on the part of the hon. gentleman of some motions which he intended to make on a future day than as any thing preparatory to an immediate motion. As far as he had been able to collect the nature of the papers which the hon. gentleman thought were omitted, the answer to any motion for some of them would be, that no such existed. With regard to others, that they would be highly improper to lay upon the table. As to the last paper mentioned, viz. the expences of the armament, he assured the house that he was as impatient to lay it before them, as the hon. gentleman could be to see it; and
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he could safely add, that no pains should be spared to have it ready before the day of discussion. With respect to the preliminaries between Russia and the Porte, they had as yet received no official copy, but ministers would probably soon be able to lay before the house a still more satisfactory paper, viz. a copy of the definitive treaty.

As the reasons assigned by the chancellor of the exchequer for withholding the papers, did not, however, appear satisfactory to the gentlemen in opposition; on the 20th of February, Mr. Grey renewed his application for papers in the more formal stile of a direct motion.

He said he had hoped from his majesty's speech that the house would be furnished with all necessary information, in this he felt himself disappointed. He, however, was still induced to hope, notwithstanding all the efforts which had been exerted to prevent discussion, that the house would never be so blindly attached to a system of confidence in administration, as that they would neglect their first duty, that of inquiry, as faithful stewards of the public, whose money they had voted away.

From the papers already on the table there appeared to him ground for crimination, since by these papers it would be found, that the business had at first been undertaken without any justifiable cause, and afterwards meanly and basely abandoned. The minister had confessed that, in his object of securing Oczakow to the Turks, which had been held out as the great motive for the armament, he had completely failed. It yet remained to be proved how far this object affected us or our allies, and also what steps had been taken to secure it. He should now intimate what further papers he wanted. It

had at first been stated that the diminution of the Turkish influence and power in Europe would be injurious to the interests of our ally the king of Prussia; as therefore it could not be supposed that ministers would be so officious as to interfere without being desired, it was material to know what representations and requisitions had been made by the king of Prussia on the occasion. The treaty of this country with Prussia was purely defensive; but there had been rumours that we *stood pledged by an engagement with the court of Prussia in a manner very different from that which was openly specified in the treaty between us and that court.* If these rumours were true, they were alarming, and the people of this country ought to know the fact. One of his objects, therefore, was to know the *extent* of our engagements with the court of Prussia; and this was absolutely necessary to the justification of ministers; for if other views had been entertained than those which they professed, if *schemes of conquest* had been formed, or if the object was in reality to put *Dantzick and Thorne* into the hands of the king of Prussia, it was of consequence to guard against the machinations of a weak and corrupt ministry, who endangered the country to promote the *private ambition of other sovereigns.* Was the treaty with Prussia, that had been laid on the table, the only treaty, and the whole of the treaty?

The next papers he wanted, were those which contained any representations or requisitions which had been made by the Porte, or any engagements which we had come under to that quarter. It would be very strange if we had interfered where we had not been desired, and offered assistance, for which we received no thanks. He should only name the other papers for which he intended

intended to move, viz. an account of our recommendation of terms of peace to the Porte and the answer; an account of the mediation of the king of Denmark; and lastly, all those papers that had passed between the courts of London and Peterburgh. If it was asked, what was the intention of the production of these papers? he should answer, that the house might be fully acquainted with the whole of the negotiation, and not rely solely on the garbled extracts and scraps prepared by the right hon. gentleman, who stood before them as an accused person. After several other arguments, enforcing his demand, Mr. Grey moved for the papers, as already enumerated.

Mr. Pitt grounded his arguments for the refusal of papers, on a nice distinction, which he drew between what he termed blind and unlimited confidence, and that confidence which depends upon circumstances, and must, according to circumstances, from time to time, be absolutely necessary to the safety of the state. He thought government was not authorized to disclose circumstances in which other states were involved, as such a disclosure might operate to the dissolution of alliances, and the destruction of treaties; and therefore he did not think it consistent with the management of affairs of state, to give more information than was absolutely necessary. There was enough on the face of the transaction, as disclosed to the public, through the medium of the papers on the table, to induce the house to approve of the conduct of ministers. It was very true, that the armament against Russia had failed in a great degree, of its intended effect. But upon the papers before the house, they could form an opinion without making any further inquiry. It ap-

peared by those papers what it was we wished to obtain, and what it was we had obtained. He did not profess to give to the house all the circumstances that passed on this negotiation. He desired them to approve of his conduct as it appeared before them, and in doing so, they would reflect on the relative situation of Europe, and on the impropriety of *disclosing* those things, so as to endanger the situation of our public *alliances*. He was sure the house would see the danger of such a disclosure, and therefore would trouble them no further.

Mr. Pitt was supported in the refusal of the papers by Mr. Minchin, Mr. D. Ryder, and Mr. Halhead, who rested their arguments chiefly on the doctrine of a necessary confidence in the executive government, and these arguments were opposed by Mr. Wyndham, lord North, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Cocks; the latter of whom observed, "that it would require more eloquence, than even that which had been lately employed in describing the prosperity of this country, to *justify a measure, which put its prosperity to so much hazard.*"

Mr. Fox confessed that the question had been so ably debated by those who thought as he did, that he must be vain indeed, to suppose that he could add to the clearness or force of such arguments. There were circumstances, however, which obliged him to trouble the house. A sort of challenge had been thrown out—an attempt, it was said, had been made to excite an alarm on the subject of confidence, and it had, in one point of view, been too perniciously successful. He was ready to own, that he felt it his duty to sound that alarm within the house, and to give it force and efficacy by every means in his power, and if ever he had an opportunity, he should tell

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not merely his own constituents, but the whole collective body of the people of Great Britain, that if those whom they had chosen to represent them, those to whom they had given their confidence, should transfer that confidence to the minister, they were *betrayed, not represented*. In the dispute with Spain, the house was refused information, while the negotiation was depending; and, when that was no longer the case, they were again refused information, and called on to provide for the expence of an armament, because no presumption of misconduct appear upon the face of the proceedings. In the dispute of Russia, they were neither informed of the object nor the cause, pending the negotiation, and now that the negotiation was at an end, by a climax in confidence, they were again forbidden to ask for information.

If confidence, he said, was a necessary evil in the constitution, that evil was much increased, when it was laid down as a principle, that the king was to appoint him in whom the house should confide. The king, it might be said, had the right of declaring war, but the commons had the right, as full and undoubted, of granting or withholding the means of carrying it on. The chief exercise of both these rights, where they happened to clash, was impossible; from which, it followed that there must be concession on the one side or the other. Now it was surely more reasonable, that in such a case, the right of the king should be conceded, than the money of the people be taken from them without their consent, and for a purpose which they did not approve. But this new mode of voting money on confidence, and paying for armaments without inquiry into the necessity, or the use, was an attack on the fundamental

principles of the constitution. In the case now before the house, the opinion of the minister was directly opposite to that of the whole body of the people. The house voted money in support of his opinion, and it was spent. Suppose him to be asked by his constituents, why it was gone, he might say he had done all in his power to prevent it, but in vain. This, however, could not be satisfactory, and the conclusion must be, that the majority of the house of commons had refused to inquire, had voted the money without the proper information, and, that being spent, whether well or ill applied, the people must bear the loss.

Mr. Fox said the papers on the table afforded matter for the crimination of ministers, but that he, on the part of the public, had a right to see the extent of it: *there could be nothing secret where there was nothing wrong*. Maintaining the sufficiency of our alliance with Prussia had been much insisted on last year, and yet there was a common rumour at Berlin, that Prussia had been drawn in for the sake of a British interest. It was fit to know exactly what the sentiments of the court of Prussia had been, what offers were made through the court of Denmark, what engagements we had with the Porte, and whether we had fulfilled them.

The motions of Mr. Grey were negatived by a very great majority.

On considering the substance of this debate, with that impartiality which it will ever be our study as historians to preserve, though we have decidedly professed our opinion as inclining to the side of ministers in this dispute, and have, in express terms lamented that on this occasion a favourable opportunity was neglected for reducing the formidable power of Russia, yet we cannot, as friends to our country, approve of the

the with-holding the very important and necessary papers which were called for by Mr. Grey.

Wherever a court is engaged in a number of *secret* transactions, there is always cause for suspicion that some of them are not right, some of them not for the welfare of the people. The left-handed, meddling, and intriguing policy of the old government of France, effected in less than half a century its own ruin. Our insular situation points out to us (as the dispensation of nature) to avoid cautiously, all continental connexions, all interference with the internal government of other countries. Continental connexions have ever been condemned by all our soundest politicians, by Burleigh, Clarendon, Walpole, and Chatham; we have gained nothing by them but wars and taxes, and their uniform consequence has been, that the best blood of Englishmen has been wantonly shed in *thankless* quarrels for the *idle claims* of German despots.

It is a general opinion, that treaties are sacred; but in a country where there is a popular government, how *can* this be the case with respect to a *secret* treaty? If a treaty, known only to the sovereign and his ministers, be sacred and binding upon the people of this country, then the executive must be above the legislative power, which it would be absurdity to affirm. To give validity to a treaty, therefore, it ought to be submitted to the legislative body, and as all transactions with foreign courts must depend upon treaty, the same reasoning will virtually apply to every kind of negotiation.

There is a period, when, from the nature of things, negotiation must be kept secret, but there is a period when it ought to be disclosed, and that is when the negotiation is con-

cluded. Without this, it is impossible to judge of public measures, or of public men; and if we are not mistaken, such has been the uniform practice of ministers in the best and most constitutional times.

Some of the papers alluded to by Mr. Grey, were of permanent importance, and of this kind was the *secret treaty* which was said to exist between this country and Prussia. On this topic a satisfactory answer was due to the public. But Mr. Pitt and the other ministers, instead of speaking explicitly, entirely omitted to notice the charge, indulged themselves in vague declarations on confidence, and by their silence on the most important topic of all, left the house and the public to form their own conclusions. Such conduct, as far as respected the people, was at least not prudent in ministry, as it gave too much colour to those charges of deception and duplicity with which they are loaded by their adversaries.

On the same day that Mr. Grey's motions were agitated in the house of commons, a still stronger measure was attempted in the lords.

A series of resolutions immediately criminating the conduct of ministers, were introduced by earl Fitzwilliam. In a short speech, the noble earl complained that his majesty's ministers had disappointed the house and the public, by only laying before them a garbled and imperfect mass of information. That even the preliminary articles between Russia and the Porte were wanting. That without a proper communication of facts, it was impossible to form any judgment on the conclusion of the negotiation; however, nothing that he had yet learned; had served to convince him, that our interference was at all necessary, nor did the result shew it had been at all useful. He concluded with moving his reso-

lutions, which, he said, contained a plain narrative of facts, and which we insert entire, as explanatory of the sentiments of opposition upon those transactions.

" 1. That it appears to this house, that the empress of Russia (whose uncontroverted assertion to the Prussian and British ministers at Petersburg, that the courts of Berlin and London had acknowledged and avowed that she had been unjustly attacked and provoked,) communicated to his majesty's ministers by her minister at this court, the count de Woronzow, on the 26th of May, 1790, the following as the lowest terms on which she was ready to make peace with her enemies:—1st. The re-establishment of the treaties subsisting at the moment of the rupture.—2dly, The cession of the arid and uncultivated territory which extends as far as the Dniester (containing nothing of importance, except the single town of Oczakow), so as this river may hereafter serve as a frontier between Russia and Turkey.

" 2. That in answer to this communication, his majesty's ministers observed to the Russian minister, count Woronzow, that these propositions appear little calculated to conciliate the minds either of the king of Sweden, or of the Porte: the cession of Oczakow, with its territory, to Russia might meet with the greatest opposition on the part of the Turks, and consequently serve rather to prolong than terminate the calamities of war.

" 3. That in the month of August, 1790, the king of Sweden concluded a peace with the empress of Russia, without the intervention of Great Britain.

" 4. That after the peace had been concluded with the king of Sweden, and during the course of a successful campaign, the same propositions re-

specting terms of peace with the Porte, as had heretofore been offered by the empress of Russia, were again repeated by his Swedish majesty on different occasions, and particularly so on the 31st of October, 1790, accompanied on that occasion by a declaration, that the conditions of peace will always consist of the same terms on her part.

" 5. That these propositions having been invariable on the part of the empress of Russia, from the 26th of May, 1790, a message was delivered on the 28th of March last by his majesty's ministers, in his name, to the two houses of parliament.

[Here was inserted his majesty's message.]

" 6. That a great naval armament was immediately ordered to be equipped; that subsequent to this armament a negotiation was resumed by his majesty's minister at Petersburg on the 26th of May, 1791, for the express purpose of securing a defensive frontier to the Turkish empire, as a point of the highest importance to the security and independence of that power, and essential for the maintenance of the permanent tranquillity of Europe; which negotiation was concluded by adopting the proposition made by the empress on the 26th of May, 1790, to his majesty's ministers; and not only admitted as the basis of an accommodation, but it was farther declared on the part of his majesty's minister, that if the said terms were not accepted by the Porte within four months, the termination of the war should be left to the course of events.

" 7. That the negotiations of the British cabinet during a period of fourteen months from 26th May, 1790, backed and enforced by the weight and formidable authority of a great naval armament, equipped for

for that express purpose, had no effect with respect to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, unless that of retarding the conclusion of peace between that power and Russia, and of extending the calamities of war for two unnecessary and more destructive campaigns to the Turks; nor any with respect to the interests of Great Britain, but that of exposing the honour, hazarding the tranquillity of the kingdom, and of cramping the extent, and endangering the safety of its commerce, by an unnecessary and most expensive display of naval equipment, which had no beneficial object in view, and which obtained no national advantage whatever."

Lord Elgin, in reply to earl Fitzwilliam, contended for the importance of our foreign alliances, and recapitulated most of the arguments in favour of the armament, which had been employed by ministry in the preceding session. He asserted that the annihilation of any *one* power in Europe, and especially of one so important as that of the Turkish empire, must be fatal to that system which our ancestors had established, and which was essential to our own particular safety. He observed that it was evidently the system of Russia to pursue an acquisition of territory and of power, whenever an opportunity occurred. In compliance with the wishes of the people, he said, administration had relinquished a measure which he thought wise and expedient; but in both cases they deserved the approbation and not the censure of the community. His lordship moved the previous question.

The earl of Darnley, and lord Kinnoul, supported the motion of earl Fitzwilliam. They insisted principally upon the high rank which the British nation maintained in the scale of Europe; and insisted that there was a time when our mediation might

have been effectual; but, on the contrary, after an expensive armament, and an ill-timed, ill-conducted and protracted negotiation, they had obtained for the country nothing; and even all the points which they had professed to be their principal objects in the outset, were entirely relinquished.

Lord Hawkesbury agreed, that a *pacific system was that which was most calculated for the interest of Britain*. He, however, asserted that Russia had been, for a series of years, unfriendly to this country, and dwelt at length upon the ingratitude of that court to this country, to whose liberality she was entirely indebted for being a maritime power.

The earl of Guildford said, he was not in the house when his majesty delivered his speech from the throne, but when he was informed that it promised to lay *all* the papers relative to the negotiation before parliament, it gave him great satisfaction. In this he approved of the conduct of administration, and thought they were extremely well advised. In an early stage of the business the papers had been withheld, upon the ground of the negotiation being still pending. "Now, however, said his lordship, the case is altered, the negotiation is concluded, and your lordships have a title to be satisfied as to the vote which was given last year." His lordship then complained that ministry had trifled with the expectations of parliament, and the public; for instead of information, or any species of investigation, even of the papers on the table, a motion was made for the previous question; a very satisfactory mode of explanation surely!

A noble lord (Hawkesbury) had said, that ministers had done right in two respects, first, in arming to de-

mand Oczakow, and, secondly, to agree to a peace without having obtained it. This certainly was a good way of determining that ministers were right at all hazards. After the affair of Oczakow was however given up, an endeavour was made to rest the plea of the great advantages of the present treaty upon a subject which was not thought of in the first of the armament, viz. the free navigation of the Dniester. This reminded him of a tragedy, which had lately been produced at one of the theatres, where the principal hero of the piece did not make his appearance till the last scene of the last act. It was clear upon the whole that Russia had proposed her own terms, which we had refused; and, after all she had carried the point for herself, without our mediation.

The measure was defended on the general ground of confidence by lord Grenville. He allowed that Oczakow was an object of importance in the hands of Russia, but confessed that ministers had relinquished the war in compliance with popular opinion, and hoped that such would be ever the influence of public sentiment in this and every popular government.

Lord Stormont in a long speech arraigned the conduct of ministry, but advanced little new. He enlarged on the extreme cruelty of *impressing seamen*, when it appeared that the necessities of the state did not warrant this harsh and oppressive measure: and blamed ministers for not preferring negotiation to armament, when half an hour's conference might have settled the whole, including the free navigation of the Dniester, to which it does not appear that the empress ever had any objection.

The duke of Leeds defended his own conduct. He said, considering

how important a circumstance it was to involve his country in the calamities of war, in a very early stage of the business, while he held an important place in his majesty's council, he had taken every possible means to form a ripe and solid opinion. He did form an opinion, and he still believed that the system then adopted, if persisted in, would have been advantageous to Europe; and though he heard many rumours, yet he found no reason to satisfy his mind of the propriety or the wisdom of a departure from the system which had been formed, and on which the cabinet had committed itself in the eyes of Europe. When he found in his colleagues that disposition, respect to his country and his own feelings pointed out the only line he had to pursue, which was to resign. This he thought the proper course of honour, as he could not subscribe to that unexplained change of opinion which had taken place, nor give his countenance and support to the reverse of that system, which, on deliberate reasoning, he had adopted.

His grace agreed that, though there are occasions when liberal confidence must be given, yet, on a subject of so much consequence as an armed interference with a foreign power, the nation had an undoubted right to explicit information. *To involve the country in a war was a measure the most daring that the servants of the crown could resolve on. It was disturbing the commerce, imposing a long expence, and, by the act of impressing, violating, for a time, the constitution of the country.* The public, therefore, on all such occasions, had an undoubted right to explanation. On lord Fitzwilliam's motions being put, they were negatived by a majority of 82 to 19.

On the 27th of February a further effort was made by lord Perchester

to draw the censure of the house upon the conduct of ministry, with respect to the Russian armament; which he termed an expensive, useless, and unprovoked armament, the consequences of which proved it unnecessary, extravagant, and foolish in every respect. He thanked the duke of Leeds for his manly disinterestedness in fairly declaring to the house both the reasons which had induced him to approve of the armament, and also to resign his appointment. — He desired ministers to point out any one object we had gained, or any service we had done to our allies. They had put the country to a heavy expence, interrupted our commerce, and impressed our seamen, all without any fair or just grounds, and had rendered Great Britain ridiculous in the eyes of Europe. His lordship concluded by moving a vote of censure.

Lord Rawdon, after reprobating the ignominious silence of administration, next commented on their conduct to the house. They had first laid on the table papers, as containing all the documents which referred to the subject, but from which the keenest eye of perspicuity could never have inferred that there had been the smallest difference between the courts of London and Petersburg. He supposed ministers had recollected themselves afterwards, and had become aware that an armament would appear rather unaccounted for, if not a syllable expressive of dissatisfaction appeared in all this correspondence. The noble secretary, therefore, laid other papers on the table, which, by the dates, their lordships would perceive ought to have been inserted early in the series of documents laid before the house; still these papers suggest no pretext for plunging this country into a war. Of all the wretched policy of petty statesmen, his lordship

said, the most contemptible was that which threatened all and performed nothing; this he exemplified in the conduct of our cabinet both in the Spanish and the Russian dispute. He said their conduct was exactly that which the old government of France had pursued; they were prying into every cabinet in Europe; where they found amity and friendship they sowed discord, and a single spark of pique was quickly kindled to a flame. Of this policy what was the result to France? It enabled them to attain *petty* ends at ten times their value, and to cause temporary inconvenience to their neighbours at the expence of permanent misery to themselves.

The earl of Carlisle said, there were various grounds on which the house ought to vote for the motion; one in particular was the maintenance of that constitution which had received so much praise from ministers, since nothing could more effectually shake the constitution than *unnecessary wars, and additional taxes* to support them. Unnecessary wars were now hazarded at a time when *peace* was particularly the line of conduct we ought to pursue, when our old rival was no longer to be feared, and when an opportunity was afforded of what was so truly desirable,—the reduction of our establishments. His lordship, in reviewing the political objects of the armament, said, he believed they might all be resolved into the *endeavour to obtain for Prussia Dantzic and Thorn.*

Lord Grenville was surprized, after the pains he had so lately taken, to hear ministry so indiscriminately charged with preserving an obstinate silence on the subject of the armament. He then repeated the arguments which he had urged on the 20th, and which ministry had so frequently employed during the discus-

sion. He said that Russia had long been actuated by the most ambitious views, and was the only power truly formidable to the peace of Europe: that one of her objects was to be a maritime power, and that this country had thought it her interest to watch over, and prevent the attainment of, that object. He then entered into an historical detail of the conduct of Russia, and displayed her ambitious and formidable views from the time of Peter the Great. He dwelt particularly on the ungrateful and injurious conduct of that despotic power in the late war, when it was evidently her object to humble, if not to ruin, Great Britain. It was impossible, he said, for any man who considered these facts to maintain that it was of no consequence to this country, whether or not Russia was permitted to drive the Turks out of Europe, and to make herself formidable in the Mediterranean as a maritime power. In relinquishing the war, ministers had, however, complied with the sentiments of the people. The system undoubtedly for this country to pursue at present, was a *system of peace*, and to that his majesty's ministers were determined uniformly to adhere.

Lord Loughborough expressed an uncommon degree of satisfaction, at hearing that it is still the *disposition of this country* to pursue *peace measures*; this point was mentioned with becoming force by the noble secretary, and afforded him singular pleasure to hear. He remarked strongly on the point of ministers having so strangely varied from the original grounds of the war. At one time the object is Oczakow; at another it is to repress the rising power of Russia. At first Oczakow was represented as a place of the utmost consequence, and the empress must not have it; this was the lan-

guage of the address to the king when parliament voted the armament. This is told the empress.—She refuses it.—The ministers consent that she shall retain it, and then turn round, and tell the Turks, that Oczakow is of no importance. Either ministers were wrong in interfering and promising to secure the cession of Oczakow, or having made that promise, they were wrong in giving up the contest.

The motion was further supported upon the reasons already urged, by lords Stormont and Portchester.

It was opposed by the earl of Hardwicke, lord Darnley, the lord chancellor, and lord Hawkesbury, chiefly upon the principle, that without an armament, ministers could not have obtained terms equally good with those which had been obtained; and that when a considerable part of the people seem averse to hostilities, it is always the duty of ministers to attend to the voice of the public.

Earl Stanhope said he had been one of those, who most strenuously had opposed the war with Russia, but that on this occasion he should divide with ministers, because, in relinquishing the war they had attended to the voice of the people, for which they were deserving of commendation, and not of blame. He said he hoped he should hear no more such doctrines, as that the opinions of the people could only be collected in parliament. He knew that the opinions of the people might be taken out of doors individually, out of doors collectively. In order to preserve the equitable ballance of Europe, he urged strenuously an alliance with France; all that was excellent in their new constitution, he said, they had copied from ours. The name of Englishmen was adored in France, and the whole nation felt an enthusiastic attachment to this country.

country. It was the undoubted policy of Great Britain in every view, political and commercial, to cultivate the friendship of France; and he was happy to understand from his noble relation, that a uniform plan of pacific policy was to be pursued. It was on the continuance of peace, and on that only, that our national prosperity depended; and he hoped and trusted that no European power would be permitted to gain by any means an *ascendency* or *influence* over this country.

Lord Portchester's motion was negatived on a division. Contents, 19, non-contents, 98.

It was the 27th of February before the business of the armament was revived in the commons. On that day Mr. Whitbread called the attention of the house to the immediate consideration of the papers before them. He said he could not peruse these papers without feeling indignant, in observing the absurd and ridiculous purpose for which the money of his constituents had been extorted from them. He said he should not enlarge upon the advantages of our commerce with Russia; nor should he expend much time in noticing what had been said of the disservices rendered us by that power, particularly in the instance of the armed neutrality. It must be remembered that Prussia was the contriver of that measure; it would therefore have been only fair to have punished Prussia as a principal, before we proceeded to punish Russia as an accomplice.

In the debates of the preceding session, ministers had involved themselves in political obscurity; gentlemen in opposition were told, that they had no authority to argue from, and that their speculations did not deserve an answer. Now, however from the documents on the table,

it appeared, that the origin of the war was a desire on the part of the Turks to wrest the Crimea from the dominion of Russia. It was therefore a war of injustice and aggression on the part of the Porte, of defence on the part of Russia. In December, 1789, it appeared, that the empress had requested the interference of Great Britain, to effect a peace upon the terms, that she should extend her frontier to the Dniester, and that the provinces of Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia should be created an independent principality under a christian prince. The court of St. James, in answer, declare the impossibility of attempting to mediate upon these terms. In May, 1790, however, the empress came forward with terms, and upon these said terms peace was actually made in December, 1791. Her propositions are, that her former treaties should be confirmed; and that she should be put into possession of Oczakow and the whole territory from the Bog to the Dniester. To these terms, our uniform answer was, that no attention would be paid to any terms, not resting upon the basis of a *status quo*.

Mr. Whitbread said that it was the most self-evident of all propositions, that no arrangement, respecting Oczakow, could, in any way, affect the political or commercial interests of Great Britain. We exported nothing thither, we imported nothing from it; nor could any British merchant discover the smallest operation in commerce from it, whether it was in the hands of Russia, or of the Turks. The cause of dispute, therefore, could not be the avowed cause; and the fact must be, that some *secret* negotiation had taken place; and that the king of Prussia wished to stipulate, that if the empress would suffer him to take possession

sion of *Thorne* and *Dantzick*, he would not object to her taking *Oczakow* and its district.

Mr. Whitbread proceeded to remark, that there was no abatement of the strict *status quo*, till after we had arms in our hands to enforce the terms we had proposed. At length came the humiliating memorial, dated June 29, 1791, which was at once, and for no apparent cause, to concede all that we had negotiated, threatened, and armed to maintain. He made several very severe observations on this paper; and contended, that from the moment Mr. Falkner went out, we ought to have disarmed, because at that moment we had determined on unconditional submission. Mr. W. animadverted strongly on the shocking cruelty attached to these frequent armaments in the *impressing* of *seamen*. He said it was the common subterfuge to resort to the flourishing state of the public funds; in answer to this, he would observe, that the pulse was a good, but not infallible criterion of the health of the frame. In the body politic, as well as in the natural body, artifice or incentive might accelerate the circulation. He lamented the great extension of the national debt, which (among others) had produced this alarming evil, that it had converted us into a nation of stock jobbers. Mr. W. concluded by moving a resolution, importing, that *Oczakow* was not an object of sufficient importance, to justify the armed interference of this country.

Col. Macleod seconded the motion, and lamented with shame, sorrow, and contrition, that he had supported the minister in the last session, through all the questions of confidence. He saw his error too late, and confessed in strong terms the danger of giving confidence to ministers.

The right hon. R. B. Jenkinson, in his maiden speech, opposed the motion by an elaborate display of what appeared to him, the general interest of this country, with respect to the balance of Europe. France he said, was now in so deplorable a situation that no change of circumstances could render her a formidable rival, and therefore, the only power on the continent to be dreaded, was *Russia*, and if that insatiable power could have demolished or materially weakened the empire of the Turks, the balance of Europe must have been totally destroyed. The only power which was capable of repelling the incroaching force of *Russia* was that of *Prussia*; that power we had put in motion by our alliance. Mr. J. next proceeded to refute the assertion that the war was originally an aggression on the part of the Turks; and took a review of the conduct of the empress, in obtaining the Crimea, in promoting rebellion in Egypt, in laying claim to *Bessarabia*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, &c. &c. By the interposition of England and *Prussia* he asserted the status quo had been obtained in favour of the Porte from Austria, and *Russia* had been induced to lower her claims. He professed himself to be one of those, who thought that the public opinion out of the house ought to be attended to. He could not think lightly of the free navigation of the *Dniester*. *Poland* was always an object of the first importance in the balance of Europe, and since her revolution was likely to become still more so, particularly as her commerce was likely to be extended.

He thanked God the present times were not favourable to wars of ambition and conquest; they were now reprobated throughout Europe; but in England, above all other countries,

it was right they should be reprobated, for on peace our greatness as a nation depended, the interests of the country entirely rested on permanent peace.

The motion was also opposed by Mr. Pybus, Mr. J. T. Stanley, sir James Murray, and Mr. Grant; and was supported by Mr. St. John and Mr. Grey.

In the course of his speech Mr. Grey observed, that some very good reasons ought always to be given for disturbing the trade of the country, whenever that was the case. He said that since the affair of Holland, the minister had become intoxicated with power, and fancied that he could parcel out kingdoms, and conduct negociations with the same ease that he laid on taxes, or supplied the want of argument by the division of majorities in that house. His friends flattered him in that belief, and longed for war, that he might distinguish his talents in conducting the vessel of the commonwealth through all the thunder of cannon with the same ease that he conducted it in the gentle tide of peace. Nay the hon. gentleman himself seemed as much delighted with the idea himself, as Don Quixotte with books of chivalry, and amused himself with curvetting in this court, prancing in that, menacing here, vaunting there; in a word, he "out-Heroded Herod."

After dwelling upon this point, Mr. Grey asked, what had been our political conduct towards other states? Not that bold, candid and manly mode of behaviour, which our character demanded; but instead of that, our cabinet affected a species of low intrigue and petty policy, which

formerly the English had reprobated and disdained: and after all he added, it must be confessed that with all their resources in this business both Great Britain and Prussia had been humbled. As a further proof of the contemptible and odious light in which the British ministry was held even by our allies the Turks, those allies whom we had promised to support and afterwards betrayed, Mr. Grey read to the house the grand vizier's answer to sir Robert Ainslie, our ambassador at Constantinople, which as a diplomatic curiosity we are tempted to insert entire*.

"The grand signior wars for himself, and for himself makes peace—he can trust his own slaves, servants and subjects—he knows their faith, has experienced their virtue, and can rely upon their fidelity. A virtue long since banished your corner of Europe. If all other christians tell truth, no reluctance is to be had on England, she buys and sells all mankind. The Ottomans have no connexion with your king; nor your country—we never sought for your advice, your interference or friendship; we have no minister, no agency, no correspondence with you; for what reason offer ye then to mediate for us with Russia? why seek ye to serve an empire of infidels, as ye call us Musselmans? We want not your friendship, aid, or mediation. Your vizier, of whom you speak so highly, must have some project of deception in view, some oppressive scheme to amuse your nation whom we are told are credulous, servile, and adorers only of money. Avarice, if we are well informed, is your

* It is obvious that we cannot pledge ourselves for the authenticity of this paper, and therefore we have not inserted it among our public papers. It is proper however to observe, that Mr. Grey, who read it as a part of his speech, declared, that he believed it to be authentic. It was on the other hand faintly denied by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, who declared that no such paper had ever come to their hands. Ed.

chief characteristic—you would sell and buy your God—Money is your Deity—and all things is commerce with your ministry, with your nation.—Come ye then to sell us to Russia? No, let us bargain for ourselves: When fate has spun out the thread of our good fortune we must yield; what has been decreed by God and the Prophet of men must and will come to pass. We Ottomans know no finesse.—Duplicity and cunning are your christian morals. We are not ashamed to be honest, downright, plain and faithful in our state maxims. If we fail in war, we submit to the will of heaven, decreed from the beginning. We have long lived in splendor the first power on earth, and we glory in having triumphed for ages over christian infidelity and depravity, mixed with all sorts of vice, and hypocrisy.—We adore the God of nature, and believe in Mahomet.—You neither believe in the God you pretend to worship, nor in his Son, whom you call both your God and your Prophet. What reliance can there be upon so sacrilegious a race? Truth you banish, as you do virtue, from all your conduct and actions with each other—read the catalogue of the complaints, manifestoes, declarations and remonstrances of all the christian kings, monarchs and emperors, who have lived and warred with each other—you will find them all equally blasphemous, equally perfidious, equally cruel, equally unjust and faithless to their engagements. Did the Turk, ever forfeit his promise, word, or honour? Never! Did ever a christian power keep an engagement but while it suited his own avarice or ambition? No! How then do you think we are to trust you, a nation at this moment, if you told truth, ruled by a perfidious administration, without one grain of

virtue to guide the machine of state? The grand signior has no public intercourse with your court—he wants none—he wishes for none. If you wish to remain here either as a spy, or, as you term yourself, an ambassador for your court, you may live with those of other christian nations, while you demean yourself with propriety; but we want neither your aid by sea or land, nor your council or mediation. I have no order to thank you for your offer, because it is by the divan deemed officious; nor have I any command to thank you for the offer of your naval assistance, because it is what the Porte never dreamed of admitting into our seas. What you have to do with Russia we neither know nor care, our concerns with that court we mean to finish as suits ourselves, and the maxims of our laws and state policy. If you are not the most profligate christian nation, as you are charged to be, you are undoubtedly the boldest in presumption and effrontery, in offering to bring such a power as Russia to terms; such as you and some other trivial christians united fancy yourselves equal to command—we know better, and therefore this effrontery of yours amounts rather to audacity, and to an imbecile dictation, which must render your councils mean and contemptible, and your advice abroad unworthy of wisdom, or attention from any power, much less the regard of the Porte, which on all occasions wherein its ministers had listened to you, have experienced evil, either in your designs or in your ignorance—His sublime highness cannot be too much upon his guard against the attempts and presumption of a nation so perfidious to the interests of its subjects (or colonists)—but it is the usual way of christian princes to sell and cede over their

their subjects to each other for money. Every peace made amongst you, as we are well informed, is made favourable to the king that best bribes. The Ottoman ministry have too long and too often given ear to European councils, and as often as they so did, they either were betrayed, sold, or deceived—away then with your interference for the Porte with Russia.

“It has been your aim to embroil all mankind, and thereafter to profit by your perfidy. We ask not, want not, nor desire your commerce, because our merchants have been sacrificed to your double dealings—you have no religion but gain—avarice is your only God, and the christian faith you profess but a mask for your hypocrisy—we will hear no more from you, therefore you are commanded to make no reply.”

Mr. Wyndham expressed his approbation of the motion, and his disapprobation of the whole conduct of ministers. While France, he observed, was in a situation which entirely freed us from apprehension on her account, while every thing around us was peaceable, and a war only carrying on in a remote corner of Europe, so little interesting, that many of the people of this country did not even know of it, and those who did were looking on as unconcerned spectators, the scene was instantly shifted as by the prompter's whistle, and the stage filled with armed men; and they were told that the situation they had been contemplating might immediately become their own—*De te fabula narratur*; on this ground Mr. W. proceeded to ridicule our interference in a business in which he asserted we could have no interest whatever. That our armament was despised in Russia, Mr. W. added, was evident, since it had not extorted a single concession; and

that the *causes* of it were insufficient in the eyes of other powers, appeared from the alarm it had excited in France; the ostensible cause being absurd, the *secret cause* was naturally suspected.

For this cause we had inhumanly dragged our seamen by force from their families and their employments, a subject to which he trusted the house would turn its attention, for the *mode of pressing bore the marks and characters of a despotic and barbarous government*.—For this cause we were *selling the very morals of the people by a lottery*. If therefore this expence had been unnecessarily incurred, the minister was not entitled to their confidence; if they refused to enquire into it, they were not entitled to the confidence of their constituents.

Mr. Wyndham was forcibly supported by Mr. Sheridan, who among a number of pointed observations, remarked, that if any friends were to undertake to support the minister by argument upon this occasion, he did not see clearly, in what manner they were to plead his cause. If they maintained that Oczakow was of no consequence, they could not answer his exposing the country to the hazard of a war on account of it. If they maintained that it was of consequence to justify an armament, they could not answer his giving it up. If they said he yielded to the opinion of the house, they must be told that the majority of the house was with him; if they were to alledge that he yielded to the opinion of the public, the public opinion was against his arming.

An hon. gentleman early in the debate had set forth in very strong terms, the truly formidable power, and the insatiable ambition of Russia. If, therefore, this part of the ministers defence was true, he might live to

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execrate his own folly in neglecting to oppose the dangerous ambition of Russia, after equipping an armament for that purpose. If his own majority forgave him, the minority readily might. To the latter he had bowed as the organs of the public voice; to the former he had said in deeds more forcible than words, "I know what stuff my majority is made of, and how little its voice can be called the voice of the public."

Double dealing Mr. Sheridan particularly censured in the political transactions of free states. It might suit the corrupt views of a despotic monarch, and in this respect the mere clerks of despotism might be an over-match for the legislators of a free government. The character of our constitution was manly, frank and undisguised. He loved to see a minister assimilate his character to that of the constitution. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) had unguardedly talked much of the duplicity and want of faith in the house of Austria. To this Mr. S. observed, that he had called it unguarded, because he should not wonder, if in a few months we should court that very power, of whom ministers and their friends spoke at present so very disrespectfully.

After a few words from Mr. Dundas, Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, which chiefly respected the propriety of an adjournment, it was agreed to adjourn the question.

The debate on Thursday, March 1st, was opened in rather an irregular manner, but with some observations of peculiar force and truth from Mr. Martin. He said he had always been against the Russian armament, because he did not understand voting away the money of his constituents on an uncertainty. In private life, and in public business, wherever there was much *secrecy*, he was always apt to suspect much *treachery*

and *fraud*. He declared he would rather vote with the minister than against him, but as he had heard no good reason for withholding papers, he should vote for Mr. Whitbread's motion.

Mr. Francis stated, that he had formed his opinion from the papers on the table, which though they had not developed the whole, had yet suffered some discoveries to escape, which he presumed, were not intended. Upon these he would ground a few questions, which if the ministers could answer, he would not only withdraw his support from the vote of censure, but would unite in a vote of cordial approbation. He then asked, "Whether this was an English or a *Prussian* quarrel?" When he first came into life, and had an opportunity to observe public transactions, he affirmed that the prevailing principle, the favourite language, not only at court, but throughout the kingdom, was to *reprobate German alliances*, and to withdraw from continental connexions of every kind. He said this was the popular language at his majesty's accession to the throne, though at present he was aware that it might subject him to the risk of having his house pulled down as an enemy to church and king. He said the national character was altered; in the actual temper of the country, he saw nothing like an appropriated system. We stick to nothing. We are not properly a nation of merchants, nor of farmers, nor of manufactures, nor of soldiers. A gentleman had characterized us more properly, "a nation of stock-jobbers."

The next question he desired to know, was, that "giving to the speculation concerning the balance of Europe, all its due weight, how came it to be *our* specific interest rather than that of the continental states

states of Europe to support this balance?"

In the last place, he called upon the right hon. gentlemen to inform the house, "why the commercial treaty with Russia, which expired in 1786, was not renewed?" He was authorized by one of the first commercial houses in the city, to say that the causes which prevented the renewal of the treaty might have been removed. That in the course of last winter, Russia had offered to give up her objects on the subject of the conveyance of naval stores in neutral bottoms. This favourable opportunity was, however, thrown away, and the trade sacrificed to a mere fancy.

Mr. Fox, when he rose upon this question, adverted to a challenge, which had been thrown out to him in the course of the conversation of the preceding evening by Mr. Dundas, to deliver his sentiments on this question. He considered the minister's reserving his defence, till every person in opposition had been heard, as a stratagem to screen himself from a reply; but added, that as the right hon. gentleman seemed determined to seize all advantages, so he must confess, that never man appeared to stand so much in need of every advantage. Much matter, Mr. Fox observed, foreign to the purpose, had been mixed in the debate, and particularly, what had been said respecting the balance of Europe. He said the intricate system of balances and counter-balances, as laid down by Mr. Jenkinson, might serve to amuse himself, but was too remote for our policy, and in some parts, according to his own argument, might prove defective, and if it fails in one of its possibilities it fails in all, as is ever the fate of systems so nicely constructed.

Mr. Fox dwelt very strongly on the inconsistency of making Oczakow the very first object of negotiation, and then unaccountably abandoning it. "Oczakow, said he, was every thing by itself; but when ministers added to Oczakow the honour of England, it became nothing. Oczakow and honour weighed nothing in the scale. Honour is in their political arithmetic a *minus* quality, to be subtracted from the value of Oczakow."

On the subject of the minister's attending to the public opinion in opposition to the majority of that house, Mr. Fox was no less forcible. He said it appeared as if the majority of that house was the only body which the minister thought not worth consulting. He might say to them, "I travelled to Norwich, to York, Manchester, and Wakefield for opinions. I listened to the minority, I looked to lord Stormont, to the earl of Guildford; but as to you, my trusty friends, I did not look to you. I had other business for you! It is not your office to give opinions; your business is to confide!" After all, Mr. Fox doubted, whether ministers acted from deference to the opinion of the public, or to any opinion; and he believed, that an hon. gentleman, Mr. Dundas, in his frank way, had confessed the truth. "We certainly, said that hon. gentleman, do not know that the public opinion was against us; we only know that a great party in this country was against us, and therefore, we apprehended, that though one campaign might have been got through, at the beginning of next session they would have interrupted us in procuring the supplies;" "and here (continued Mr. Fox) let me pause and thank the hon. gentleman for the praise which he gives to the gentlemen."

gentlemen on this side the house. Let me indulge the satisfaction of reflecting, that though we have not the emoluments of office—not the patronage of power—yet we are not excluded from great influence on the measures of government.”

It would infinitely exceed our limits to follow Mr. Fox through the vast variety of matter which he comprehended, and the great ability he displayed in this incomparable oration. In speaking of the causes of the armament, “What, said Mr. Fox, was the right claimed by the right hon. gentlemen to enter into this dispute? I will answer, the right of a proud man to play a lofty part. France had gone off the stage, and now he resolved to boast and vapour, and play his antic tricks and gestures on the same theatre.” In enumerating the evils of frequent armaments, he dwelt with peculiar pathos on the cruelty of impressing seamen. “I must lament, said he, in common with every feeling mind, that unnecessary barbarity, which dragged them from their houses, deprived them of their liberty, and tore them from the industrious exercise of those modes of life by which they earned support for their families, wantonly, cruelly, and without pretext.”

Towards the close of the speech, Mr. Fox treated of the effects of our interference. “Half a million of money (said Mr. Fox) is spent, the people alarmed and interrupted in their proper pursuits by the apprehension of a war, and for what? for the restoration of Oczakow? No; Oczakow is not restored. To save the Turks from being too much humbled? No; they are now in a worse situation than they would have been had we never armed at all. If Russia had persevered in that system of encroachment of which she is ac-

cused, we could, as I observed before, then have assisted them unembarrassed. We are now tied down by treaties and fettered by stipulations; we have even guaranteed to Russia what we before said it would be unsafe for the Turks to yield, and dangerous to the peace of Europe for Russia to possess. This is what the public has got by the armament. What then was the private motive?

*Scilicet, ut Turno contingat regia
conjug,*

*Nos, animæ viles, inhumata in-
festaque turba,*

Sternamur campis —

“The minister gained, or thought he was to gain, an excuse for his rashness and misconduct; and to purchase this excuse, was the public money and the public quiet wantonly sacrificed. There are some effects, which, to combine, with their causes, is almost sufficient to drive men mad! That the pride, the folly, the presumption of a single person, shall be able to involve a whole people in wretchedness and disgrace, is more than philosophy can teach mortal patience to endure. Here are the true weapons of the enemies of our constitution! Here may we search for the source of those seditious writings, meant either to weaken our attachment to the constitution; by depreciating its value, or that loudly tell us we have no constitution at all. We may blame, we may reprobate such doctrines; but while we furnish those who circulate them with arguments such as these; while the example of this day shews us to what degree the fact is true, we must not wonder if the purposes they are meant to answer be but too successful.

“They argue, that a constitution cannot be right where such things
are

are possible, much less so when they are practised without punishment. This, sir, is a serious reflection to every man who loves the constitution of England. Against the vain theories of men, who project fundamental alterations upon grounds of mere speculative objection, I can easily defend it; but when they recur to these facts, and shew me how we may be doomed to all the horrors of war, by the caprice of an individual, who will not even condescend to explain his reasons, I can only fly to this house, and exhort you to rouse from your lethargy of confidence, into the active mistrust and vigilant control which is your duty and your office."

The chancellor of the exchequer rested his exculpation chiefly on the defence which had been made for him by Mr. Jenkinson on the preceding day. He observed that the balance of power was a question in which both sides of the house agreed in principle, and only differed as to degree. The next question then was, whether the situation of the Turkish empire, was such, as to be affected in any great degree by the projects of the imperial courts? and if so, whether this would have any effect upon the balance of Europe? Whether that kingdom was indebted to this for any, and what degree of intervention in its favour? &c.

With regard to the first of these questions, he believed it would be found, that from the earliest periods of the Turkish empire, down to the present, it had been held essential to the balance of Europe. Such was the opinion of Montesquieu, nor has it ever been denied by any author of any authority whatever.

If this be true in general, how much more so must it be of the Turkish empire, when considered as threatened by the ascendancy of

such a power as Russia, the progress of which was so alarmingly great and rapid, and the ambition of which was boundless.

Mr. Pitt agreed with gentlemen in opposition, that the actual attack was commenced by the Turks. But he asserted, that the causes of offence were all on the part of Russia. There was, he said, a regular system on the part of Russia, of encroachment on the Turks; and, without our interference, all the ambitious views of the empress would have been accomplished. Was the compelling her to relinquish Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia, nothing? These she originally stipulated should be ceded to her instead of Oczakow; and, because the other object was not obtained, are the ministers to be censured?

The gentlemen on the opposite side, he observed, had laid much stress on a question, which they had repeatedly put. Why did we not disarm as soon as we knew the terms upon which Russia would conclude a peace with the Porte? To this he replied, that no person acquainted in any degree with the actual situation of Europe at the time, could be ignorant that there were other reasons which ought to claim attention, and which to have overlooked, would have been a failure of duty, and a total disregard to the interests of the country.

On the division, there appeared for Mr. Whitbread's motion, Ayes, 116. Noes, 244.

The occasion which produced these debates, will probably appear of small importance in the eyes of posterity, and indeed, is already almost forgotten. There is, however, one point of view in which these proceedings must be interesting, and in which, they may be permanently instructive, as they will serve better than

than almost any transaction in history, to illustrate all that has ever been urged on the versatility of statesmen and politicians.

The points in which both parties were decidedly agreed, and to which they pledged their characters in these debates, were, 1st, That *war* is the evil above all others to be deprecated, and to be avoided, if possible, on every occasion. 2dly, That the prosperity of Great Britain depends altogether on the continuance of peace; its manufactures, its commerce, its revenue, even the personal liberty of a large portion of its subjects, all must be materially injured, and the public credit affected by the hazard of a war. 3dly, That war ought never to be risked till every means of negotiation has failed, and that even great concessions are lawful to preserve the inestimable blessings of peace. 4thly, That whatever might be thought of the value of Oczakow, if there appeared any probability of the balance of Europe being destroyed by the *annihilation* of any considerable state, by partition or conquest, it afforded the

fairest cause of alarm to all the powers of Europe. 5th, That France since its revolution was a power no longer to be dreaded. 6th, That Russia is the power which is most formidable to the peace of Europe, the power whose views ought to be most narrowly, and most vigilantly watched, and whose insatiable ambition ought most carefully to be restrained.

Upon these points the ministers in particular *rested their defence*, nor are we disposed to dispute the ground, as we are rather inclined to believe, that they are principles to which every sound politician will readily subscribe. It is not incumbent upon us in this place to anticipate the conduct of ministry. Let it suffice, that the debates on the Russian armament will serve as an infallible criterion of their consistency and principle, a criterion which with their own mouths they have established, and to which the public in judging of their conduct, will consequently have the fullest right to appeal.

CHAP. II.

Treaty between England and Prussia, relative to the Marriage of the Duke of York with the Princess Frederica Charlotte, &c. Debates on this Treaty—Statement of the Revenue—Lotteries—Petition against them—Debates on the Subject—Debates on the Slave Trade—Debates in the House of Lords on this Subject.

WHILE the Russian armament was still in agitation before the house, Mr. Pitt, on the 17th of February, presented a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia on the marriage of his royal highness the duke of York, with the princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharine, of Prussia.

The substance of which is as follows:

1st. The king of Prussia gives to the princess his daughter, one hundred thousand crowns, viz. 40,000 as a portion, and 60,000 as paraphernalia; and in case the princess dies before her husband, both these sums are to revert to the king of Prussia and his successors.

Their

2d. Their royal highnesses, and the king of Great Britain, as well in his own name, as for his son the duke of York, renounce for ever all right of inheritance to the crown and dominions of Prussia.

3d. The duke of York makes a present to her royal highness of 6,000*l.* on the day of marriage, with interest from Sept. 1791.

4th. The duke of York agrees to pay to her royal highness, for pin money, the sum of 4,000*l.* per annum, of which her royal highness is to have the sole disposal.

5th. The king of Great Britain pays a counter portion of one hundred thousand crowns; and engages that in case of the death of his royal highness, the annual sum of 8,000*l.* with a suitable residence and suitable establishment, shall be provided for the princess.

To render still plainer the terms of the above treaty, we shall recapitulate in figures; and set down under distinct heads, the sum which each nation respectively pays in consequence of the marriage, which will have this further advantage, that it will render plainer to our readers some parts of the debate, which succeeded on the establishment of his royal highness the duke of York:

Prussia pays as a portion to her royal highness, 40,000 crowns, equivalent to *£*:10,000

As paraphernalia 12,000
60,000 crowns —
TOTAL of what PRUSSIA pays *£*:22,000

GREAT BRITAIN
pays a counter portion
of 100,000 crowns or 22,000
A bridal present to
her royal highness 6,000

£:28,000

Pin money, 4,000*l.*
per annum, the
sole disposal in
her royal high-
ness estimated at
only ten years
purchase —

£:28,000

40,000

This, independant of
a large establish-
ment settled on
the duke —

£:68,000

But in case the duke
of York dies be-
fore her royal
highness, then
Great Britain
pays, counter por-
tion as before —

22,000

Nuptial present —
Jointure of 8,000*l.*
per annum, ex-
clusive of resi-
dence and estab-
lishment, ten
years purchase —

6,000

80,000

£:108,000

The portion of 22,000*l.* which Prussia pays, reverts back to Prussia on the death of her royal highness, but there is not any mention of the counter-portion returning to Great Britain in case of the same event.

The duke of York, his descend-
ants, and the royal family of Eng-
land, it is further to be observed,
renounce entirely all pretensions to
the Prussian succession.

On the 7th of March, on the
motion of Mr. chancellor Pitt, the
house of commons resolved itself in-
to a committee to take into consider-
ation an establishment for their royal
highnesses the duke and dutchess of
York.

The subject was opened by Mr.
Pitt, who observed that the satis-
faction which the house and the pub-
lic had expressed on the marriage of
their

their royal highnesses, rendered it unnecessary to trouble them with any observations on that topic. The subject now before the house was to make a suitable provision for their royal highnesses. The way in which he proposed this should be accomplished, would be, that *eighteen thousand* a year should be allowed them out of the consolidated fund; in addition to which, it was in contemplation that a further sum of *seven thousand* a year should be allowed out of the Irish revenue. Lastly, he should propose, that in the event of her royal highness surviving the duke, the jointure of eight thousand a year to her royal highness should be also payable out of the *consolidated* fund. Mr. Pitt concluded with a motion to this effect.

Mr. Fox declared, it was not his intention to move any amendment upon this motion, but he would only venture to throw out one or two observations for the general consideration of parliament, in which he should speak of the royal family as princes of this country, of whom he knew no more than of those who were princes one hundred years ago. His first observation was, that it was the interest of this country to be governed by a monarchy, and by such a monarchy as should always be maintained with suitable dignity.

Another consideration was, that the princes of the blood in this country, especially when they became in a more distant relation to the crown, were placed in a very hard state indeed, when they were to depend entirely for support upon the will of the crown, and be thus totally under its direction.

With respect to the provision for the princes of the blood, the first question, when application was made to parliament, would naturally be—
“Is the civil list adequate to the

purpose of supporting them?” He presumed it was not, or they would not hear of any motion of this kind. If the civil list therefore was not adequate to these purposes, and the whole were to remain under the controul of his majesty, the civil list ought to be augmented. But on the whole, he hoped that the time would soon arrive when some provision for these things should be made upon a sound and rational principle. That the public might see the whole amount of the expence they were to be at on account of the whole family, and that when an annuity was granted it should be correspondent with a splendid establishment.

Sir James Johnstone thought the son ought to be dependent on the father. He mentioned the bishopric of Osnaburgh, and pointedly asked, if that was worth nothing?

Mr. Fox replied that it was totally unusual to consider any thing belonging to princes out of the kingdom. Not a word was ever said of his majesty's revenue from Hanover; it was not even thought of in the discussion of his majesty's revenue, on his different applications to parliament for support.

Mr. Burdon thought the sum proposed was more than the country could afford, and more than was necessary for his royal highness to expend. He had therefore no hesitation in saying, he should have considered 10,000*l.* a sufficient sum.

Mr. W. Smith said he had not the smallest doubt, that, was the money to come out of the pockets of gentlemen in that house, there would not be a single voice against it; but he begged the committee to recollect that it was the money of their constituents they were voting away.

Mr. M. Montague said it was of importance to consider, whether this was merely a provision for the duke
of

of York, or whether it was a principle, that all the branches of the royal family might expect, under similar circumstances, the same allowance? if this principle was to be extended, he certainly disapproved of it.

Sir W. Dolben thought the sum was too large, and if the other branches of the family were to have each as much, their allowance of 37,000*l.* per annum, would be much greater than the prince of Wales's. As to Osnaburgh, he did not think it ought to be put entirely out of the question, as he understood his royal highness received upwards of 12,000*l.* per annum from it.

Sir James Johnson said, the income from Osnaburgh was a very material consideration; from the best information he could obtain, it produced 35,000*l.* per annum.

Mr. J. T. Stanley requested the house would consider how strongly the country called for economy in the distribution of public money. A right hon. gentleman had said the English nation should be generous and liberal. Liberal he did think they would be, though so large a sum as that proposed should not be given. It should be considered what a considerable income a grant of 10,000*l.* a year only, instead of 18,000*l.* would make when added to the 12,000*l.* per annum already allowed to the duke, and to what it was probable would be granted to him from the Irish parliament, and the revenue derived from Osnaburgh. We had no right, it was true, to demand an account to be laid on the table of such sums as were annually received from that place; but surely it was not unreasonable that the house should pay some attention to it.

After much desultory conversation of the same kind, and which contained no new ideas, the resolutions passed the house, by which these kingdoms were pledged to an allowance

of THIRTY SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS per annum to their royal highnesses. Under this state of things therefore the allowance from the two nations will stand as follows:

Prussia pays, portion and paraphernalia	100,000
crowns or - -	<u>£.22,000</u>

Great Britain pays counter portion as before	- - -	22,000
Nuptial gift as before		6,000
Annuity to their royal highnesses	37,000 <i>l.</i> per annum, at fifteen years purchase	- - 555,000

£.583,000

The last object to which his majesty's speech at the opening of the session directed the attention of parliament was the state of the public revenue and expenditure; on the 17th of February, therefore, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee to take into consideration this important subject, and the debate was opened as usual by the chancellor of the exchequer.

Adverting to the paragraph in his majesty's speech which related to the finances of the country, Mr. Pitt said, it had already announced the most welcome information that could have been received. It held out to them, that, after all the difficulties they had experienced, the happy period was at length arrived, when they were enabled, with safety to the country, to diminish in some degree the burdens of the people. On the first day of the session he had taken an opportunity of stating the general result of the finances of the country, which he would then proceed more minutely to detail. In entering upon a field at once so in-

teresting and so extensive, it would be in some degree his duty to trespass on the time of the committee. He said, it afforded him particular pleasure, that in consequence of the frequent discussion of the subject which had passed of late years within those walls, the intricacy and mystery of finance no longer existed. The mode that he should adopt at present was, first to state the permanent income compared with the permanent expenditure; secondly, how the surplus might be applied; thirdly, how the house might vary the mode of application on the principles already adopted; and lastly, the reasons on which they might found a probable opinion of the permanence of the present surplus.

The actual produce of the permanent taxes, from 5th January, 1791, to 5th January, 1792, was - £.14,132,000

The actual produce of the land and malt - 2,558,000

In the provision for the expence of the Spanish armament, there was a regulation in the stamp duties, intended to be permanent, which produced about - 40,000

These three sums, taken together, made } 16,730,000

The year before, deducting the produce of the fifty-third week, which occurring once in six years, the fair mode of estimate was to divide it into six parts, and add one of these parts to the receipt of each year, the amount of the above taxes was - £.16,417,000

On an average of two years, it was - 16,615,000

Of three years - 16,418,000

Of four years - 16,212,000

So that the amount of last year exceeded the average of four years by about - 500,000

The committee would therefore see, that in founding his estimate of the future permanent income on the average of four years, he was not reckoning too sanguinely on the future prosperity of the revenue; and that he was careful, as he ought to be, not to hold out a prospect of relief from public burdens, which was likely to end in public delusion.

He came next to compare this sum with the annual permanent expence, as estimated by the revenue committee of last years, with some additions and deductions, each of which he should distinctly mention.

The permanent expence, by the estimate of the committee, was - £.15,969,000

To this was to be added an additional charge on the sinking fund, for the duke of Clarence, of - 12,000

For the establishment of Upper Canada - 12,000

Proposed establishment of the duke of York - 18,000

Total - £.16,011,000

From this was to be taken the following reductions in the several articles of expenditure, including the Hessian subsidy, which being now expired, his majesty's ministers were not of opinion that the circumstances of the country required its renewal. In the expence of the

navy - £.104,000

Of the dock yards - 10,000

Of the army - 50,000

Hessian subsidy - 36,000

Total - £.200,000

All

All the above savings would not take place in the first part of the present year, but they would in the course of it, and might be considered as permanent. Deducting the amount from the estimate of the committee, with the additions as above, the future permanent expenditure would be 15,811,000*l*. Thus the future permanent income, estimated on an average of four years, exceeded the permanent expence, including the million appropriated to the gradual reduction of the debt, by 401,000*l*. which sum might be applied in aid of the million for reducing the debt, to the immediate relief of public burdens, or perhaps more wisely divided between both.

Such was the prospect for future years. Let the account for the present year be next examined. The house had voted supplies:

Navy—Seamen	£.832,000
Ordinary	672,000
Extraordinary	350,000
Reduction of debt to cover increase by the Russian armament	131,000
Total	1,985,000
Army—Ordinary	1,474,000
Extraordinary	277,000
Troops in India	63,000
Total	1,814,000

The expence of the troops in India was money advanced for, and to be repaid by, the India company.

Miscellaneous services, including 6,000*l*. for the expence of Mr. Hastings's trial, and a sum, he trusted, would be granted to the settlers removed from the Musquito shore, 145,000*l*. deficiency of grants for last year, including 121,000*l*. repaid of the bank loan, and lessened by about 10,000*l*. the excess of the

ways and means above the estimate 436,000*l*. deficiency of land and malt 350,000*l*. then adding 100,000*l*. for the produce of the new duty on malt, if the house should think proper to repeal it, and 400,000*l*. in addition to the sum for reducing the public debt, and the whole amount of the supply would be 5,654,000*l*.

In this account he had said nothing of the loyalist's debentures, because they were provided for by the lottery; nor of the floating exchequer bills, which being annually renewed, would stand equal on both sides.

To provide for this supply, the ways and means were,

Land and malt . . . £.2,750,000

The consolidated fund for three quarters, from 5th April, 1791, to 5th January, 1792, had produced a sum equal to what it was taken at for four quarters, and estimating the fourth quarter on an average of four years, it would furnish to the ways and means.

The surplus of the consolidated fund on the 5th January, 1792, was 155,000*l*.

The produce on estimate from 5th April, 1792, to 5th April, 1793, after repealing certain taxes, 2,300,000*l*.

These three made a total of ways and means of 5,691,000*l*. exceeding the surplus by about 37,000*l*.

The resources of the present year, he proceeded to observe, were, therefore, amply sufficient to cover the expence, the repeal of the temporary duty on malt, and the addition above stated to the sum for reducing the debt. In future years the expence would be as before estimated, with very little variation, although he did not pretend to say, that there might not be some addition to the miscellaneous services. From what he had said, he hoped the committee would be of opinion that there was nothing to prevent the immediate

repeal of the new duty on malt, and the partition of £400,000, between paying off the debt and easing the taxes.

In taking off taxes two objects were to be considered: 1st, That the relief should be clearly felt by the payers of taxes, instead of only serving to increase the profits of dealers in a particular article; and 2dly, That the relief should chiefly extend to the industrious poor. Taxes raised by assessments were well calculated to answer the first of these considerations, being paid immediately to the receivers by the persons on whom they were levied. But there might be taxes on consumption, which would also answer this end. Of this description was the tax on malt intended to be repealed. There were three others which might also be supposed to unite both considerations.

The tax on female servants amounted to £31,000
On carts and waggons, to 30,000
On houses under seven windows, to 56,000

These, including the repeal of a halfpenny on every pound of candles would make up a sum of about £222,000. The other £200,000 he was of opinion might be safely applied to the reduction of the debt.

When the house first entered on the plan of reduction, it was a question, whether the commission should be allowed on the real or nominal sums redeemed, and in which of the funds it was most advantageous to buy? Fortunately that question was now at an end. The remaining debt would probably be redeemed at *par*. He had preferred the application of the surplus million in the purchase of 3 *per cents.* as more advantageous to the credit of the country, and perhaps ultimately to the object in view. It would be the means of

obtaining better terms for reducing the 4 *per cents.* to 3½, and then to 3, and the 5 *per cents.* at a proper time. In four years the American loyalists would be paid, and if the house should be of opinion with him that a lottery would be unprejudicial, there would be an addition to the public income of 300,000*l.* a year. By means of these aids, twenty-five millions of the 3 *per cents.* would be paid off, and the public enabled to redeem at *par*, or reduce the interest of the 5 *per cents.* It was to be understood, however, that the sinking fund was to have the whole benefit of the interest, redeemed by these operations, till the annual sum applicable to the redemption of the debt amounted to four millions. This might be expected in 1808, so that in fifteen years that surplus would be actually at the disposal of parliament.

Mr. Pitt concluded, by drawing a most animated picture of the prosperity of this country, and of the unprecedented increase of its revenue—and yet he observed that he could not say that the country was yet arrived at its *acme* of happiness and splendour. While human skill was capable of improvement in any branch of mercantile commodity; while a single spot of ground remained uncultivated; or a new mart of commerce remained unexplored; it was impossible to say that this country had reached the pitch of wealth and prosperity, to which, by its own energy, it was capable of advancing. All these advantages, however, were connected with *peace* abroad and tranquillity at home. The day of anxiety and solicitude, Mr. Pitt added, was now past, and he might say that instead of hopes conceived in his wishes—*Iam fiduciam et robur assumpserit*. On this he congratulated the house; he congratulated the country; and made

it his most earnest prayer, that they might suffer no intermission of their vigilant attention to the revenue, and to the maintaining of that peace and order to which they were indebted for all the advantages they possessed.

Mr. Sheridan observed that the committee, in consequence of the right honourable gentleman's eloquence, appeared to be led away by the figures of rhetoric from attending to the figures of arithmetic. He was afraid however that this captivating prospect would only in the end be productive of disappointment—Who, for instance, that had read or heard the reports of a surplus of one million or of 900,000*l.* would have believed that this surplus would in truth prove to be no more than 58,000*l.* When he heard of the king's coming down and announcing a surplus, and the minister immediately holding forth taxes to be repealed, he thought there must be some stupendous increase of revenue; and his confidence would have been greater, if he had not unfortunately heard all the minister's former pledges, and particularly that *solemn religious pledge, that no interruption should be made to the application of our surpluses, till they amounted to four millions a year.*

He then examined the statement of the minister, and affirmed "that the increase of our prosperity had not brought with it a proportionate increase of revenue. The increase of the latter was to be attributed to the *new burdens* laid upon the people, or the *regulations of the old taxes which in fact were so many additions to them.*" Taking the reports of the two committees as his guides, he shewed that the actual permanent increase of the revenue since 1786, was 130,000*l.* He shewed that there was much deception with respect to the redemption of the na-

tional debt—We were in fact now in 1792, to redeem less stock than we did in 1786, from the increased price of the public funds. He ridiculed the minister's mode of catching a momentary and surreptitious fame by *repealing the odious taxes which he had laid on the year before.*

Mr. Sheridan remarked strongly on the insidious mode of causing the repeal of taxes to originate with the crown rather than with that house; and said the truth of the matter was, this measure was intended as the best answer to all the imputations against the minister for the Russian and Spanish armaments. In this way the nation might be brought to think that blunders were more advantageous to them than wisdom—The minister might then address them in such language as this: "I have involved you in a quarrel with Spain—there's a tax upon malt for you. I have made the English name ridiculous by attempting to bully Russia—Here, take back your female servants; I have no use for them. I have engaged you in a war with Tippoo Saib—Take your candles a halfpenny cheaper in the pound." Thus the people were taught to love misfortune, to be enamoured of misconduct—and if an administration should succeed where wisdom and prudence produced their usual effects of security and quiet, the right honourable gentleman would then be at the head of a clamorous opposition calling out for a change—"Give us back that bustling and dangerous administration that went on arming and disarming, taxing and untaxing; who committed so many blunders, that they were forever making atonements—who broke our heads that they might give us a plaister." Seriously speaking, he said, every judicious man would know and feel that if there had been no Russian armament, there

there would have been no repeal; and he shewed that there was a deception with regard to the malt-tax, for by the original statute, that tax would have repealed itself in a few months.

Mr. Fox, in a speech of some length, even the heads of which it would be inconsistent with our limits to detail, enlarged on several of the observations of Mr. Sheridan. He remarked, that if the people were now obliged to the minister for taking off some of the taxes, they were also indebted to him in the first instance for laying them on. He said the business ought to have been stated to the house in this form: there is a surplus of 400,000*l.* will you apply it all towards the extinction of the national debt, or towards the immediate relief of the public burthens, or partly to one, and partly to the other?—Stated in this manner, the house would have come fairly to the exercise of its deliberative powers. He had no hesitation in agreeing with his honourable friend, that it was the Russian armament which pressed upon the minister, and produced this hasty, ill-timed, and unconstitutional sacrifice to popularity.—He said unconstitutional, because every thing that crippled the proceedings of parliament, every thing that placed the crown between the house of commons and their constituents was unconstitutional and alarming.

Mr. Fox spoke of the reduction of the 4 *per cents.* as a most politic and proper measure. The nation might draw an annual benefit from it of between 260 and 270,000*l.* The rise of the funds was a great national benefit; for though it threw obstacles in the way of paying off the debt, yet it invigorated every branch of our prosperity. Thus it was true that the capital of

our debt was now greater than in 1786; but from the increase of our resources the annuity was really less, and to the annuity he always looked as to the true debt which was our enemy. To be uniform, therefore, in our endeavours to reduce the debt, we should not slacken our efforts, but should add as much to the sum applied to the diminution of the debt, as the proportion between the prosperous and the adverse moment. He was therefore, on the whole, for applying the whole surplus to the diminution of the debt.

The house rose without any division on the minister's motion for a repeal of the taxes, &c. and bills to that effect were accordingly prepared and carried through both houses in the course of the session.

A very noble and effective stand was made this session against the pernicious and disgraceful mode of raising money by a lottery; and we hope no minister will have the temerity to propose or encourage any similar tax in future.

The first attack which was made on this public nuisance was on the 28th of March, in a committee of supply, when the chancellor of the Exchequer, having proposed that 81,500*l.* be raised by a lottery, Mr. M. A. Taylor expressed his surprise that, in a time of profound peace, the minister should have recourse to a mode of raising money so pernicious to the lower orders of the people, so wholly subversive of their morals. He said, if gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to search the records of crimes in our courts of justice, they would be able to trace most of them up to the lottery, by which a spirit of gaming was diffused among the people, which could not be gratified but by the loss of their property, or the invasion of that of others. Many instances

stances had been stated of the melancholy consequences of this gambling spirit; but one he would repeat, because it was vouched by an honourable member, in whose family it happened.—His housekeeper who had lived with him several years, and had borne an irreproachable character, was unfortunately tempted to risk some money in the lottery.—By a course of ill success she was stripped of her last shilling; and, tempted by the delusive hope of recovering what she had lost, she was induced to venture still further, and to risk what was not her own. The money which she received from her master to answer the expences of his house, she imprudently expended in the lottery, till the deficiency in her accounts became too great at length to be replaced. The horrors of her situation flashed at once upon her mind, and, unable to support herself under such accumulated misery, she filled up the measure of her guilt by putting an end to her existence.

Mr. Taylor mentioned another instance which had just occurred. A man who lived servant with a gentleman, a neighbour to an honourable friend of his, had come to town and brought with him a sum which he had saved in service, amounting to forty pounds. The unfortunate man was induced to risk his money in the lottery, and lost every shilling, and had within a few minutes called upon the honourable gentleman to assist him with a small sum to enable him to go back to the country. Mr. Taylor said the instances were innumerable of the ruinous tendency of this measure; he conjured the legislature to adopt some other mode of raising money.—If the revenue was so productive as it was represented, there could be no excuse for a lottery, and it would be more advantageous for the pub-

lic to continue to pay the taxes which were to be taken off, than to adopt a means of supply so injurious to individuals.

Mr. Taylor concluded with asking the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was his design to make the lottery a permanent part of the annual ways and means? To which Mr. Pitt having answered in the affirmative—"I am then, said Mr. Taylor, to understand that the right honourable gentleman considers the revenue of so much importance, that rather than in any degree diminish it, he would adopt a measure pernicious to the morals of the people."

However averse the minister might be to the relinquishing of a productive tax, the subject was not suffered to remain long quiescent, and it was greatly to the honour of the British parliament that it was taken up with so much spirit, and that all the most respectable members joined in one unanimous opinion, against so vicious and destructive a branch of revenue.

On the 3d of April Mr. Mainwaring presented a petition in behalf of the grand jury for the county of Middlesex, stating their apprehensions of the mischiefs arising to the lower classes of people from a lottery, and earnestly praying the house to take the subject into serious consideration. On the following day, therefore, in a committee on the lottery bill, Mr. Taylor renewed his objections, and took advantage of the authority with which he was furnished by the grand jury of Middlesex to enforce them with additional vigour. He said the chief object he had in view was that of a committee to inquire into all the abuses occasioned by a lottery—he read two paragraphs from the petition of the grand jury, and said he should not call a lottery a nuisance because

because the house had authorized it, but the grand jury had called it so in a court of justice. As to bills for the regulation of lotteries, it was evident that no act of parliament could be made for the regulation of what was incurably bad. It had been said that if there was no state lottery, such was the prevalent rage for gambling, the people would make lotteries for themselves; he feared the converse of this was true, and that the lottery was the great means which betrayed the people into a spirit of gambling. The lottery he had understood a few years ago was instituted merely for a temporary relief to the American loyalists, but it was with inexpressible grief that he now learned it was to be converted into a permanent source of revenue. He said it was infinitely beneath the dignity of a great state to stoop to so disgraceful a mode of raising money--it was inconsistent with their dignity as legislators, and in direct contradiction of their most sacred function, thus to be aiding and abetting in the corruption of morals, of which they were constituted the guardians.

Mr. Drake, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. W. Smith, sir James Johnstone, Mr. S. Thornton, and several other independent members, declared their abhorrence of lotteries; and they were feebly defended by the secretary to the treasury, Mr. Rose, on the ground that the evils complained of ensued not merely from the lotteries themselves, but from the insurance upon numbers and tickets.

Mr. Courtenay in a pointed strain of irony observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer was right in adopting the laudable principle, that "private vices are public benefits." This was a very plain principle, and the more vice was encouraged, the greater would be

the benefit derived to the state. A lottery was therefore a manufacture for the welfare of the state. He remarked that the honourable gentleman, Mr. Drake, was always loudest in commendation of the minister when he meant to vote against him. He remembered that when Mr. Charles Townshend was minister, and had proposed a lottery, and some country gentlemen proposed that there should be 100,000 tickets instead of 50,000; the minister answered, "I have calculated the number of *real fools* in this country, and I find the number is exactly fifty thousand." On this account we should always have a sufficient number of customers for a lottery.

Mr. Francis asserted that he had made strict inquiry into facts which arose out of the nature of the lottery, and was clearly convinced, that most of the unhappy persons whom the law doomed to death, or banished to Botany Bay, would, if they related the truth, say that if the lottery was not the only, it was always a great cause of their calamity. There was hardly any thing infamous or unfortunate that was not connected with the lottery. If the various prisons round the metropolis were visited, most of the unhappy debtors would lay their ruin to the lottery. In one word, while lotteries were permitted, the natural conclusion was that the legislature of this country encouraged gambling; a practice which every good government ought to resist and discourage.

These arguments were powerfully enforced by Mr. Sheridan, who reminded the committee, that since he had the honour of a seat in that house, he had omitted no one opportunity of opposing lotteries. He recounted many of the evils of lotteries, as they came to his knowledge when on a committee on that subject.

subject. People at first, he said, pawned ornaments and superfluities; then furniture, such as could be most easily spared; at last came their beds, and the very cloaths from their children's cradles. He believed there was not any thing in the metropolis, which gave such pangs of affliction to the human heart as the lottery; and a pawnbroker had even declared, that he was at last ashamed of his profession from the wretchedness it compelled him to witness. Mr. Sheridan concluded by advising the giving up of the lottery altogether, adding, that the profits might be supplied by issuing exchequer bills to the amount of 300,000*l.* and hoped that the bill would at least be suspended for the present.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, in which he said he once thought lotteries a mode (though not a very good one) in which money might, in cases of necessity, be raised for the public; but from conversations which he had lately had with some families, and the various accounts he had heard of their evils, he had altered his opinion.—The bill was committed.

Mr. Taylor was not discouraged by this decision from renewing his efforts against lotteries, and on the 27th of April he moved for a committee to inquire into the evils arising from them. The motion was seconded by Mr. Drake, and a committee immediately appointed and ordered to sit.

On the 21st of May Mr. Taylor brought up the report of the committee, and added, that next session he should submit reasons to the house which he trusted would induce them to discontinue this destructive mode of supporting the revenue. In the mean time the report was ordered to lie upon the table.

The slave trade, which had been so ably discussed in the preceding

session, received in the course of this a blow from which it cannot easily recover. Should even the patriotic efforts of those friends of mankind, who have stood forward as its opponents, prove abortive for a time, still the nation cannot forget the solemn protest which a majority of their representatives have entered on their records against this detestable traffic; they will recur with redoubled ardour to the arguments which on that occasion were produced in times more favourable to the extension of liberty; and their zeal will be in proportion to the disadvantages under which they have laboured.

On Monday, the 2d of April, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee to consider of the circumstances of the African slave trade.

Mr. Wilberforce, who had uniformly taken the lead in this cause of virtue and humanity, said, that notwithstanding the ill success he experienced on former occasions, he was not deterred. For the more he deliberated on this nefarious traffic, the more (if possible) he was convinced that it ought no longer to exist. He said this trade was not less opposite to the real interests of the nation than repugnant to the feelings of humanity. He professed himself desirous of holding out no language but that of conciliation. He was fully aware that several gentlemen who opposed him in the measure acted from pure principles and honourable motives, judging by the humanity and indulgence with which their own slaves were treated, they could not conceive how the feelings of others could be so hardened, or their conduct so cruel. But it was not a Trajan or an Antoninus that would make him in love with despotism; for though they would not misuse their power, there were a
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great many others that would. Aristocracy was often accounted the worst species of despotism, as instead of one it produced a number of tyrants; but how incomparably worse was that abominable situation, when people may go to market for the purchase of despotism, and a fellow with 40*l.* in his pocket may commence the occupation of a tyrant!

Mr. Wilberforce however for himself and friends disclaimed any design of an immediate emancipation of the negroes. They were far from being in a state for the reception of such an enjoyment. Liberty he considered as the child of reason. That qualified freedom, however, which they were capable of enjoying, ought not to be withheld from them. To talk of security to the persons of the slaves was idle in the extreme; for as a negro, by the laws of the colonies, was not qualified to give evidence, he might suffer the most severe cruelties, and no white man be present, of whose testimony he might avail himself to procure the smallest redress.

He had heard much of colonial regulations; but upon the most mature deliberation he was convinced that no colonial regulation would answer the purpose. Mr. W. refuted the absurd idea that the discussions concerning the slave trade had provoked the horrid scenes in the French West India islands. In this representation Mr. W. followed very nearly the statement which we gave in our last volume, and shewed that the insurrection did not originate with the slaves, but from the absurd distinction which the colonists endeavoured to maintain between the white people and the free people of colour.

Mr. W. next took notice of the vast increase in the importation of slaves in the West Indies, and par-

ticularly in Jamaica, and he believed that if followed up for some time the planters would have reason to lament they had ever any thing to do with that importation. In speaking of the manner in which slaves were obtained on the coast of Africa, he said it would be endless to recount all the violences committed by our vessels, sometimes kidnapping strangers whom they met, at other times disguising themselves as negroes, and making incursions in the night to plunder and destroy the villages they were trading with in the day.

He observed the number of slaves now in Jamaica only was 300,000, while that of the whites was only 20,000, and this alarming disparity they wished preposterously to increase. The best writers in the colonies, Mr. Long and others, had, on the other hand, condemned the ill policy of increasing the number of negroes in the island, and alleged that it was already too great.

In answer to the absurd supposition that the trade was a nursery for seamen, Mr. Wilberforce affirmed that the loss of seamen by authentic documents was in the shocking proportion of 2640 out of 12,263. He next shewed that the manufactures would feel very little even of a momentary decrease by the abolition of the slave trade, and in the end would be greatly increased in consequence of the measure. He had heard that Bristol and Liverpool existed, as it were, by this trade, but this was a great error. The truth was, that some individuals had profited by it, but to state it as a source of national wealth was ridiculous.

Mr. Wilberforce next related several instances of more than savage perfidy and barbarity committed by our traders on the coast of Africa. No longer since than last August

he said, six British vessels had anchored off Calabar, and finding that the natives had raised the price of slaves, the captains agreed to fire the town, and the most horrid scene of devastation ensued. While Mr. Wilberforce was describing these enormities, the house was clamorous to have the names of the delinquents, and Mr. Wilberforce was at length forced to name the following ships and captains, viz. the *Thomas* of Bristol, captain Philips; the *Betsey*, of Liverpool, captain Doyle; the *Recovery*, of Bristol; the *Wasp*, captain House; the *Thomas*, of Liverpool; the *Anatree* of Bristol.

On the cruelties inflicted on the poor slaves in the middle passage his feelings would not permit him to expatiate; but as it had been called a nursery for seamen he would have recourse to a few figures. In 1788 in a ship in this trade, out of 650 persons, 155 died; in another 405 were on board, out of whom 200 were lost; in another out of 450, they lost 200; in another there were on board 402, out of whom 73 perished. When captain Wilson was asked the cause of this mortality, he replied that the slaves had a fixed melancholy and dejection; that they wished to die; and when beaten in order to force them to eat, they looked in the faces of the whites, and said piteously, "Soon we shall be no more."

The wretches on board these ships sometimes died of insanity, sometimes of starving, and sometimes threw themselves overboard: and is this horrid traffic (exclaimed Mr. Wilberforce) to be continued as a nursery for seamen, when, even by the best regulations that could be made, the loss of our sailors is at the rate of above 11 per cent?

Mr. Wilberforce next instanced the extreme barbarity of captain Kimber to a young girl of fifteen years of age, who from violent flagellation, and exposure in the most indecent attitudes, expired at the end of three days. This, however, was not the worst. It was become customary to set whole villages in Africa on fire, for the purpose of throwing the inhabitants into confusion, and taking them as they fled from the flames. The tyranny and ferocity of slave captains was not confined to the poor negroes; instances might be produced of the most oppressive conduct towards the seamen; as a proof he needed only to state that out of a whole ship's crew only six or seven returned. Who was to regulate, he desired to know, a trade carried on by such agents? agents inured to habits of robbery and murder, whose manners were too firmly ferocious to be altered, and whose conduct was too uniformly brutal to be corrected by any other means than that of abolishing the traffic itself.

In answer to the objection that our abandoning the trade would have little effect, if we could not induce other nations to do the same—he said this was an observation which they with greater force might turn upon ourselves. They might ask of what avail it would be to turn aside the petty streams of traffic, while the broad current of British commerce flowed without interruption. But was there then nothing remaining of that pride which could resist the sordid impulse of avarice opposing itself to justice? Denmark, whose commerce could less than ours afford any degree of diminution, had already rejected the disgraceful intercourse. He had already stated, that the slaves now in

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our islands were sufficiently numerous for every purpose; that when no more were suffered to be imported, they must be well treated; and by proper treatment they would multiply faster and be better servants. He concluded by saying, that in his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success; it enlivened his waking, and soothed his evening hours; and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction that he had demanded justice for millions, who could not ask it for themselves. He then moved the question of abolition.

Mr. Bailey expressed much reluctance at intruding himself upon the house; but circumstanced as he was, as agent for one of the most valuable of the West India islands, he found himself impelled to sacrifice his private feelings to the stronger calls of duty. He then proceeded to notice the rebellion in the French West India islands, which he seemed to attribute to the project of the abolition. He was far from denying that many acts of barbarity had been committed in the transportation of slaves, but it would be unreasonable to expect among that class of people concerned in the African trade, a degree of moral perfection not to be found in Great Britain itself.

Mr. Bailey drew a very favourable picture of the state of the negroes both civil and religious, but asserted that order and subordination could not be maintained among them without the fear of punishment. He asked the gentlemen of the army and navy, whether the punishments inflicted on the negroes were more severe than those to which our soldiers and sailors were subjected?—

“Have we never heard (exclaimed Mr. B.) of seamen being flogged from ship to ship; or of soldiers

dying in the very act of punishment, under the lash of the drummer? Have we not also heard even in this country of boasted liberty, of seamen being kidnapped and carried away when returning from long and distant voyages, without being even allowed the comfort of seeing their wives and families?”

Mr. Bailey treated with some severity the evidence on the side of the abolition, and opposed to it the names of Rodney, Barrington, Hotham, Macartney, Vaughan, and Campbell. He next urged the value and importance of the West Indian and African trade; and dwelt with particular energy on the number of statutes by which the latter had been directly or indirectly authorised. He said the West Indies were the only vulnerable part of our dominions, and affirmed, that as the abolition of the slave trade would be an absolute violation of the compact that ties the colonies to the mother country, it was certain to meet with universal resistance.

He considered it his duty to inform the house that it was not in the power of Great Britain to prevent the introduction of negroes into the colonies, and claimed in strong terms a compensation for the injury that must be done to the planters should the abolition take place. He added that the whole profits of these colonies returned to the mother country, and asserted that whatever might be said of the African trade, the West India trade at least must be allowed to be a nursery for seamen.

Mr. Vaughan lamented that in the discussion of the question, the conduct of the planters should have been involved with that of the traders. He said, to gratify his curiosity and certify himself with respect to the truth, he had visited Jamaica, there he had learned that

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the negroes were not in a state to embrace perfect liberty; that their civilization would be attended with wants unavoidable in similar circumstances; and that those who embarked their fortunes in the colonies might be inevitably ruined.

Instead of the abolition of slavery, he most earnestly recommended schools for teaching the Christian religion; the whites could not replace the negroes in the field, a fact which the Sierra Leone company had themselves acknowledged. The situation of the negroes he found to be better than he could have supposed; for cloaths and fuel they had little occasion in that climate; they had a house and land gratis; they suffered no imprisonment for debt, no fear of not being able to support a family to deter them from marrying; their orphans and widows were also taken care of, as well as themselves when old or infirm. They had medicines and medical attendance gratis, they had their private property, which no master ever took from them. In his excursions through the island he had not seen any beggars.

Mr. Vaughan said, the inequality between the births and burials did not proceed so much from cruelty as from the old plan of importing a greater proportion of males than of females, from the dissoluteness of these people, and from their diseases. He noticed one mode by which the population was kept up, viz. by the increase upon one estate compensating for the losses on another. Different estates, from different causes, were more healthy than others. In small estates, and on small islands, any calamity made a deep impression on the population, such as famine or disease; and this was also exemplified in the Indian tribes.

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He contended that all chastisement to negroes was not cruelty; the owners of slaves generally withdrew them from public justice; so that criminals who would be publicly executed elsewhere, were kept alive by their masters, and liable to repeated punishment for repeating their faults. Distributive justice also occasioned many punishments, as every slave was to be protected against every other slave; and on the whole he contended, that great care was in general taken of the negroes both in health and in sickness.

Mr. Vaughan noticed the objections which some persons had to consuming sugar from the West Indies. Other objects of cultivation, he said, were much more pernicious: indigo, for instance, had no offals, and was neither good for man nor beast, while sugar, as an article of cultivation, was known to be salutary to both. Thumb screws, and other instruments of torture, except the whip and the stocks, he said, were utterly abolished, and he saw but little of that cruelty which was so much complained of.

He confessed, however, that there was room for much amendment. Missionaries, he said, should be sent to instruct the slaves in religion; marriage ought to be encouraged; medical societies instituted. Task-work would be another great improvement, which would prevent both too much severity being exercised at one time, and permitting them too much relaxation at another. Premiums ought also to be given both to the mothers and fathers of children, and rewards and honorary distinctions instituted for meritorious slaves.

Negro evidence ought to be accepted in the courts. Cruel masters ought to be punished. All modes

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of punishment, except the whip and confinement, should be abolished, and the number of lashes to be inflicted should be limited, and the punishment ought not to be repeated but at proper intervals.

Mr. Thornton, in replying to Mr. Vaughan, recalled the attention of the house from the West Indies to the cruelties perpetrated on the coast of Africa, and mentioned several notorious instances of kidnapping, in addition to those stated by Mr. Wilberforce. A man had actually, he said, sold his father, who, however, being a rich man, redeemed himself by selling to the English some of his own slaves. Such perversions of nature did this abominable traffic produce! Mr. Thornton also read a letter from king Naimbaro in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, who complained that three of his relations had been kidnapped and carried off by a captain Coxé to the West Indies and sold for slaves; alledging in his own favour that he had never molested the property of others.

The slave trade was defended by colonel Tarleton and Mr. Jenkinson on the general principles of its having received the sanction of parliament, of the evidence against it being garbled and unauthentic, &c. They asserted that a yearly deficit of six millions, which would fall on the manufacturers and ship-builders of this country, would be the consequence of the abolition; and added, that the petitions against the trade were signed by school-boys and poor indigent persons.

The abolition, on the other hand, was ably pressed by Mr. Montague, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Milbanke. The chief object of their arguments was to prove that the trade would not admit of regulation either on the coast of Africa, on ship-board, or in the West Indies. As to the

negroes being permitted to give evidence with a discretionary power to the court to annex what degree of credibility they thought proper to it; it was doubted whether such a plan was not likely to be productive of much discontent, since the negroes would not easily reconcile the practice of calling on them to speak the truth, and then disregarding their testimony. Mr. Whitbread in particular observed that the moral evils attending slavery were the most to be dreaded; "it was the necessary quality of despotism to corrupt the heart." He observed there was a fatality attending the arguments of those who defended the trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave merchants said, that the slaves fetched less than the common price, *because they were damaged*. "Damaged!" exclaimed Mr. Whitbread, What is this but an admission that they were worn down by labour, sickness, by every species of ill treatment, and that instead of receiving the indulgence their situation requires, they are to be worked to death, transferred from one task-master to another; the latter, perhaps, more inhuman than the former!"

When the debate apparently drew near a conclusion, Mr. Dundas rose and professed himself a warm friend to the abolition of the slave trade, and only entertained doubts with respect to the mode of effecting it. He thought the African trade not founded in policy, and agreed that the continuation of it was not essential to the West India islands; that there was no mortality in that quarter incurable, and that the human race might not only be maintained but increased in the West India islands. But he could not help doubting as to the mode now proposed of abolishing it. When direct

abolition was talked of he would submit to his honourable friend and the house, whether it was not running counter to the habits and prejudices of those men who were most deeply interested in the question. Was it not more prudent, therefore, to adopt such a mode as would relieve their minds from any apprehension of immediate injury? It was in the shape of regulations only that they could totally abolish the African trade, and in this way they might do it not less speedily, nay even more speedily than in the manner that had been proposed.

Mr. Fox, at this point of his speech, asked Mr. Dundas to what regulations he referred.

Mr. Dundas replied, that he referred, in the first place, to regulations which might promote the increase of the native negroes in the West Indies; 2dly, to every species of regulation which should put an end to hereditary slavery, and gradually relieve the condition of slaves; and he called upon all who were of moderate principles to unite with him in forming some middle plan, in which the interests of the West India islands might be reconciled with the abolition of the trade.

Mr. Addington, the Speaker, professed himself to be one of those moderate men alluded to by Mr. Dundas. He thought the number of negroes now on the islands insufficient to keep up the stock, and therefore did not approve of the idea of no importations whatever being permitted. The total disregard of religion and morality among the negroes at present rendered some importation necessary. The trade, he thought, should exist a few years longer, perhaps for a period of eight or ten years, and under such regulations as might perfectly satisfy the minds of those who con-

tended for the abolition. One regulation he should particularly propose; and that would be to subject the males to a heavier duty than the females, in order to encourage the importation of the latter. Another beneficial plan would be to make grants of lands or money to those who should rear a certain number of children; and to institute premiums for the reward of those who should invent machines of husbandry. Being aware that the object of the present motion was an immediate abolition, he said he could not vote for it, but consoled himself with the hope that a measure would speedily be brought forward which he should be able most cordially to approve.

Mr. Fox declared that he could not hear, without infinite uneasiness, something which indicated a regular plan for continuing and even authorizing that detestable traffic for at least a series of years, perhaps for ever. He deprecated, in strong terms, every deception and delusion on the country. The honourable gentlemen called themselves moderate men; but he neither felt, nor wished to feel any thing like moderation on the subject. The question was simply this, whether they should authorise by law (respecting Africa) the commission of crimes which in this country would incur the severest penalties, and even the forfeiture of life in the most ignominious manner. Regulations, in this case, would be as disgraceful as they would be impotent. One of the gentlemen had proposed a premium for the transportation of females. Was the kidnapper to be encouraged to lay a snare for the harmless maid, to snatch her from the arms of her lover or her parents; or to separate the wife from her husband and her children? He should like to see the clause by

which this inhuman measure was to be presented to the parliament of England; he should like to see the man capable of conceiving words to frame such a clause—Was there a gentleman in the house bold enough to support it?

The gentlemen to whom he referred had expressed their utmost abhorrence of the trade, and yet refused to support the original motion. Did the vote to which they were called pledge them to any particular system of abolition? No—Why then not pass the resolution now, and object to and amend any future motion?

Mr. Fox proceeded to expose the regulations of Mr. Dundas, who wished to begin by emancipation, instead of stopping the trade; who called a mere regulation of trade an invasion of property, yet himself proposed the extinction of that property in the first instance. Surely, Mr. Fox said, they might prevent the commission of the crimes which were inseparably connected with the slave trade without taking away the property of the West Indians, which it certainly was not his wish or intention to do.

With respect to the probability of other nations supplying the islands with slaves, he was certain that it had better be by any nation than this. It had been objected that part of the evidence had been given by poor people; he was yet to learn that poverty and truth were incompatible. The names of lords Rodney, Matartney, &c. were mentioned; but it was to be observed that they had spoken of the West Indies only, and could have no other knowledge of the slave trade. All that they had said was purely negative; whereas the evidence of the other persons, less affluent per-

haps, and less dignified, was positive and uncontradicted.

As to the mode of procuring slaves, no gentleman had said that there was any thing like fairness in it. The least disreputable mode of accounting for the supply would be to represent them as having been legally convicted of crimes; but when the numbers were considered this pretence must fall to the ground. The whole number was stated to be annually about 80,000—Could such a number be supposed to be convicts? “Last session (said Mr. Fox) we were cajoled, and taught to believe that something would be early brought forward. Have we not passed a year and nothing has been done? Are we still to be deluded and betrayed? Why was not the system of moderation proposed then? Why were we not then entertained by the proposition for a gradual abolition?”

Mr. Fox then proceeded to a statement of facts. A black trader brought a girl to a slave ship for sale: some persons afterwards went on board and discovered who the trader was that sold her, and went and brought him to the ship and sold him for a slave. “What (said the trader) do you buy me, grand trader?” “Yes, replied the captain, I will buy you or any one else if they will sell you.” On the first view of this fact it appears a piece of barefaced villainy; but on examining the subject it is evidently a necessary consequence flowing from the very nature of the trade. How could the captain know or decide who was the real owner of the girl? He had only given in that instance the same answer that he must give in every other: “I know not who has a right to sell, it is no affair of mine; if any one offers me a slave, my rule

rule is to buy him and ask no questions."

It was absurd, Mr. Fox said, to suppose that the number of petitions which had been presented to the house could have been fabricated. He noticed Mr. Long's history of Jamaica, in which that gentleman urges the propriety of prohibiting the importation of any more negroes. Were the objects of the trade brute animals, he said, no man ought to expose them to be treated with such wanton cruelty as was the case at present; were they wholly inanimate, no honest man would engage in a trade founded manifestly on principles of injustice.

As soon as Mr. Fox had concluded, Mr. Dundas moved that the word "gradually," be inserted in the motion.

Mr. Pitt declared his disapprobation of Mr. Dundas's amendment. If the trade was to be abolished at all, there was no reason why the abolition should not take place immediately. The injuries we had done were great; and our atonement should be the more speedy. An argument against it was, that if we abandon the trade, it would be taken up by others. But of this we should be very sure, before we grounded any proceedings upon it. We were unquestionably the greatest aggressors, and should not be the last to shew our repentance of the injury. It was certainly our duty to make the experiment. He lamented the state of barbarism in which the wretched Africans were plunged in consequence of the trade; and repeated the calculations which he had produced in the former session to shew that the population of the islands might be supported without any supply from Africa.

On the committee dividing, the motion for a "gradual abolition,"

was carried by a majority of sixty-eight.

Adverse as this decision might appear to the views of the more ardent abolitionists, they were not however discouraged; but on the motion of Mr. Fox on the 4th of April it was determined, "that the house resolve itself into a committee on the 18th of April, to consider of measures for the abolition of the slave trade;" this order was afterwards discharged on Mr. Dundas's having undertaken to propose some regulations respecting the trade; the business therefore continued depending till the 23d of the same month.

It is obvious that the point on which the most material division of sentiment was likely to arise, was the period to be appointed for the abolition. With this circumstance however, Mr. Dundas connected several other points of regulation. He said he considered the co-operation of the West India planters and merchants as essential to the abolition; on that account it was not safe, it was not practicable to put an immediate end to the trade. The system therefore which he proposed for the purposes of this abolition rested chiefly on the following particulars:

1st, That part of the trade, which was carried on not for the immediate supply of our own islands was to be immediately abolished. 2d, His plan was to cut off as much as possible the exportation of aged people from Africa, by limiting the age of exportation to 25 years for males, and 20 for females. 3d, He proposed to limit the whole of the tonnage to be employed in the trade. 4th, It was his intention still further to encourage the exportation of young negroes by increasing the duty in proportion to their stature; the duty was also to be increased at certain periods. 5th,

Farther provision was to be made for the exemplary punishment of any British subjects who should be guilty of any violence or mal-practice. 6th, With respect to the period to be fixed for the final abolition of the trade, Mr. Dundas fixed that at eight years, and consequently moved that the importation of negroes into any of the British colonies should entirely cease on the first of January 1800.

Mr. Pitt professed, that as often as the question came under discussion he should divide the house, until the great object which the country, and which he had in view, was accomplished. As to the word *gradual*, he was quite at a loss to know any precise explanation that could be given to that term, nor ought it to restrict the house in any way whatever. A desire to increase the cultivation of the West India islands was now universally admitted to be no good cause for continuing this unjust and inhuman traffic; and it had been clearly shewn that all the islands except Jamaica were arrived at that state of population that did not require a fresh importation of negroes. With regard to the ceded islands some distinction might be proper, but that was no reason why the abolition might not be immediate in the rest.

Mr. Wilberforce also disclaimed all acquiescence in the propositions of Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Fox exposed in a very able manner the inconsistency and impracticability of Mr. Dundas's propositions. He said that they were calculated equally to displease all parties. He disapproved of meddling with the internal regulations of the islands; and conceived that there the best inducement to the planters would be their own interest, which would powerfully operate as soon as the importation should be stopped.

Mr. Fox noticed the famous law of Barbadoes, which enacted, that if a master killed his slave in the way of punishment, he should not be considered as guilty of any offence. He observed that the great excuse which had been alledged for the slave trade was now completely given up, viz. that the slaves consisted of convicts. He enlarged on the singular moderation of Mr. Dundas, who in his humane propositions only permitted the slave dealers to steal poor children from their miserable parents! Mr. Fox asked, where was the baptismal register kept on the coast of Africa to ascertain the age of those who were to be exported? How was the captain to know a girl of 20 from a girl of 21? In short, he considered the whole scheme of a gradual abolition as an impracticable delusion; whereas the immediate abolition was a simple, plain, practicable measure, founded both in policy and justice, and the house would only find itself involved in inextricable difficulties, and led into the most fatal injustice, if it should take half measures and attempt to legalise a thing so totally indefensible as the slave trade.

Lord Sheffield, who had been the devoted supporter of lord North in the American war, and consequently could not be very enthusiastically disposed in favour of general liberty, led, on this occasion, the hostile band in the cause of the slave trade. He inveighed bitterly against the *malice and credulity* of the friends of the abolition, and complained loudly of the persecution of the amiable and virtuous captain Kimber.

His lordship was supported by colonel Tarleton, who dwelt chiefly on the importance of the African slave trade to our manufactures and commerce. He said 120 ships sail annually from Liverpool to Africa, each carrying on an average 35 seamen;

men; and that their cargoes consisted of the manufactures of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and of several articles from the East Indies, &c. He defended the slave captains accused by Mr. Wilberforce of certain outrages at Calabar, and said they only fired *over* the town.

Mr. Rolle said he would never vote on popular opinion, and accused the members who voted for the abolition, of voting against their consciences!!!

The question was adjourned to Wednesday the 25th of April, when Mr. Dundas moved his first resolution, viz. "That the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease the 1st of January 1800."

Lord Sheffield expressed his pleasure at the prospect of getting rid of a *mischievous discussion*. He disputed the *right* of this country to put a stop to the slave trade. He compared the negroes to *live provisions*, and said *we might as well say it was not lawful to put animals to death*. He said the petitions were not fair petitions, but had been procured by *associations*, a measure to which he had always been a decided enemy.

Lord Mornington expressed his satisfaction that the great blow to the slave trade was struck. The trade however he alledged admitted of no modification; between right and wrong there could be no compromise. We could not modify injustice; we could not purchase the right of being unjust. The question now was, how long shall we carry on a traffic which we ourselves condemn and declare to be inhuman? Some had thought that we should be unjust for ten years, others thought that it would be sufficient if we continued so for five,

It had been said that the slave trade was sanctioned by the legislature, but this was virtually not true; for if the statute which the merchants and traders considered as their charter on this occasion was faithfully adhered to, it would operate not as an encouragement, but as an abolition, for by that statute all persons concerned in the trade were restrained under a penalty of 100l. from "taking or procuring any African slave by force, violence, fraud or any indirect means whatever." From which it appeared that the trade as *confessedly* carried on was so far from being sanctioned by the legislature, that it was actually prohibited.

His lordship concluded with moving, that the words "1st of January 1800" in the original motion, should be altered to "1st of January 1793."

Lord Mornington's amendment was supported by Mr. Ryder, Mr. R. Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Pitt, sir J. Johnson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce.

The general arguments against the slave trade were stated in very strong terms by these gentlemen. Mr. Ryder in particular, declared himself a convert to the evidence which was laid before the house; and in consequence of a complete conviction declared his hostility to every pretence and interest in support of the trade, as "he could not hold a balance with gold in one scale, and blood in the other."

In answer to the plea respecting our commerce and manufactures, it was urged by the abolitionists, that the capital of the London, Bristol, and Liverpool merchants, now employed in the slave trade, might easily be diverted into some other channel. It was said that it was im-

possible to determine with any degree of accuracy upon the age of an African from his appearance, and therefore no regulation can be founded upon that circumstance. The pretence that negroes were really bred for sale, was treated as ridiculous, and it was shewn from the evidence that kidnapping and war were almost exclusively the means of procuring a supply. This was confirmed by the speech of Mr. Edwards to the Jamaica assembly, who asserted, from intelligence which he had collected from his own negroes, "that Mr. Wilberforce was rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are generally procured." Good policy, it was urged, always accompanied strict morality; and the principle of duty imperiously demanded that a termination should be put to the injustice which was done the Africans, even without consulting the West Indies; to act otherwise would be to give a sanction to robbery, murder, cruelty and injustice. If therefore they acted on the principle of duty they must agree to the immediate abolition. Gentlemen were intreated to consider how many thousands of their fellow citizens might be condemned to death, and sufferings worse than death, by the vote of this night, should it be in favour of continuing the trade a few years longer. If the trade was such that it ought to be abolished in 1800, it ought not to be permitted for a moment to exist.

With respect to the policy of a gradual abolition there were only two grounds upon which it could be supported. The one was, that the importation of negroes was necessary for extending cultivation in the islands; the other, that it was necessary to keep up the present stock. The first of these was now given up, and with respect to the other, it ap-

peared from papers on the table, that Barbadoes for six years previous to the discussion of the slave trade, had required a supply of only 200 negroes, and in all the other islands except four there had been no importation at all. In Jamaica the importation had indeed been considerable, but it was not to keep up the population, but to extend the cultivation merely. Mr. Long and governor Edwards had both admitted that if the equality of the sexes was nearly maintained, the population of Jamaica would increase. Extending the cultivation had been proved destructive to the slaves and ruinous to the projectors, and this had particularly been the case in the ceded islands; in Dominica, it was well known, great loss of slaves and want of capital had been the consequence of such projects. The plan of cultivation, it was urged, might in many cases be altered without loss to the proprietors: though sugar will not grow in all places where cotton will, cotton will be found to answer wherever sugar can be raised; and it was notorious, that thrice the number of hands are required to the cultivation of sugar compared with that of cotton. The use of the plough was also strongly recommended on the authority of sir J. Johnstone, who affirmed that he had tried the experiment on his own plantations in the West Indies, and it had succeeded even beyond his expectation.

It had been said that if a stop was put to the importation, slaves would still be smuggled into the islands. To this it was answered, that the smuggling of slaves was not the most practicable business in the world. A slave could not when landed be taken to pieces and pass for another commodity; he must be landed in his own proper shape, and after all, he may tell that he was smuggled, and perhaps

perhaps bring proof of the fact. At all events it would be right that the committee should make the experiment; they might abolish or rather suspend the trade for a period of five years, and then see whether it was essential to the interests of the colonies that it should be resumed.

These arguments were opposed by col. Phipps, Mr. Estwicke, and Mr. Dundas.

The principal object of the two first of these gentlemen appeared to be, to cast opprobrium on the petitioners and advocates for the abolition, whom they represented as school-boys, enthusiasts, and poor ignorant persons. They insisted also on a compensation being made to the planters and traders, which would necessarily add to the public burdens.

On the question of humanity, it was allowed by Mr. Dundas, that there could not be two opinions. But it was urged, that by a moderate continuance of the trade for a short time, the ends of humanity would be most completely answered, as the general abolition could be effected with greater speed and certainty, by this than by any other mode. The planters must be led by degrees to adopt the use of the plough and of other instruments for the lessening of manual labour. Should the trade be abruptly abolished, the colonies would be supplied in a clandestine manner by other nations. Were the Dutch, for instance, so regardless of profit as to refuse to carry negroes where they would find a ready market? The power of this country to prevent the islands from being supplied with negroes by other nations, was not a desirable thing to bring to trial. The situation with respect to their creditors, to which the immediate abolition would reduce the planters, was a further argument against this measure, since it might disable them from adopting

such regulations as the abolition would render necessary.

Such was, as nearly as possible, the state of the argument on this occasion. On a division there appeared a majority of 49 against lord Mornington's amendment.

The debate was revived on the 27th, when lord Mornington proposed a new amendment upon Mr. Dundas's first resolution, which was to substitute for the "1st of January 1800, the 1st of January 1795."

After so copious a statement of the arguments employed on the preceding discussion, it would be a useless consumption of time to detail the particulars of this debate. Let it suffice therefore to say, that after negating lord Mornington's amendment, a compromise was proposed on the motion of sir Edward Knatchbull, which fixed the period of abolition for the 1st of January 1796, and which was accepted by both parties, and the amendment thus proposed was carried by a majority of 40.

On the 1st of May a series of resolutions similar to those presented by Mr. Dundas, but with some alterations, were presented to the commons by Mr. Pitt, and after having received the sanction of the house, they were carried up to the lords.

In the upper house the advocates for the abolition were less successful; and the friends of the measure could not observe without surprize, that in that assembly, where the dignity of the personages, their connections and habits of life should appear to form the most effectual bulwark against the operation of interest; *there* the cause of humanity should meet with the most feeble support; it was not without surprize and concern that they beheld a prince of the blood, the third only in degree from the throne, embarking with unusual ardour in the unpopular cause, and declaring him self

himself inimical to their wishes. The truth is, and it cannot be dissembled, that the influence of humanity acts with the most powerful energy on the great mass of the people; and the salutary controul which popular sentiment naturally possesses over the representative body manifested itself in this instance. The voice of the people on this occasion was the voice of humanity, the voice of God, and the representatives of the people heard it and obeyed.

The advocates for the abuses of the slave trade, however, did not on this occasion presume to come forward with an open and avowed opposition, but sheltered themselves under the masked battery of form; and by gaining time to the slave dealers, a double end was to be answered. They could pursue their iniquitous traffic for at least another year without interruption, and there was a probability, that by the intervention of such a period the popular fervour might abate upon the subject, or some fortunate war, or other circumstance, might opportune-

ly occur to defeat the hopes, and frustrate the endeavours of the friends of mankind.

As the debate which took place in the house of lords on the 8th of May, regarded only the expediency of hearing evidence at the bar of the house or before a committee above stairs, the friends of the abolition, lord Grenville, the bishop of London, lord Portchester, earl Stanhope, and lord Rawdon, were desirous of dispatch, and therefore strongly urged the necessity of an up-stairs committee. Lord Stormont, the duke of Clarence, Lord Hawkebury, the lord chancellor, and the bishop of St. David's, on the other hand, pleaded for the hearing of evidence at the bar: a measure which could answer no other possible purpose than that of gaining time, and protracting the abolition. The question was notwithstanding carried. Evidence was ordered to be heard at the bar, and (as might justly be expected) but little progress was made during the session,

CHAP. III.

Westminster Police Bill. Debates on that Subject. New Forest Bill, Rejected in the Lords. Mr. Rose's Trial. Royal Burghs in Scotland. Debates on Mr. Sheridan's Motion on that Subject. Society of Friends of the People. Debates on Mr. Grey's notice respecting a Reform in Parliament. Royal Proclamation. Debates on the Address. Debates in the House of Lords on the same Subject. Debates on the Birmingham Riots. Relief of the Scotch Episcopalians. Debates on Mr. Fox's Motion for the Repeal of the penal Statutes against the Unitarians. Debates in the Lords on the Libel Bill. Debtor and Creditor Bill. Statement of the Revenue and Finances of India.

TO unite personal security with general liberty; to preserve inviolate the rights of property, to repress the efforts of violence, with-

out establishing a system of tyrannical coercion; to restrain the evil passions of the depraved part of the community, and yet to prevent the abuses

abuses of power with respect to the peaceable and well disposed citizen, is among the most arduous labours of government and legislation. In large and opulent communities, from the unequal diffusion of property, united with the general spirit of dissipation which usually prevails, the task is rendered still more difficult; and where the super population of an overgrown metropolis produces a fertility in vice, the public security seems to demand unsleeping vigilance, or uncommon severity.

Innumerable plans have been devised by different projectors for regulating the police of London and Westminster; but most of them when reduced to practice, have fallen far short of their intended effect. The famous system of the ingenious Henry Fielding has only facilitated the apprehension of offenders, while it perhaps has in some measure contributed to the multiplication of crimes. But the most unfortunate circumstance is, that the weight and difficulty of the business has completely discouraged men of rank and property from executing the important office of justice of the peace, within the precincts of the metropolis, and it has too frequently fallen into the hands of mean and mercenary persons.—Justice has been openly brought to market, and dispensed to the highest bidder; feuds and lawsuits have been fomented industriously among the lower classes of society, even by those whose express duty it was to preserve the peace; a system of extortion was established, and the venerable name of magistrate lost in the contemptuous appellation of a trading justice.

Such were at least the ostensible reasons for a new arrangement respecting the internal government and regulation of the city of Westminster, and those parts of Middlesex

adjacent to London. The bill was introduced into parliament early in March by Mr. Burton, and its outline was to establish five principal offices, to beal ways open for the administration of that branch of justice which falls within the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace. To each office three justices were to be appointed, each with the salary of 300l. per ann. No fees were allowed to be taken by the justices, and the fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated in one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries; and completely to annihilate the name and functions of trading justices, no person in the commission of the peace within that district was to be permitted to receive fees.

That the established system required some alteration, no person acquainted with the abuses or rather perversions of justice which prevailed, can possibly doubt; yet the friends of freedom saw in the new mode of regulation some traits not entirely favourable to the general liberties of the nation. They saw in it an influence added to the executive authority, which was the more dangerous for being near the seat of government; and they saw in one particular clause a deviation from that rule of justice which for centuries has been esteemed the palladium of our constitution. By a clause introduced into this bill, the constables were empowered to apprehend such persons as could not give a good account of themselves, and the magistrates to commit them as incorrigible rogues and vagabonds. Such a clause, it was asserted, conferred on magistrates a power pregnant with abuse; and those who were likely to be the objects of it, the lower classes of the people, had seldom the means of applying

plying for redress against abuses of power. The intent of this clause was to find out new objects for justice, persons called reputed thieves. It was therefore pointedly asked, what was the definition of a reputed thief? It was asserted to be a new and unusual principle to punish men, not for acts which they had committed, but for crimes which they intended to commit. The clause was calculated to protect the rich only, and the poor alone were to suffer by it.—It was professedly intended to procure ease to their pleasures, and to guard the entrance to opera and play-houses. Besides this, it referred to another act, and then omitted to name the punishment to be inflicted.—The vagrant act was the statute alluded to; a statute sufficiently objectionable, on account of the generality of its extent, and the inordinate severity of the punishments it inflicted. It was true there was an appeal afterwards to the quarter sessions, and the persons apprehended under the present clause might be acquitted there.—But could the punishment they had suffered be done away? could the whipping be taken off, or the evils that resulted from their imprisonment remedied? Another objection to the clause was, that the party apprehending the reputed thief was to depose on oath that he was deemed a thief: a species of oath which ought not in a well-governed state to be encouraged, as it might be introductory to perjury, and would tend to wear out the moral obligation of an oath. The clause went further to supersede the necessity of a jury, and the magistrate might in this case inflict punishment on a man whom a jury would have acquitted.

The general principle of the bill was also arraigned in strong terms.

It was said that the system of our constitution was, that justice should be administered throughout the kingdom gratuitously; that the discretionary powers granted to justices of the peace were in many cases exorbitant, and were only endured in consideration of the persons to whom they were granted.—Was it fit then to grant all these powers, and more, to a new description of magistrates appointed by and receiving salaries from the crown? In a word, instead of a system of police, the present measure appeared only to be a system of influence. It was nearly in these terms and upon these principles that the bill was opposed in the commons by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Baker, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham; and in the upper house by lords Loughborough and Rawdon. The bill was defended in the commons by its author Mr. Burton, by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Wilberforce, and others; and in the house of lords by lords Sydney, Kenyon, Grenville, and the lord chancellor.

The general necessity of a reform in the police of Westminster was pleaded in the first instance; and it was added, that a more severe police was required there than in the more remote parts of the kingdom. The appointment of justices, it was observed, was already in the hands of the crown; they were now paid out of the fees actually received at the established office, and it could be of little consequence whether it was received in that form or in that of fixed salaries. One of the grand objects of this bill was to provide a body of justices for whose conduct government would be responsible. This was indeed the only mode of rescuing the people from the oppressions and exactions of the trading justices. Independent gentlemen could not be found to act as justices,

justices, and the only resource was a stipendiary system.

With respect to the clause empowering constables to apprehend notorious thieves, it was argued that it was no new principle in the law; it was known even before our statute law. In the earliest times persons of suspicious appearance were taken up and kept in custody, till they either explained their character and way of life, or gave security for their good behaviour. By this clause the constable could not act *ad arbitrium*. Witnesses were to be examined; if a person could give a good account of himself, he was entitled to his discharge; and if the magistrate or constable acted so as to oppress any individual, they would be subject to an action.

On the whole, the bill was not proposed as an absolute remedy for all the defects of the police, but as a measure calculated to discover what would be the best mode of framing a police, which might approach as near perfection as human infirmity would admit. It was a mere experiment, being limited in its duration, and at the expiration of the term proposed, parliament would be able to judge of its expediency.

On this principle the bill was passed.

Whatever might be the intentions of ministry in the act which we have just noticed (and we are far from ascribing to them any sinister design in the measure), it is certain that it excited still stronger censure among the mass of the people than within the walls of parliament. But the odium which ministry drew upon themselves by another act was still greater; we allude to the bill for inclosing certain parts of the New Forest, under the plea of promoting the growth of timber there. In the house of lords

the most unqualified censure was passed upon the measure, by some of the most respectable peers of both parties. Lord Portchester was particularly severe upon Mr. Rose, and declared that it was a bill framed purely to serve him: he noticed the immense emoluments which this gentleman already received from the public; the unprecedented number of sinecure places which he enjoyed; and the alarming influence which he possessed. The earl of Carlisle and lord Rawdon declared that the word *job* was the very mildest and most tender expression that could be employed to describe this bill. The lord chancellor also condemned it in the strongest terms: he said his majesty had been imposed on in this business; and that it was a precedent which affected deeply the constitutional situation of the crown.

The ministry grounded their defence on a report of the commissioners of the land revenue, who had recommended an attention to the growth of timber in the kingdom. They denied that the bill at all affected the rights of the crown; and affirmed that it was a measure dictated entirely by the necessities of the nation, and an attention to its interests.

The bill was however withdrawn, upon the objections of the opposition, though lord Grenville intimated that something of the kind would be introduced in the succeeding session.

As the character of a ministry is always connected with the state of public affairs, and as this is frequently to be collected better from the minuter parts of their conduct, than from transactions of more apparent importance, we should be deficient in our duty as historians if we entirely omitted to notice another attack

attack upon administration in which also Mr. Rose was principally concerned.

In the course of the summer a trial at bar had taken place between a publican of the name of Smith, and Mr. George Rose, secretary to the treasury; and from some circumstances which appeared in the course of that trial, Mr. Thompson was induced, on the 13th of March, to make an appeal to the house of commons relative to the conduct of that gentleman.

He said the substance of the evidence in the trial went to charge Mr. Rose with having interfered in the Westminster election in an unwarrantable manner. It appeared in evidence, that Mr. Smith, had some time before been convicted in a penalty of 50*l.* for an offence against the excise laws; and that afterwards, in consequence of services performed by Mr. Smith in the course of the election, at the request of Mr. Rose, a part of the fine was remitted to him. In proof of what he alledged, Mr. Thompson proceeded to state the various circumstances of a conversation between Mr. Smith and Mr. Rose, to which the former was introduced by an honourable member of that house. He then alluded to the trial, in which it appeared that Mr. Smith had been employed by Mr. Rose in the election, in consequence of which a jury had given a verdict in favour of Mr. Smith for the full amount of his bill.—He then pressed the object of his motion upon the feelings of the house, and wished them to reflect on the consequences of permitting a secretary of the treasury to employ the money of the public in supporting the election of a member of that house; and on the probable effects of suffering the public to understand that their money was wasted for the

corrupt purpose of procuring seats for the friends of the minister. He concluded with moving, "That this house will on Friday next resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to enquire into all abuses committed by persons in office at the election of a member to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster in July 1788, as far as the same relates to penalties incurred under the excise laws or lottery act."

Mr. Lambton seconded the motion, and in support of the inquiry stated another fact, in substance as follows: in the year 1788, one Hoskins being at that time in prison, at the suit of the solicitor to the lottery, for certain penalties for offences against the lottery act, wrote to the solicitor, informing him that he could procure fifty or sixty votes for lord Hood at the Westminster election, provided he could be admitted to bail, and that such bail as he could offer would not be objected to. The solicitor said, he could not do this on his own accord, but must have authority from a higher quarter. The man was afterwards admitted to bail, and his bail "were the most miserable and wretched ragamuffins that ever offered to commit a perjury;" indeed so wretched were they, that when they came to take the necessary oaths before the judge at his chambers, though they brought a note from the solicitor signifying his consent, they were actually refused. The fact, however, in conclusion was, that their bail was taken, and Hoskins did actually poll for lord Hood sixty votes; since when, neither he nor his bail had ever been heard of. Mr. Lambton having stated this fact, observed, that the public had paid 700*l.* out of their pockets, to procure votes for lord Hood; and if

if ministers could, as it suited their convenience, suspend the operation of some laws, and remit the consequences of others, where was the freedom of the country?

Mr. Rose in his defence alleged, that the penalty in which Smith had been convicted, was for brewing beer at home, and it appeared that this beer was no other than small beer for the use of his own family. That one third of the penalty went to the poor of St. Martin's parish, the rest to the king; that the vestry of that parish had declared their willingness to remit their part of the penalty; that Mr. Rose had referred Smith's petition to the board to whose cognizance it belonged. But to shew the house of what little avail his interference had proved, the penalty was not remitted by the board, but half of it had actually been paid, and the rest was to be made good by instalments.

During the time of the last general election, Mr. Rose confessed, that Smith came to him, and made a proposition for opening his house, and declared that he could detect a great number of bad votes which had been given for lord John Townshend, when he answered—"Do so, if you can it will be doing a good thing." He did so, found the bad votes he had promised, and at length applied to him to be paid. The answer was—"Return to lord Hood's committee; they will pay you." Smith however again demanded payment, commenced an action, and obtained a verdict.

With regard to the other charge respecting the admission of Hoskins, to bail by sham bail, he protested he had never heard the man's name before that day.

Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Lambton, insisted that there was am-

ple ground for inquiry, notwithstanding the right hon. gentleman's defence. Mr. Rose had declared that he had directly transmitted Smith's petition to Mr. Cholmondely, chairman of the excise board, and protested he had no otherwise interfered. On the contrary, a letter from Mr. Rose to Mr. Smith was produced, inviting him to meet Mr. Vivian the solicitor to the excise, on the business, at his own house in Palace Yard.

With respect to Hoskins, whatever the right hon. gentleman might protest these were the facts: 1st. That Mr. Hoskins was under arrest for penalties incurred under the lottery act to the amount of 700*l*. and that during the election he offered to bring 60 votes, provided he was suffered to escape. 2^d. That the solicitor to the lottery, who was also agent for lord Hood, said he must consult *higher authority*. 3^d. That Hoskins was suffered to escape, by two bail being accepted, who were not worth a shilling: and 4th. That lord Hood had since paid his agent's bill, in which there is this curious charge—"To the expence of finding bail for the action against Hoskins, who engaged to bring up 60 votes, 3*l*. 3*s*."

The chancellor of the exchequer was against going into the enquiry, because there was no one public officer against whom in this business a *direct* charge could be fixed. Mr. Thompson's motion was accordingly dismissed, on a division of 221 against 84.

On the 18th of April, Mr. Sheridan made his long expected motion for an inquiry into the grievances complained of by petition from the royal burghs of Scotland.

He stated, that some years ago a number of petitions from the royal burghs

burghs had been presented to the house, pointing out grievances, and unanimously demanding redress. The number of royal burghs was in all 66, and at this time 50 of them had concurred in their complaint. The petitions set forth the general mismanagement, misapplication of money, dilapidation of property, and various injuries and grievances sustained by them, in consequence of the usurped authority of certain self-elected magistrates in these burghs, and that to these complaints there was at present no redress to be obtained under the law of Scotland. When Mr. Sheridan, three sessions ago introduced a bill into the house for removing the cause of these complaints, the grievances were admitted by the opposite party to be of the utmost magnitude, and allowed that if they could be proved, redress ought to be, and should be granted; but they said he was then irregular in his application, and that he ought to constitute a committee of inquiry, and if he proved his facts redress must follow. After collecting every kind of proof that could be wanted in such a case, when he proposed last year to go upon the proposed examination, he was answered, it was then too late in the session. Upon this principle, and seemingly with a fair prospect of success, the house had entered into a resolution, on the 27th of May last, that early in the next session it would take into consideration the state of the royal burghs. Here it was evident that it was the intention of the house to go fairly into this inquiry; this could only be done by a committee, and to refuse a committee was to refuse every thing that could relate to the subject.

One objection had indeed been made which was a little curious. He

was called upon by the opposite party to shew a specific remedy to the abuse he complained of, before the house should enter into this enquiry. This was recommended to the chancellor of the exchequer as an observation to be made, and it was a little hard on that right hon. gentleman, because it was giving him a ridiculous character to support; for he had said on a former occasion—“Do not call upon us for a remedy till you have shewn us your grievance.” This was the very thing he (Mr. S.) asked for; all he wished was to have the power of evincing and proving the grievances before he asked for a remedy. For the satisfaction of gentlemen, however, he was disposed to go farther; he would now explain what was the object of his bill. It was to abolish the self-electing power of the magistrates in those burghs.

It had been said that there were such grievances in England as well as in Scotland: was this any reason for giving redress to neither? Was justice to be defeated by a community of oppression? It had also been asserted, that there were in Scotland courts competent to take cognizance of the grievances specified in these petitions. He had, however, consulted a gentleman of great legal knowledge on that subject, and the result was, that there was not any court competent to take cognizance of them.

Of late it had become a fashion to decry every thing in the shape of reform. It was carried so far as to be made a principle in support of universal oppression. It was however the best part of our constitution, that it contained a principle of reform in its very nature, and we had at this day nothing in it that was

Beautiful,

beautiful, that had not been forced from tyrants, and taken from the usurpations of despotism.

Some persons, Mr. S. observed, thought that there was something in the present time which should deter us from thinking of reform; and that was, because there had been a revolution in France. Whatever might be the conduct of the parties concerned in that revolution, Mr. S. thought that, with regard to the event itself, there could be but one feeling upon the subject.—exultation and joy at the downfall of the despotism of France, the greatest enemy England ever had. That despotism, whose ambitious, turbulent, and restless spirit, cost England so many thousands of her subjects, and so many millions of her money. That despotism, that foe to the happiness of the human race, was destroyed. The national assembly, he said, were the best committee of supply England ever had. The safety of our possessions in India was owing to the French revolution, and therefore that event in this point of view was a blessing. By assuring us tranquillity abroad, it afforded us leisure to look into abuses at home, and enabled us to proceed without being intimidated into a dangerous compliance with popular clamor on the one hand, or too ready to listen to the fears of the timid on the other. Such was the season to correct abuses; and what was the lesson which the revolution of France ought to afford to this country? Obviously this, that we ought to attend to a rational and sober reformation of abuses, at a time when there was nothing to interrupt us: this was the only way of avoiding the evils with which a reformation by violence might be attended. He must say therefore to the house, that unless they meant to tell the

1792.

people that their rights were entirely neglected, and that they had no friends in the house of commons, they would yield redress when fairly claimed.

The lord advocate of Scotland considered it his duty to give some opinion upon the subject now before the house, in the manner which appeared to him the most proper and best adapted to the real interests of Scotland.

In his opinion, the petitions might be divided into three branches. 1st. That the inhabitants were liable to the illegal exaction of taxes. 2d. That there were instances of gross misrule and misconduct in the magistrates, in the dilapidation of public property, and general discharge of their duty: and, lastly, That there was no court of judicature in Scotland to which those magistrates were responsible. The two first he contended were unfounded. The last he would admit in part, as far as respected the production of accounts, and lamented that there was such a deficiency in the laws of Scotland; and if there was a specific proposition before the house, either in the form of a bill, or in any other way that would remedy this defect, he would most willingly join issue with the right hon. gentleman, and be happy to support it, provided the regulations were such as went merely to remedy an existing grievance, and did not interfere with the constitutional system of the Scotch burghs.

With respect to the proposal of taking away the power of self-election, as it was called, in these burghs, the lord advocate declared that he, for one, should always oppose every attempt which favoured such a measure. As to the illegal exaction of money from the inhabitants, he

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declared

declared that statement to be completely wrong. If any magistrate exacted taxes from, or dilapidated the property of the burgesses, he affirmed that there was a power in the court of session to inquire into and to redress all such grievances. On these grounds he declared himself averse to going into the proposed committee of inquiry.

In remarking on the observations of the lord advocate, Mr. Fox said, that the question was, "Inquiry or no inquiry?" that it was not right to set assertion against assertion. He conceived that when any member of that house said, "I have a fact which appears to me to be true;" the only way to dispose of it was either to give the inquiry, that the fact might be ascertained, or to say, We admit the fact to be true; but are of opinion that no inquiry ought to be granted, because it is not of sufficient importance to waste time on its investigation.

Another argument of the learned gentleman was not more happy. He said there were three objects of complaint, of which only one was well founded. What then? "You must state your remedy, or you shall not have an inquiry concerning the fact." Was this at any time the practice of parliament? Was it even the case in the recent question concerning the abolition of the slave trade, or concerning any other business that came legally before the house?

He well knew that it was the practice to call every reform a subversion; but that ought never to deter men from entering on an inquiry; if that maxim was carried always into effect, no evils would be prevented, nor any grievance redressed. The complaint here was from the Scotch burghs, that their officers had mismanaged the concerns entrusted to

their care; that by their mode of election persons were to dispose of the property of those who had not the shadow of a choice at the election, and that the proceedings of these self-elected magistrates were afterwards carried on in a way that precluded all examination into their conduct. Now if there was to be no inquiry into the truth of all this, he did not know what character for freedom the inhabitants of North Britain must have. If the house did not go into this inquiry, they would in fact break their promise with the public, for they stood pledged by a resolution of last year to enter upon the subject. As to the peace of Scotland, it appeared to him so far from being in danger from granting this inquiry, that it was the only means effectually to preserve it. The refusal indeed might be dangerous, for men were naturally led to excesses when repeatedly refused the redress of grievances which they severely felt.

"As to the effect of the inquiry he would not conceal his sentiments; he suspected there could be no remedy, but by altering the mode of election in this self-elected council. When it was said that many burghs in England were in the same condition, it called to his mind the pleasing recollection of what was once said by his friend Mr. Burke, during the debates on the American taxation, when some maintained upon the principle that many individuals in England were unrepresented, that it could be no peculiar hardship on the Americans, that the English house of commons should vote taxes upon them, without allowing them the right of representation; his hon. friend had said "Why do you deal with this people thus? Why do you hold out your own defects for their imitation?"

The

The motion was resisted by Mr. An-
ruther, Mr. Dundas, and sir J. Sin-
clair Erskine, upon the general
grounds, that the assertions contained
in the petitions were not true, and that
they did not contain one article or in-
stance of a grievance, for which redress
had been asked and refused. Mr. Rolle
said, that his regard for the constitu-
tion led him to *oppose every motion for
reform that had been or could be brought
forward*; and as long as he held a
seat in parliament, he was determined
*never to countenance any species of re-
form whatever.*

In conformity with this idea, the
house divided on the motion for re-
ferring the papers to a committee.
Ayes, 27: noes, 69.

As the disposition within appeared
so little favourable to the reformation
of abuses, our readers will not be
surprised at the alarm which was
excited in administration towards the
close of the session, by an attempt
from without for a parliamentary
reform. In the month of April this
year a society was instituted, at the
head of which appeared Mr. Baker,
Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr.
Sheridan, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Er-
skine, and several other members of
parliament, for the express purpose
of obtaining a reform in the repre-
sentation of the people. The as-
sociation assumed the popular title
of "the Friends of the People;"
and as in a very short space of time
it was joined by some of the most
respectable characters both in the
commercial and literary world, it
was regarded by ministers, not with-
out the most serious apprehensions.
After publishing a set of resolutions,
and a declaration of their sentiments,
it was determined in the society,
that early in the next session a mo-
tion should be brought forward for
the reform of parliament, and that the

conduct of the business in the house
of commons should be committed to
Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine.

In conformity with the views and
intentions of this association, on
the 30th of April Mr. Grey rose
in the house of commons to give no-
tice of a motion, which in the course
of the next session he should submit
to the consideration of the house;
the object of which was, a reform in
the representation of the people.

The necessity of such a reform,
he observed, had been allowed and
asserted by the most eminent men in
both houses of parliament.—It had
been acknowledged both by Mr.
Pitt and Mr. Fox; and he was now
convinced, that such was the senti-
ment of the great majority of the
people. The times indeed, he add-
ed, were critical, and the minds
of the people agitated: it was to
remove every cause of complaint,
and to tranquillize the nation, that
he meant to bring forward his mo-
tion. He trusted therefore, that be-
tween the present day and that on
which he should bring forward the
proposition, gentlemen would well
weigh the question, and give it
their most deliberate attention;
and in that interval he hoped that
the sentiments of the people on the
subject would be fully ascertained.

Mr. Grey had scarcely concluded,
when Mr. Pitt rose with unusual
vehemence. He said, he believed it
was not strictly regular to enter into
any observation on a mere notice of a
motion, and therefore he was under
the correction of the house whether
he should proceed. Go on! go on!
was then vociferated from different
parts of the house.—If ever there
was an occasion, he said, in which
the mind of every man, who had
any feeling for the present, or
hope for the future happiness of the

nation, should be interested, the present was the time when form should be disregarded, and the substance of the debate be kept purely in view. Nothing could be said, nothing could be whispered on this subject, which did not involve questions of the most extensive, the most serious, the most lasting importance to the people of this country, to the very being of the state.

He felt no difficulty in asserting, in the most decisive terms, that he objected both to the time and the mode in which this business was brought forward. He would confess that, in one respect, he had changed his opinion upon this subject, and he he was not afraid to own it. He retained his opinion of the propriety of a reform in parliament, if it could be obtained by a general concurrence, pointing harmlessly at its object.—But he was afraid, at this moment, that if agreed on by that house, the security of all the blessings we enjoyed would be shaken to the foundation. He conceived that the beautiful system of our constitution, and the only security we had for its continuance was in the house of commons: but that security was imperfect, while there were persons who thought the people not adequately represented. He once thought, and still thought, that if some mode could be adopted, by which the people could have additional security for a continuance of the blessings they now enjoy, it would be an improvement in the constitution of this country. That was the extent of of his object; and if this could be obtained, he should think it wise to make the experiment.

Upon the time and mode of bringing this subject forward, he said, every rational person had two points

to consider. These were the probability of success, and the risk to be incurred in the attempt.—Upon the latter of these, he owned his apprehensions were very great. He saw no chance of succeeding in the attempt, in the first place: but saw great danger of anarchy and confusion in the second. It was true he had made some efforts to this effect himself. But at what time? There was then a general apprehension that we were upon the verge of a public national bankruptcy, and a strong sense was entertained of practical grievances. This was at the conclusion of the American war, succeeding a period, when the influence of the crown was declared “to have increased, to be increasing, and that it ought to be diminished.” Many thought at that time, and he among the rest, that unless there was a better connection between the parliament and the people, the safety of the country might be endangered.

The present, he alledged, was not a time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years? Could we suppose that men felt the situation of this country, as contrasted with that of others, to be deplorable? He then noticed the association, and the advertisements in newspapers, inviting the public to join the standard of reform. He saw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded, united with others, who professed not reform only, but direct hostility to the very form of our government, who threatened an extinction to monarchical government, hereditary succession, and every thing which promoted order and subordination in a state. To his last hour he would resist every attempt of this nature; and if he was called upon either to hazard

this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative.

The moderation of Mr. Fox's language afforded a striking contrast to the vehemence of the minister. He reminded the house, that he had never professed to be so sanguine on this subject as the right hon. gentleman who had last addressed them; but although less sanguine, he happened to be a little more consistent; for he had early, in his public life, formed an opinion of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and remained to this hour convinced of that necessity; and the obvious reason was, that the proceedings of the house were sometimes at variance with the opinion of the public. Of the truth and justice of this sentiment, he said, it was only necessary to refer to a recent instance, the Russian armament. The declaration of that house was, that we should proceed to hostilities. The declaration of the people was, that we should not: and so strong was that declaration, that it silenced and overawed the minister, with his triumphant majority. What was the consequence? that the people of England were at this moment paying the expence of an armament for which they never gave their consent; and as far as that goes, they pay their money for not being represented in parliament, and because their sentiments were not spoken within the walls of that house. It was the doctrine of implicit confidence in the minister that disgusted the people; a confidence not given to him from the experience of his probity and talents, but merely because he was minister.—The doctrine was, that the agent of the executive power, be he who he may, is entitled to confidence; and if he

afterwards commits what the people call a blunder, no inquiry shall be had into his conduct.

With respect to the other part of the minister's speech which related to the allies of his hon. friend Mr. Grey, he thought he might answer it completely by asking the minister, Who will you have for yours? On our part there are infuriated republicans; on yours there are the slaves of despotism; both of them unfriendly perhaps to the constitution: but there was no comparison between them in point of real hostility to the spirit of freedom. The one, by having too ardent a zeal for liberty, lost sight of the true medium by which it was to be preserved; the other detested the thing itself, and are pleased with nothing but tyranny and despotism.

Upon the word *innovation* he must take the liberty of repeating what he uttered almost the first time he addressed that house; an observation which some thought quaintly expressed—"That the greatest innovation that could be introduced in the constitution of England, was to come to a vote that there should be no innovation in it." The greatest beauty of the constitution was, that in its very principle it admitted of perpetual improvement. If it was asked, why his name did not appear in the list of the society for reform? his reason was, that though he saw great abuses he did not see the remedy.—Had his hon. friend consulted him, he should have hesitated in recommending the part he had taken to him; but having taken it, he could not see why the period was improper for the discussion. He professed, in strong terms, his admiration of the British constitution, but thought that Mr. Pitt asserted too much, when he held

forth this country as the only state exempted from anarchy and despotism. In reply to this observation, Mr. Fox noticed America, and paid a handsome compliment to the new constitution of Poiland.

The speaker reminded the house that there was no question before them; but Mr. Burke appeared so anxious to enter upon the subject that the debate was resumed.

It could be but little gratifying to the reader to pursue the right hon. gentleman through all the meanders of a long and desultory declamation; the greater part of which was occupied with allusions to himself and his own peculiar situation. In the course of his speech he compared the conduct of the reformers to a physician who would say to a patient, "You labour under a terrible disease; you must take every thing I prescribe for you; you must take them all, however discordant in their effects."

He said, the present reformers were rather quacks than physicians, for they held out preventatives when no disease was dreaded.

He paid several high compliments to the "Friends of the People;" but observed, that the beginners of reformation never saw where it ended. He enlarged much upon the numbers of factious and discontented persons who existed in this kingdom, on the danger to the state from their seditious conduct: he indulged in a protracted invective against Mr. Cooper, Mr. Watt, Mr. Walker, &c. and from this subject transported himself to those scenes in which his imagination "longs to dwell," the outrages in France, and asked, if they afforded an example encouraging to this country?

Mr. Burke was supported by his friend Mr. Wyndham, who also

pledged himself, "that whenever and in whatever shape, a parliamentary reform should be brought forward, he would oppose it." He added, that in all projects of reform, the grievances ought first to be pointed out and fully considered, and then the remedy that was to be applied; so that by comparison, the system might be either approved or rejected.

Mr. Erskine defended himself, in the midst of much clamour, for having joined the association for parliamentary reform. The measure was also ably supported by Mr. Lambton, and protested against by lord North and Mr. Powys.

Mr. Sheridan hoped, that when the motion should come forward it would be met by argument and reason, and not by declamation and clamour; for the present had been a day of clamour rather than of debate. One honourable gentleman, Mr. Powys, had called upon all who thought as he did, to protest against the measure. In this he had done wisely; for to protest was easier than to argue.

Mr. Sheridan, among other arguments in favour of reform, observed, that sixty or seventy peerages had been created under the present administration, for no distinguished abilities, for no public services, but merely for their interest in returning members of parliament. Here peerages had been bartered for election interest; in a neighbouring kingdom they had been all but proved to have been put up to auction for money. The right. hon. gentlemen, Mr. Pitt, failing in his propositions to add one hundred members to the house of commons, had almost added as many to the house of peers. In his public letter to Mr. Wyvill, he professed himself a friend, both as a man and a minister, to parliamentary reform,

reform, and pledged himself to pursue it till it was accomplished. What had since happened to change his opinion? He had been eight years a minister, and found he could do without it. They who thought reform at all times improper were consistent; but let them be careful what alliance they formed against it. Let them beware of the right hon. gentleman: the constitution had no enemy so dangerous as hypocrisy; no man so much to dread as he who kept his principles in reserve, to be acted upon as he saw expedient for his ambition or popularity; who one day led on the powers of the prerogative, and another, the wildest advocates of democracy.

He proceeded next to notice Mr. Burke's invective against Mr. Walker and Mr. Cooper, and was persuaded that if he had by him that right hon. gentleman's speech, during the American war, in answer to some charges of having corresponded with the rebels, as they were then called, he should have a very good apology to set up on the present occasion.

After some further conversation between several of the members, in which little new was advanced, this desultory altercation ended. We call it by this name, because as there was no object before the house, it is impossible to find another term sufficiently expressive to describe it; and it is indeed curious, rather, as characteristic of the spirit of the times, and of the sentiments of the different speakers, than as an historical event, productive of any effect, or as conveying any information.

The panic which had seized the ministry, in consequence of the association of the friends of the people, was strongly evinced by a mea-

sure which was soon after carried into effect. This was the issuing of a royal proclamation against the publishing and dispersing of seditious writings, and against all seditious and illegal associations; exhorting the magistrates to vigilance in their duty, and the people to an orderly and submissive demeanor.

The policy of this measure was viewed in very opposite lights by the two parties. It was extolled by the friends of the court and ministry as a measure replete with political wisdom, and a most constitutional exercise of the royal authority. By a considerable body, on the other hand, it was at once regarded as both feeble and unwise.—Feeble, because the effectual mode of suppressing seditious publications would have been to prosecute such as were flagrantly injurious to order and good government, and to answer such as professed to be addressed to the reason of the nation.—Unwise, because a proclamation could serve only to declare the timidity or the weakness of government, and as the most effectual mode of advertising the obnoxious publications. It was saying, in direct terms, "We are either too weak or too timid to institute a prosecution, and we humbly intreat that you will have the goodness not to read the Rights of Man," &c. As the Proclamation was generally understood to be pointed against the writings of Mr. Paine, the more rational part of the community considered the measure as a compliment beyond his merits; as calculated to exalt him into a character of too high importance; and the consequence was, as might be expected, that the pamphlets in question were presently dispersed with an unexampled rapidity. The public curiosity was excited in

a manner unprecedented; and in the remote parts of the kingdom, where the name of Paine had not before been heard of, the Rights of Man became at once in universal request.

In the debate which took place in the house of commons on the 25th of May, on an address to his majesty being moved, in answer to the royal proclamation, the master of the rolls, in his introductory speech, plainly intimated, that the object of the proclamation was Mr. Paine; he read an extract from one of his pamphlets, asserting, "That all government was tyranny, that all kings were tyrants, and their subjects slaves;" and complained that these publications had been circulated in schools and seminaries of learning, and that their general reception threatened the extinction of moral obligation, and the dissolution of every tie by which man was bound in civil society.

Mr. Grey, in speaking of the proclamation, professed that he scarcely knew how to express himself upon it; because he hardly could distinguish whether the sentiments which gave birth to it were more impotent or malicious. He mentioned the association of the friends of the people, and complained that the minister, apprehensive of its effects, had concerted this measure, with an insidious view of separating those who had been long connected.—No man was ever more delighted with these sinister practices than the right hon. gentleman.—He, whose whole political life was a constant tissue of inconsistency, of assertion, and retraction; he, who never proposed a measure without intending to delude his hearers; who promised every thing and performed nothing; who never kept his word with the

public; who studied all the arts of captivating popularity without even intending to deserve it; and, from the first step of his political life, was a complete public apostate.

On the topic of seditious writings, Mr. Grey observed, that there was another mode of proceeding; the present was inefficient, irregular, and mischievous. If any writings were published that ought not to have appeared, his majesty's ministers ought to have prosecuted the authors, writers, or printers. For his own part he thought, that, in a general point of view, there ought to be a free circulation of opinions upon public affairs; but if there was any thing that involved the public safety, or threatened evil to the state, it was the duty of those who presided over the government to take notice of it, and it would then become a consideration of prudence, whether it was expedient to prosecute or not. Upwards of twelve months had elapsed since the publications now complained of made their appearance. What could they now say for themselves, or what could the public think of the conduct of the ministers of the crown, who had suffered these publications, which were said to be the bane of the public tranquillity, to poison the public mind for a whole year? He wished to know what could be the motives that brought forward, at this time, this sudden shew of ardour to subdue disorder.—Had it always manifested itself in the conduct of ministers? Was there any remarkable activity displayed in preserving order in the affairs of Birmingham, where there had been actual outrage and violence to the laws, to liberty, and order?

He remarked, as one of the objects of this proclamation, that the king's officers, his commissioners of the

the peace, and his magistrates, were to make diligent enquiry in order to discover the authors and publishers of wicked and seditious writings. —In other words, a system of espionage was to take place, by order of the crown. The very idea was surprising as well as odious, that a proclamation should issue from the sovereign of a free people, commanding such a system to be supported by spies and informers,

Mr. Grey concluded, by proposing an amendment to the address moved by the master of the rolls; the general object of which was, to remove the alarm which the proclamation might create in the minds of the public, and to throw the blame upon his majesty's ministers, if seditious writings were dispersed with impunity.

Mr. Martin supported the amendment, avowed his connection with the society called the "Friends of the People;" and said that he had frequently sat upon election committees; and the scenes of bribery and corruption, and other infamous practices, in that case only, were enough to call for a parliamentary reform.

The address was also opposed by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Baker, and supported by Mr. Brandling, Mr. Macgregor, Mr. Burdon, lord North, and the marquis of Tichfield.

Mr. Courtenay said, that the proclamation must be pronounced to have a good effect which was to raise an army of spies in defence of the constitution. —It was a great consolation that a man could not mention a rotten borough without being arrested by the justices. He said that on a former occasion he had the honour of supporting Mr. Pitt on a parliamentary reform, and he hoped

that in return that right hon. gentleman would vote with him in support of the amendment. This was particularly a circumstance of much weight, as he was aware that the accommodating disposition of Mr. Dundas would induce him to be of the party. —Speaking of this gentleman, he said, reminded him of a certain officer, who nightly paraded the streets of Edinburgh, vociferating—"Wha wants me?"

Mr. Courtenay wished the proclamation had appeared during the Birmingham riots. He condemned in pointed terms the persecution of the dissenters for metaphysical points and speculative opinions. He considered the proclamation to be fraught with mischief, as it tended to spread alarms where none was necessary; but the right hon. gentleman seemed to think that it was necessary to excite riots to preserve the peace.

The proclamation was also condemned by lord Wycombe, lord John Russell, Mr. Adam, Mr. Francis, major Maitland, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Lambton, colonel Macleod, and others; and it was applauded as a wise measure by Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Drake, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Rolle, and Mr. alderman Curtis. But as the subject did not admit of much debate, so the principal part of what was advanced was extremely irrelevant, and mostly a repetition of what had been urged in the preceding debate relative to a reform of parliament.

Mr. Fox, from delicacy to friends, would have wished that he had not been obliged to give a vote on the question; but as it was likely to come to a division, lest improper ideas might go forth into the country with respect to his sentiments, he thought

thought himself bound to declare his disapprobation of a measure which he termed impolitic, unwise, and alarming. He disapproved of it, first, because it was insidious and ambiguous—Was it directed against Mr. Paine's book, the author and publisher of which were well known? Why then desire to discover the author and publisher? If it had a direct purpose, why not directly and unequivocally state it? Why, but because it was the insidious intention to throw out such vague and unnecessary alarm, that they might make it speak a language in the country different from that which they explained in the house?

He noticed the versatility of the minister's conduct, in appearing as the great advocate for reform, and afterwards discountenancing it—In preparing an expensive armament to obtain Oczakow, and afterwards relinquishing that object. There was a passage, he said, in the proclamation, which particularly struck him. It said, "that the prosperity of the country depends on a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament." What must reasonable men think of such an expression coming from a ministry who had begun their career by declaring to the country, that they ought not to have any confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament? To give a true and consistent meaning to these words, there should be added—"As long as the parliament shall act agreeably to the executive government." Mr. Fox concluded with lamenting the riots of Birmingham, and the unhappy divisions which pervaded the kingdom upon trifling and speculative opinions, and which, he hinted, were fomented by the in-

tolerant and uncharitable spirit of those who pretended to be the friends of government.

The chancellor of the exchequer urged, in his defence, the notoriety of the seditious writings in question. He was far from imputing any ill design to the new association; but observed, that it might be taken advantage of by ill-disposed persons, who, under the shelter of a respectable body, might push their own sinister designs. The plan of the persons, to whom he alluded, was evidently to destroy the monarchy, and convert the kingdom into a republic.

The house agreed to the address without a division.

An address was also voted in the house of lords, on the 31st of May, after some debate; in which the proclamation was supported by the marquis of Abercorn, lord Harrington, the prince of Wales, the duke of Richmond, lord Hay, the marquis of Townshend, lord Grenville, lord Rawdon, &c. and opposed by lord Lauderdale and the marquis of Lansdowne.

In the course of the debate, several of the noble lords professed themselves friends to every temperate and moderate reform, and particularly to every thing which could contribute to the happiness of the people.

Lord Rawdon did not think that a reform in parliament, if ever obtained without dangerous consequences, would have all the good effect which was expected from it. He conceived that if any step was necessary, it should be something that would lead to a greater attention in parliament to the voice of the people out of doors. For he was firmly of opinion that the sentiments of the people, properly

properly collected, ought to have their due weight in that house and elsewhere.

His lordship was also of opinion, that the best mode of counteracting any writings against the constitution, would be to publish to the subjects at large the consistency and excellence of that constitution, and at the same time to convince the people of that excellence by the present administration. As long as these effects should be felt, all those writings would lose their influence, the poison of the theories, which they held out would meet a successful antidote in the practice of the government.

As the subject was, however, so amply debated in the house of commons, except these remarks of lord Rawdon, scarcely any thing new occurred in the course of the debate, and the address was carried without a division.

In our preceding volume we thought it proper to give a detail of the atrocious violences committed by a licentious mob in the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham. As our account of those transactions was tolerably full, and, we have reason to think, accurate, there will be little occasion to enlarge much on the debate which took place in the house of commons on the 21st of May, on a motion of Mr. Whitbread to inquire into the conduct of the magistrates, and the prosecution of the offenders concerned in those riots.

As the principal object of Mr. Whitbread, was to prove that the magistrates had been negligent in their duty on that occasion, it is only necessary to offer a short statement of the facts and evidence which he produced in the course of a speech, too long for insertion, and too eloquent not to be injured by abridgement,

Mr. Whitbread began with stating that the cause of dissention was not civil, but religious; and instanced Mr. Croft's and Mr. Madan's sermons, which had greatly contributed to inflame the minds of the people against the dissenters. The former, in the true spirit of bigotry and intolerance, had declared that "it were to be wished that every man, who was seduced by their (the dissenters) plausible arguments, might be excluded the senate;" and the latter asserted, that "the charge of republican principles against them, harsh as it may be thought, is well founded;" with other insinuations equally cruel and intolerant.

He said, he had in his hand 36 affidavits, all agreeing in substance, and all charging the magistrates with gross neglect of duty. Among other instances they mentioned, that two justices (Dr. Spencer and Mr. Carles) walked arm in arm through the crowd, enjoying their clamours without attempting to disperse them. That Mr. Carles assured the mob that "the justices would protect them in every thing that was right;" and that Dr. Spencer made a speech to them, and both these magistrates joined in the huzzas of the mob, and in the cry of "church and king!" Justice Carles also said to a company of the rioters, "Do not do any other mischief than pulling down the meetings, and I will stand your friend as far as lies in my power." Even so late as Sunday, when Mr. Carles was going in his carriage to meet the soldiers, he cried out to the mob, "My lads, be true to your cause! be of my determination to lose the last drop of blood in your body; I am determined to lose the last drop of mine. Do not leave them presbyterian dogs a place standing!"

Several

Several facts appeared upon the face of the same testimony to criminate the conduct of Mr. Brooke, the deputy under-sheriff for the county of Warwick. Some gentlemen standing upon his steps when the company were going to the dinner, were heard to encourage the mob, and one of them said, "he would give a guinea to any person who would fetch the first out of the room by the nose, and lead him round the church yard." Late in the evening a numerous party of rioters appearing before Mr. Brooke's house, he came out and addressed them in a low voice, and "appeared to be giving them something;" and then holding up his arm, he pointed to the street that leads to the new meeting, and there was immediately a general cry of "To the new meeting!" In the course of the evening also he was seen with the mob huzzaing, and exclaiming "church and king!"

Mr. Whitbread also noticed the difficulties which had been thrown in the way of the sufferers, in their attempts to bring the offenders to justice; and particularly the pardons which had been granted to two of the convicts, one of whom was pardoned without assigning any reason, and the case of the other too much resembled that of M'Quirk.

These were the principal facts stated by Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Dundas defended some of the magistrates, and in particular paid a high compliment to the exertions of the earl of Aylesford. He alledged, that all possible dispatch was used in sending the troops to quell the riot. All proper measures had been taken, he said, to bring the offenders to justice. As to the pardon of the convicts, in one of the cases, it was done on the report of the judge; in the other, in consequence of a pe-

tition from sir Robert Lawley, in consequence of several proofs appearing that the man had only interfered in the riot in giving vent to a quantity of confined smoke, by removing a board, which was the means of saving the lives of several persons. Government did not prosecute the magistrates, who were charged with neglect of duty, because the attorney general was of opinion that there was no probability of conviction, and such prosecution might injure the applications made to the sufferers to obtain a compensation for their losses.

Several other members took a part in the debate. Mr. Wyndham in particular complained of the manner in which the dissenters were treated; said, there was a disposition to run them down by violence, and to shut them out from justice; and added, that we should take care that they should not have so many reasons to be dissatisfied.

As the debate was, however, entirely unproductive, Mr. Whitbread's motion being negatived by a large majority, we have only inserted this short sketch of the leading facts which appeared in the course of it, chiefly as additional matter to our former account of the Birmingham riots.

A very just and equitable relief was extended this session to the episcopalian church in Scotland. It is well known, that from the period of the Revolution, the members of this church had been suspected of disaffection to the existing government and the Hanoverian succession; but on the death of the late pretender, every cause of jealousy in that view appeared to be completely removed. The bill for granting relief to this respectable body of christians, was moved in the house of lords by lord Elgin, and after a slight opposition

from

from the lord chancellor (Thurlow) was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent before the close of the session.

The dissenters of England were less fortunate in an attempt made by Mr. Fox on the 11th of May, to procure a repeal of the penal statutes enacted against unitarian dissenters, and particularly the 9th and 10th of king William, entitled, "An act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness."

Mr. Fox on this occasion stated, with his usual spirit, the general arguments in favour of toleration, and referred to the highest literary authorities in favour of his principles, to Mr. Gibbon, archdeacon Paley, and others. He ridiculed the bigotry of some of the clergy, and particularly of bishop Horsley, who had contended that *even the moral good of the unitarians was sin*, and that, "however they served God, loved their kindred, and relieved the distressed, all this was actual sin, because they were heretics."

He insisted on the absurdity of keeping statutes upon our books, which were no longer of use in practice; and declared it to be his wish to extirpate heresy by the old method of *fire*, not however by burning victims, but by committing to the flames obnoxious and obsolete acts of parliament.

Mr. Fox's motion was resisted by Mr. Burke, Mr. Mitford, and Mr. Pitt, on the general ground, that under the present mild and moderate government, no evil was found to result from the statutes in question remaining on the books. Caution, it was said, should always be observed in matters of religion; and as to the maxim, that a statute which was not put in force, ought not to be suffered to exist, its good policy was at least

questionable. As no practical evil therefore resulted from the continuance of those laws, and as some danger might result from the repealing of them, it was argued that it would not be wise to incur any risk, where there existed no inconvenience. The times too, it was said, were unfavourable to such a measure, and the spirit and conduct of the unitarians in general were represented as hostile to the constitution.

Mr. Fox's motion was rejected by a majority of 79.

The libel bill, which was introduced in the last session by Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine, and which was lost in the house of lords, was this session triumphantly carried through both houses and passed into a law. In the commons it met with no opposition. In the lords it was opposed in the second reading (the 20th of March) by the lord chancellor Thurlow.

His lordship urged the contradiction which was offered by the principle of this bill to what had long and solemnly been acknowledged as the law of the land, particularly in a paper which lay on the table of that house, viz. the opinion of the judges delivered in the trial of the king against Woodfall by the earl of Mansfield. Such being the state of the law at present respecting libels, and the judges being at this season engaged upon the circuits, his lordship moved that the second reading of the bill should be deferred to the 24th of April, which, after some opposition from earl Fitzwilliam, lord Portchester, earl Stanhope, and lord Lauderdale, was acceded to.

The bill however was fated to undergo a further delay; for on the appointed day for the second reading, lord Kenyon rose and strongly objected to what he termed the inaccurate

curate wording of the bill. He said the terms were vague and undefined. Between the preamble and the enacting clauses, he found inconsistency and want of relation. Sincerely wishing to have the bill perfectly understood, he moved to put two questions to the judges.

1st. Is the criminality or innocence of the subject matter of any written or printed paper, set forth in an indictment or information for a libel, a matter of fact or of law, where no defence is made by the defendant?

2d. Is the truth of the matter set forth in an indictment or information for a libel, a legal objection to such libel? and whether the epithet *false* be a necessary averment in such indictment or information?

Lord Loughborough expressed his doubt whether the matter of fact and of law was so marked and distinct in cases of libel, as to be easily separated. He could hardly frame to his own imagination a case where the matter at issue was a matter of law unmixed with fact. To attempt to separate them was therefore difficult and dangerous. The jury should have no distraction from the subject immediately before them; nothing should be placed between them and their consciencies; and it was the opinion of the most eminent authorities in the law, that the jury had the power over the whole case. Lord Loughborough concluded with reading two questions, which he should also put to the judges.

1st. Whether in a trial of an indictment or information for a threatening letter, the purport of such letter is a matter of fact or of law?

2dly. Whether in a trial for high treason, and where letters were adduced as evidence, the purport of such letters is a matter of fact or of law?

The bill was also supported by earl Stanhope, lord Portchester, lord Mulgrave, and the earl of Lauderdale, and was further opposed by the lord chancellor. In conclusion, the motion for referring the questions to the judges was carried.

It was the 11th of May before the judges delivered their answer to the proposed question. The opinion branched out into a considerable extent of legal disquisition, but its general purport may be comprised in a few words. They stated,

"That the general criminal law of England is the law of libel."

"That in all cases, and under all circumstances, the criminality or innocence of an act done is matter of law and not of fact."

"That the truth or falsehood of a written or printed paper is not material, or to be left to a jury upon the trial."

Lord Camden supported with uncommon ability the rights of juries on this occasion. He lamented that the judges had evaded answering in direct terms the main question, "Who should try a libel?" On this point however he did not entertain a doubt. It was to the jury, and to the jury only, that a question of libel ought to be submitted.

He exposed the fallacy of the pretended distinction between the matter of law and matter of fact in the question of publishing a libel: they were united as much as intent and action in the consideration of all other criminal proceedings. Without implied malice a man could not even be found guilty of murder. The simply killing a man was nothing till it was proved that the act arose from malice. There could be no libel without a mischievous intention and tendency; the jury therefore, if deprived of the power of judging of that intention and tendency, might as well be

bedeprived of the power of judging of the fact of publication, for the intention and tendency made part of the subject in contest. Thus in cases of libel there was no law separate from the fact, or rather, there was no law at all. The publication was a fact—the intention was so connected with fact, that it could only be proved by fact; the inference could only be drawn from circumstances arising out of the fact.

His lordship entered into a detail of cases from the time of Bracton, 500 years ago, and proved that the general bent of all the charges which had been given to the jury, was, that they were to judge of the intention and tendency of the alleged libel. Even judge Jeffries had said so. His lordship wished the house to say with whom should the judgment of a libel rest? Or rather, who should have the care of the liberty of the press? The judges or the people of England? The jury were the people of England; the judges were independent men. Be it so; but were they totally beyond the possibility of corruption from the crown? The truth, was they possibly might be corrupted—juries never could. What would be the effect of giving judges the whole controul of the press? It would soon be shut up. When so shackled, nothing could appear that was disagreeable to government in any shape whatever.

The arguments of lord Cambden were seconded and enforced by earl Stanhope in a very able manner, who pointed out several instances in the course of the practice of lord Kenyon, lord Mansfield, and lord Thurlow, that appeared in opposition to what was now asserted to be the received doctrine of libel.

The bill was also supported by the marquis of Lansdowne, who remarked, in very pointed terms, upon the

opinion delivered in by the judges. He said that the act which declared the judges apparently independent of the crown, in fact would be found to render them independent of the people, and solely dependent on the crown and the servants of the crown. Before the Revolution judges stood on one ground, and since the Revolution on a different one. Before the Revolution, the judges took no part in politics, or the debates of that house; now they were of great weight in every discussion, and occupied so much of the time, that noble lords could hardly obtain an opportunity of speaking. For what they knew, they might have a chief justice at the head of a party in that house, going down, reeking with party rage to preside on a trial for a libel published against himself by some political adversary.

For his own part, his lordship declared, he could not frame to his mind a case in which juries did not appear as fully competent to decide conscientiously on the law and the fact blended, as the twelve judges. He did not blame lawyers for making a stand against the present bill: it was well worth a struggle on the part of the profession. It was a proud ambitious profession, desirous of obtaining power over all; and if the noble lord at the head of the king's bench could overthrow it, as his lordship had studied politics as well as law, he would be lord paramount of England.

Lord Lauderdale, lord Loughborough, and lord Grenville, also contributed their eminent abilities to the support of the bill; and it was opposed by lords Stormont, Kenyon, and Thurlow, on the old ground of its being an innovation in the law of the land.

In a subsequent debate, it was insidiously attempted to introduce a

new

new clause, the effect of which would have been to defeat the whole principle of the bill. The object of this clause was to permit the court, after a verdict of acquittal, to grant a new trial; but it was strenuously resisted by lord Cambden, and reprobated by the majority of the house.

An attempt was made in the course of the session by lord Rawdon to obtain such a regulation of the laws relative to debtors and creditors, as might eventually prove advantageous to the liberty of the subject, without opening the door to fraud and chicanery. As the bill however came before the lords in a remarkably late period of the session, and as the law lords were particularly desirous of giving to the subject the most ample attention, it was at their instance withdrawn.

On the 5th. of June Mr. Dundas brought forward his statement of the revenue and finances of India. He apologised to the house for the awkwardness he felt at being obliged to go into a detail of the past, and an estimate of the future income, and expences of India, at a time when we were in a state of actual war, and when consequently all estimates must be liable to a considerable degree of uncertainty. He reminded the committee, that by the statement of last year, after paying all charges, the net surplus was £1,409,079, applicable to the purchase of an investment and the reduction of the debt. He remarked upon several material changes in the revenue of the different presidencies, and exhibited the following as a general statement:

Actual revenues of 1790-91.	
Bengal	- £5,522,292
Madras	- 1,644,223
Bombay	- 183,946
Total	7,350,461

2

Actual charges of 1790-91.	
Bengal	- 3,225,928
Madras	- 2,006,304
Bombay	- 1,112,437
	7,024,669
	325,792

Deduct expences of Ben- coolen and Prince of Wales's Island	- 62,018
	263,774
Add sale of import goods and certificates	- 327,877
	591,651

Deduct interest paid at	
Bengal	- 301,524
Madras	- 173,830
Bombay stated at, but no actual account	- 112,784
	588,138

Surplus — 3,513
the whole that remained of the year's revenue and produce of sales and certificates, after paying the expences of the war and the interest of debt payable in India.

The next article to be considered was the

INDIA DEBT.

Debt April 30, 1790	£7,056,652
April 30, 1791	8,150,936
Increase of debt in India	1,094,284
Add debt remitted by sub- scription to England	- 688,044
Increase of debt, if none remitted home	1,782,328
Debt in India, bearing in- terest, April 30, 1790	5,406,936
Ditto, April 30, 1791	6,325,444
	Increase

171

Increase of debt, bearing interest —	918,508
Interest of debt, stated last year at —	447,106
Interest on 30th April, 1791	529,624
Increase of interest, exclusive of diminution by the transfer of debt —	82,517

On this general review, the committee would see that the war and the interest of debt had exhausted within a trifle the whole revenue of India, and the profits of sales and certificates, while a debt had been contracted of 1,782,328/. How, they would ask, had this debt arisen? He was ready to answer, by the purchase of investments.

Advance for investments at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay —	£956,821
Supplies to China —	238,470
Cash more remaining in the treasury in April 1791 than in April 1790 —	303,355

Total 1,492,646

Deducting this from the increase of debt above stated, and the difference unaccounted for, was only 289,682

To this must be added the silver which lord Cornwallis was obliged to take out of the China ships at Madras, which amounted to about £67,160, and would consequently increase the unexplained difference to — — £356,842

Having thus accounted for the increase of the India debt, he proceeded next to shew that the company's affairs were not worse in the beginning of 1792 than in the beginning of 1791 by the amount of this debt. The company's affairs at 1792.

home, he said, had been improved by paying off debt to the amount of £964,000, and by an increase of money in their treasury to the amount of £541,405, so that the whole sum in which the finances of the company had suffered after a war of 18 months, was about — £276,000

The surplus revenue of Bengal he had stated to be — £2,044,003

The interest of debt and supplies to Madras and Behtoolen — 932,212

£1,111,791

leaving more than a million for the supply of Bombay, a sum greatly exceeding the largest estimate that any man could think of forming.

There was little reason to believe that the internal situation of Bengal had suffered by the war. Within one year, bullion to the amount of one million had been sent out by the directors, which by preventing the commerce of the country from being interrupted from a drain of specie to supply the army, contributed greatly to its internal prosperity. He concluded by expressing his expectation of seeing his assertion of last year soon realized, "that the finances of India were much more likely to come in aid of the finances of this country, than the finances of this country to be called to aid those of India."

Mr. Francis professed himself unable to follow the long and intricate statement of figures which had just been submitted to the house; he should therefore take it for granted. On one point however he could not help entirely differing from the right hon. gentleman, and that was with respect to the flourishing state of Bengal; and his reason was, because the

F

Benga!

Bengal newspapers were perpetually full of advertisements for the sale of lands, seized for want of due payment of revenue. He held in his hand two of these advertisements; the one announced the sale of 17 villages, and the other a sale of 42. These accounts were confirmed by numerous private letters from the most respectable correspondents, and he quoted some minutes of lord Cornwallis to the same effect; one of which, dated 18th September, 1789, was in these remarkable words: "I can safely affirm, that one third of the company's territory in Hindoostan is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts." The right hon gentleman had said, that the assessment of the revenue had not been increased. It might to be so; and yet it would not follow that the people could bear it in their present circumstances. In former times, Great Britain had received great supplies of merchandize and money from Bengal, where we now experienced the reverse, and we

sent specie thither, instead of receiving it from India. It had been acknowledged by Mr. Dundas, that in the course of last year the court of directors had sent out a million in specie to Bengal. If that practice was to be established, Mr. Francis insisted that we had better give up Bengal at once.

Thus we have given, in as few words as the nature of the subject would admit, the contrary opinions of the two great authorities on Indian affairs, concerning the finances of that portion of our foreign dominions. The rest of the debate consisted chiefly in desultory conversation concerning the late Indian war. As that subject, however, receives a new aspect from the fortunate termination which has been effected by lord Cornwallis, we hasten to what is of more immediate importance, viz. a detail of the principal events of the war, from its commencement to the peace concluded in March, 1792.

CHAP. IV.

War in India. Commencement of Hostilities. Preparations of the different Armies. March of General Meadows. Taking of Carroor. Of Daraporum. Of Coimbertore. Reduction of Sattimungalum. Attack on Col. Floyd's Detachment. Retreat of Col. Floyd. Recapture of Daraporum by Tippoo Sultan. March of the grand Army. Junction with General Meadows. Successes of the Bombay Army. Reduction of Cannanore. Of Ferokebad. Of Barragurry and Cootahpoore. Arrival of Earl Cornwallis at Madras. Assumes the Command. March of Earl Cornwallis. Taking of Bangalore. Arrival at Arrakeery. March of General Abercrombie. Siege of Seringapatam. Raised. Retreat of the British. Capture of the Hill Forts. Of Nundydroog. Capture of Penagra. Defeat at Kistnagbery. Recapture of Coimbertore. Reduction of Sarvendroog. March of the allied Armies. Second Siege of Seringapatam. Attack on Tippoo's Camp. Attempt to surprize Lord Cornwallis. Arrival of Bombay Army. Negotiation. Treaty of Peace concluded.

IN our preceding volume we explained at large the grounds and objects of the Indian war*, and we have since had ample reason to be satisfied with the correctness and accuracy of our statement.

We avoided entering into the detail of military transactions, not only because a continued narrative possesses obvious advantages above an interrupted recital, but because we had reason to expect a plenitude of correct and authentic information relative to these facts, and in this we have not been disappointed.

The actual commencement of hostilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, who were stationed in Cranganore, and for the defence of that fortress with those of Tippoo Sultan on the 1st of May, 1790 †. This event, which was expected by our government, and possibly concerted with them, was the signal for the most vigorous preparation for war on the part of

the British. The grand Carnatic army assembled immediately in the southern provinces. The general plan of the campaign was to reduce the Coimbertore country, and all the adjacent territory which lay below the Ghauts, or narrow passes between the mountains, and to advance by the Gujelhetty pass to the seige of Seringapatam, the metropolis of Mysore. While such were to be the operations of the grand army under general Meadows, the Bombay army under general Abercrombie was to undertake the reduction of the country lying to the west of the Ghauts, and afterwards to co-operate with the main army, as circumstances might direct. In the mean time the safety of the Carnatic was secured by a force under colonel Kelly, and styled, from its position, the centre army, being stationed in the line between Madras and the passes leading to Mysore.

The Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam were respectively to penetrate the enemys's territory in the quarter

* See our last Vol. p. 133. † Ib. 135.

quarter bordering upon theirs; and Seringapatam was established as the common center, where the whole force was to appear in a collective body.

With such dispatch were the movements ordered, that general Meadows joined the grand army at Trichinopoly on the 24th of May, and on the 26th this formidable body of finely appointed troops, amounting to 14,000 effective men, marched towards the Coimbatore country. The march, however, of Indian armies cannot be very rapid, as their baggage and provisions are mostly transported upon bullocks. It was therefore the 15th of June before general Meadows entered Tippoo's country; and the first place that surrendered to the British arms was the fort of Carroor, about 45 miles from Trichinopoly, which was immediately evacuated on the appearance of the British general.

It was somewhat remarkable that Tippoo appeared to have taken scarcely any measures to secure the country below the Ghauts, nor even to remove or destroy the grain in a territory which it was evidently not his intention to defend. Notwithstanding this circumstance, however, so inadequate is such a country to the supply of so considerable a force as that of the British, that it was the 3d of July before the army was enabled to move from Carroor, after collecting all the supplies which the country afforded, and after putting the fort on the most tenable footing possible.

Seven days were spent in marching 59 miles to Daraporum. In this place the army was fortunate enough to find a very seasonable and plentiful supply of grain. They now learned that Tippoo had ascended the Ghauts, leaving at the

foot of them, between Gujelhetty and Damicotta a strong detachment of horse. On the 22d of July the army entered Coimbatore, which was also evacuated on their approach, though it contained a considerable quantity of grain, and some military stores. The smaller forts in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore were reduced by different detachments in a short time.

An enterprize of more importance was also attempted during the halt of the army of Coimbatore. Soon after their arrival at that capital, col. Floyd, with the cavalry, was dispatched towards Damicotta, about 40 miles to the north, in the hope of surprising the detachment of cavalry, which, we have just intimated, was stationed by Tippoo below the Ghauts; the colonel however only succeeded in capturing about 50 horse.

Towards the latter end of August, col. Floyd was again sent to reduce Sattimungalum and Damicotta. The former was garrisoned by a battalion, and, having been intended as a depot, considerable quantities of provisions were collected there: it however, surrendered to col. Floyd without the smallest resistance. Being soon after joined by a detachment under col. Oldham, the whole body was computed to be nearly equal in strength to one wing of the grand army, but without its proportion of artillery. The station which this small army occupied after the capture of Sattimungalum, was to the south of the Bowanny river, opposite that fortress. On the 12th of September, Tippoo Sultan descended the Gujelhetty Pass, and on the following day commenced a smart cannonade on col. Floyd's detachment. During the night therefore the colonel thought it necessary

to retreat towards Coimbatore, but during the whole of the succeeding day, the 14th, found himself closely pressed by the enemy. The severest part of the conflict was in the evening near Showoor, when the Mysorean force was repulsed with equal valour and judgment on the part of the British.

As intelligence was very early conveyed to general Meadows of Tippoo's motions, that commander lost no time in marching to the relief of col. Floyd. On the 14th at night the general reached Vellady, while col. Floyd was at Showoor about 20 miles to the eastward. By some unaccountable mistake, however, the army continued to march to the northward, and did not join col. Floyd till the 16th. The loss on this occasion amounted to 150 killed and near 300 wounded, and 6 guns were left behind, on account of the loss of the draft cattle.

After halting the whole of the 17th, in order to refresh col. Floyd's detachment, gen. Meadows marched to the eastward to offer Tippoo battle; but in the mean time the Sultan had retreated to Sattimungalum, and the British general, from want of provisions, was under a necessity of returning to Coimbatore.

It was the close of the month before general Meadows was able to march again in quest of the enemy. The wary Indian, however, who never fights but at an advantage, was too cautious to be engaged by the manoeuvres of the general. When the army arrived at any post in the evening, the usual report was, that Tippoo had quitted it early in the morning; and a general ignorance of his motions and designs, seems indeed, for some time, to have pervaded the camp; and it was the 12th

of October before any authentic intelligence could be gained. It then appeared that his object had been to attack Daraporum, which surrendered to his arms, and the British garrison arrived in camp on the 17th, under an escort of Tippoo's troops, agreeably to the terms of capitulation. The garrison spoke in high terms of the honourable treatment which they had experienced from this prince, who has been usually characterized as a cruel and implacable tyrant.

Tippoo departed from Daraporum on the 20th, and probably desirous of placing the Bowanny river, which at this season is rough and swelling, between his army and the British, proceeded to Sattimungalum. He might also have a further view in taking this position, viz. to prevent the junction of general Meadows with the center army.

The British general left Coimbatore on the same day that Tippoo quitted Daraporum, but nothing worth recording occurred till the 7th of November, when colonel Floyd, who had been sent to reconnoitre, brought the intelligence that Tippoo had crossed the Cavery to the north-east, in the beginning of the month, and was apparently proceeding to stop the progress of the center army, now commanded by colonel Maxwell, the former commander, colonel Kelly, being dead.

It would be useless to detail minutely the progress of this center army; let it suffice to say, that after a fatiguing and dangerous march, and after taking possession of several forts in the Barramaul, colonel Maxwell, on the 3d of November, took a strong position at Caveripattam, where probably his intelligence led him to wait the approach of

F 3 Tippoo,

B R I T I S H A N D

Tippoo, rather than risk his army in a less favourable position by daring to advance.

The conjectures which had been formed with respect to the designs of the enemy, were, as it afterwards appeared, well founded. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th, Tippoo presented himself before colonel Maxwell in line of battle; but finding the British commander too well prepared and too strongly posted, and conscious that his rear would certainly be pressed by the near approach of general Meadows, he retired in time to secure himself a favourable position for a timely retreat.

The history of the grand army during this time, is no more than a journal of its marches in pursuit of the enemy. On the 17th of November the two armies (the grand and the center army) effected a junction at Poolamputty; and on the following evening, as they were pursuing their route to the southward, they came unexpectedly in sight of the rear of the Mysorean army, the advance of which was probably at that moment entering the pass of Tapoor. The rear consisted of the prime of Tippoo's cavalry, drawn up in compact bodies to favour the retreat of the main body. They were cannonaded and pursued to the foot of the pass, and apparently suffered some loss.

From this period, the united armies under general Meadows directed their course backwards by the straightest road to Trichinopoly, in order to refresh themselves and obtain a supply; but the weather proved so unfavourable that they did not arrive in its neighbourhood till the 8th of December. Here they learned that Tippoo had arrived at Munfurput, on the banks of the

Colaroone, opposite Trichinopoly, on the 28th of November, where he continued encamped till December 6th, but without making any attack upon Trichinopoly — deterred, most probably, by the swollen state of the river.

While such were the movements of general Meadows, a detachment from the Bombay army, under lieutenant colonel Hartley, rendered effectual assistance to the Rajah of Travancore, and on the 5th of Dec. general Abercrombie, with the remainder of the forces from Bombay, arrived at Tellicherry, while col. Hartley was ordered to Paniani to keep the communication open between the two armies.

The reduction of Cannanore was general Abercrombie's first object, upon which he marched the 14th of December; and on the 17th the town and garrison surrendered, and the troops engaged not to serve against the British during the war. Col. Hartley nearly about the same time obtained possession of Ferokabad, the capital of the Malabar coast, and the enemy retreated to the Ghauts. These successes were followed, on the 27th, by the surrender of the posts of Barragurry and Cootahpoore, so that the whole district along the coast from Billipattam river to cape Comorin was now in the possession of the British and their allies.

The army under general Meadows left Trichinopoly on the 5th of January, 1791, and proceeded to the right towards Madras, where earl Cornwallis had arrived on the 13th of December. On the 12th of January the right wing of the grand army reached Vellout, about eighteen miles from Madras, and on the 29th of the same month earl Cornwallis joined the grand army there, which

which early in February proceeded in two columns towards Vellore.

From the direction of the march it was supposed that his lordship meant to enter the Myfore territory by the Baramaul valley; and so completely was Tippoo deceived by this feint, that his whole attention was directed to the passes in that quarter. The real object however of the British general was, the pass of Muglee; and so judiciously had he taken his measures, that no interruption was given to the army till they had proceeded three days march to the westward beyond the pass.

It was the 22d of February before the last of the public stores and the baggage of the army were got safe over the pass. The succeeding day was a day of halt. The order of battle was then published, and the bullocks and elephants mustered; of the former 27,000 were found fit for service, and of the latter, eighty accompanied the army.

Lord Cornwallis proceeded for Bangalore on the 24th of February. After three days march, some parties of the enemy's horse, were discovered which increased as the army advanced; and before the British reached within eighteen miles of Bangalore, they burnt all the adjacent villages and destroyed the forage. When advanced within ten miles of the fortress, Tippoo's army appeared in excellent order, and taking possession of the heights, cannonaded the British rear, while his cavalry made an unsuccessful attempt on the baggage.

The British general encamped before Bangalore on the 5th of March. In the afternoon colonel Floyd, with the cavalry being dispatched to reconnoitre, was tempted to attack Tippoo's rear, which at first appeared to give way; but the

enemy being strongly reinforced, soon rallied, and compelled the colonel to retreat. On the following day the pettah or town was stormed and taken, with the loss of 100 men: it was found to contain a good supply of grain, forage, and fuel.

On the 12th three batteries were opened on the fort, but they were too distant to effect a breach; on the 16th, therefore, a new battery of nine guns was opened at 550 yards from the works. On the 17th, and again on the 21st, Tippoo drew out his army, but without effect. A breach of some extent was about this time effected, and on the evening of the 21st, the fort was stormed and taken with little loss on the side of the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison. Not less than 1000 were massacred with the bayonet, and 300, mostly wounded, were taken. Such is war in its very nature and spirit, that it necessarily destroys the moral feelings; and such are its inevitable consequences, that however distinguished for humanity the commander may be, he generally finds himself, on such occasions, unable to restrain the intemperance and cruelty of his soldiers. The philosopher, in future and in better times, will peruse these melancholy details with a sigh, and will ask, By what authority men embark from a distant shore for the express purpose of imbruing their hands in the blood of their offenceless fellow creatures?

The army remained at Bangalore till the 28th of March, when they proceeded to the N. N. E. towards Chinna-Balabaram. Nothing of importance occurred till the 7th of April, when they were joined by a party of the Nizam's troops, in number from 14 to 16,000; but in a very bad and irregular state. On

the 19th colonel Oldham joined the army, bringing with him a welcome supply of stores and provisions, and a reinforcement of about 700 Europeans, and 4,000 native troops. On the 25th earl Cornwallis declared his intentions of proceeding to Seringapatam; but it was the 3d of May before the army could be sufficiently prepared for so considerable an enterprize.

The march was attended with every inconvenience that could result from a hilly country, heavy roads, and almost continual rain. The army arrived on the 13th at Arakeery, whence they had a view of their great object the capital of Mysore, then only about nine miles distant. At the same time they observed a large body of troops crossing from the island of Seringapatam to the north side of the river Cavery, and taking a position in the front of the British, at the distance of about six miles. These troops, however, were then considered only as a large detachment, and not as the main body of Tippoo's army, as they really were, a part of them being obscured by the projecting base of a hill which intervened between the two camps. Tippoo had only arrived at his capital four days before the appearance of lord Cornwallis at Arakeery.

As his lordship had received certain intelligence that general Abercrombie had ascended the Ghauts on the Malabar side, the first object was to form a junction, if possible, with that general. The whole of the 14th, therefore, was employed in endeavours to make a bad ford, which there was across the Cavery, fit for the transporting of artillery; but the depth of the river, and its uneven and rocky bed, obliged them to desist.

The difficulty of approaching the enemy's camp on the side of Arakeery, determined the British commander to march round the ridge of mountains on the right, to endeavour to surprize the Sultan in his camp. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th, the whole army was under arms; but the night proved most unfavourable for the purpose. The rain and the darkness, added to some misconception of orders, produced the most deplorable confusion and delay; and when the day broke, instead of being near the object of their destination, they had only moved a few miles, and the rear of the line had but just passed their own piquets to the right. At sun rise, moving round the edge of the hills, the enemy's line was seen from a rising ground in the same strong position they had occupied the day before. Very low ground, intersected by a deep ravine, ran along their front, but a high ground beyond the ravine seemed to offer a fair opportunity of attacking their left flank with advantage. The first European brigade moved on to possess this height; and at the same time a body of the enemy's infantry moved from the left, and soon after a large body of troops and artillery advanced from the Mysorean camp to occupy the height, which was also the object of the British. From the superiority of their cattle, this detachment, commanded by Cummer ud Deen, gained its summit first, but the British were fortunate enough to prevent them from occupying another strong ridge, which, although lower than the first, was yet of material importance.

The army was formed in two divisions. The right, commanded by colonel Maxwell, marched to attack

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the height which had been pre-occupied by Cummer ud Deen, in the manner already related. The left was under the command of general Meadows; and the cavalry was placed out of gunshot, to be in readiness to embrace any advantage that might be presented.

The action was begun by colonel Maxwell storming the height, in which having been eminently successful, the left division advanced to the attack of the enemy's main body, and the action soon became general along the whole front. The success of colonel Maxwell proved fatal to Tippoo; for after leaving a sufficient force to occupy the height, that officer advanced rapidly to gain the Carigal height, close to the enemy's left flank, while the cavalry under colonel Floyd moved at the same time to attack their right. The consequence was, that Tippoo was obliged to give way, though his retreat was gradual and masterly. One gun only was taken on the field, and three others on the height, by col. Maxwell. The enemy were pursued till the fire from the island batteries obliged the assailants to desist; and the following day lord Cornwallis encamped partly on the field of battle, and just out of the reach of the island batteries. The loss on the part of the British in this action was inconsiderable.

Of this success it is well known that lord Cornwallis was unable to take the advantage, and the principal causes of his miscarriage may be reduced to two—the swelling of the river, and the weakness of the draft cattle, which prevented a junction with general Abercrombie, together with the want of provisions to support them during a protracted siege.

After dispatching orders, therefore, to general Abercrombie (who

had obtained possession of Periapattam) to return down the pals with all expedition, on the 26th of May, lord Cornwallis moved from his encampment near Seringapatam on his return to Bangalore, having previously destroyed his battering train, and removed every incumbrance. On the 28th he was joined by the Mahrattas to the number of 30,000, whose movements had been doubtless accelerated by the news of Tippoo's defeat. As they brought with them, however, a supply of provisions, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence was for the present removed, and the combined armies moved slowly to the place of their destination. In their route they made themselves masters of several petty fortresses; and on the 18th of July Ousoor submitted to the British arms, and by reducing the forts in its neighbourhood, the Odeadurgum and Ryacota passes were opened, through which it was his lordship's intention to obtain supplies in the ensuing campaign. On the 30th of July the combined forces encamped within six miles of Bangalore. General Abercrombie, after having also sacrificed his battering train, was compelled to lead back a sick and dispirited army over the almost inaccessible mountains which he had so lately passed, with perhaps more difficulty, but with more ardent and inspiring expectations.

While the British forces lay encamped near Seringapatam, a present of fruit had been sent from Tippoo to lord Cornwallis, and some overtures were made for the obtaining of a separate peace. The present was, however, returned with but little courtesy on the part of the British general, and the Sultan, it is said, was assured that no peace could be acceptable which was not to include the allies. Notwithstanding this

this disappointment, so solicitous was the monarch for obtaining peace, that lord Cornwallis had scarcely reached Bangalor than a vakeel was dispatched by Tippoo with full powers to treat. From what cause his mission was unsuccessful we are not fully informed; but it was generally reported that the forms of his reception, with which lord Cornwallis did not chuse to comply, and on which, he said, he was authorised to insist, put an end to the negotiation. It is to be lamented, that any instances should occur in the present age to give colour to the sarcastic observation of the democratic writers, that in the eyes of princes and great men, the lives of their fellow creatures are frequently of less importance than the observation of some trivial etiquette, of some ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony.

During the winter months, lord Cornwallis was not inactive, but on the contrary omitted nothing which might contribute to the success of the ensuing campaign. The first object that engaged his attention, was to regulate the contract for bullocks in such a manner as to ensure a proper and adequate supply of cattle for every purpose during the continuance of the war; the next was the reduction of the hill forts to the North East of Bangalore, which were so situated between that fortress and Gumunconda, as to interrupt the communication with the Nizam's army, and the supplies which might be collected in that quarter. The smaller forts surrendered upon summons, but Nundydroog, the capital of a large district, and built upon the summit of a mountain, 1700 feet in height, three fourths of which were absolutely inaccessible, was enabled to stand a

considerable siege. From the 22d of September to the 18th of October, the brave garrison resisted with heroic firmness. On that day the breaches being rendered practicable, lord Cornwallis, with a view to intimidate the garrison, encamped within four miles of the fort; and it was determined to make the assault at midnight, in hopes of taking the garrison by surprize. The vigilance of the enemy, however, soon discovered the assailants, but their fire was not sufficiently well directed to prevent the British soldiery from mounting the breach. The carnage which must have ensued was prevented partly by a number of the garrison escaping by ladders over a low part of the wall, but chiefly by the laudable exertions of captain Robertson, who commanded the storming party, and who with a humanity which reflects the utmost honor on his character, from the moment he entered the fort directed his whole attention to preserving order, and preventing the effusion of blood.

In the latter end of October, col. Maxwell was sent with a detachment towards the Baramoul valley, chiefly to disperse the plundering parties which intercepted the provisions. On the 31st, col. Maxwell took a small mud fort, called Penagra, by storm; but we must regret that the same humanity was not exercised here as at Nundydroog; for out of a garrison of 300, not less than 150 were put to the sword.

At Kistnaghery the colonel met with a more serious resistance. The lower fort, including the pettah or suburb, was gained without much difficulty. But the garrison in the upper fort, alarmed perhaps at the fate of Penagra, defended it with a degree of heroism bordering on despair.

pair. Immense rocks and showers of stones were hurled down into the road; the scaling-ladders were broken to pieces, and after two hours vigorous assault, colonel Maxwell at length found it necessary to desist from the attempt.

The Sultan was not wanting on his part in exertion and activity during this recess from the more important business of the war. Early in September a detachment was sent by him to lay siege to Coimbatore, which was most gallantly defended by lieutenant Chalmers, and the assailants were repulsed and forced to raise the siege. Not discouraged by this disgrace, Tippoo lost no time in dispatching his second in command, Cummer-ud-Deen Cawn, to reduce that place, where, for a while, he experienced the same vigorous resistance which had formerly favored the fortress. A detachment, however, under major Cuppage, which was sent by lord Cornwallis for the relief of Coimbatore, having been defeated by the Cawn, lieutenant Chalmers was under the necessity of capitulating on the 2d of November, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were allowed to remain on their parole during the continuance of hostilities.

The fortress of Savendroog, which lies about eighteen miles to the west of Bangalore, is situated on the summit of a vast mountain of rock, which is supposed to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height from a table or base of eight or ten miles in circumference. This immense mountain has a further advantage, in being divided at its summit by a chasm which separates it into two hills, which having each their peculiar defences, form two citadels, capable of being maintained

independent of the lower works. The whole mountain is surrounded by a strong wall on every side, and in every part which was considered as accessible, cross walls and barriers are erected so as to give the whole an impregnable and stupendous appearance.

This fortress was an object to the zeal, and perhaps to the ambition of lord Cornwallis; and lieutenant col. Stuart was dispatched for its reduction. It was the 10th of December when this officer encamped within three miles of the north side of the rock, the quarter which the chief engineer considered as the weakest. On the 17th the colonel opened two batteries on the fortress—One at the distance of 1000, and the other of 700 yards; but the wall being built of large stones, the lower tier of which was rivetted to the rock by iron clamps, but little impression was made. On the 19th, therefore, a battery was opened within 250 yards of the wall, which in the course of two days effected a practicable breach. On the morning of the 21st, at eleven o'clock, the assault was made, and in less than an hour the surprising exertions of the British soldiery made them masters of a fortress, which had hitherto been considered as impregnable. On the 24th of December, Outredrog, another fortress, about twelve miles from the former, was also taken by storm.

Several forts of less note were reduced about the same period by different detachments of the combined army; and Gumuncondah was blocked up by Hafez Jee, one of the Nizam's best generals. The place however was relieved on the 21st of December by Hyder Saib, the eldest son of Tippoo Sultan, who made prisoners Hafez Jee, and
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a considerable part of the detachment.

Early in November, gen. Abercrombie returned to Tellicherry from Bombay, and immediately received orders from the governor general to pursue the same plan of operations as in the preceding campaign. On the 5th of December therefore the general proceeded on his march through the Ghauts towards the Mysore country. The Mahratta force under Purseram Bhow was not inactive in the mean time, but was successful in the reduction of several forts situated on the rivers Tum and Budra, which opened to their occupation a fertile district, and were the means of affording very seasonable supplies.

The period now approached when something of more importance was to be expected from the combined force which at this time acted in the territory of Mysore, and when the reduction of the capital was to be attempted as the means of either crushing entirely the force of the enemy, or bringing him to such terms as might ensure a lasting peace.

On the 1st of February, 1792, therefore, the allied armies commenced their march, in the course of which, nothing worth relating occurred; and on the 5th they arrived within sight of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the Sultan was strongly posted to receive them.

Tippoo's front line, or fortified camp, which was situated on the north side of the Caverry behind a strong bound hedge, was defended by heavy cannon in the redoubts, and by his field train and army stationed to the best advantage. To the front there appeared at least 100 pieces of cannon and in the fort and island, which formed his second line, there were

at least three times that number. The confederate army encamped at the distance of about six miles from the Sultan. Their camp was separated in two divisions by a small stream, called the Lockarry river, which runs into the Caverry. The British army formed the front line; the reserve was stationed about a mile in the rear, where the Mahratta and Nizam's armies were also posted, but at a still further distance.

The British commander did not suffer his troops to enjoy a long repose in this station; for on the 6th of February, general orders were issued, directing an attack upon the enemy's camp and lines that evening at 7 o'clock. The right division, consisting of 3300 infantry, was commanded by general Meadows; the center, consisting of 3700, by lord Cornwallis in person; and the left, which only amounted to 1700 men, by lieutenant-col. Maxwell. At eight o'clock the whole body was under arms; the evening was calm and serene; and the troops moved on by the light of the moon, in determined silence. While the columns were on their march, the camp left under the command of colonel Duff was struck, and the baggage packed; and this was the first notice communicated to the allies of the intended attack. Their consternation is scarcely to be imagined, when they found that lord Cornwallis had proceeded on this desperate enterprise with a part of his infantry only, and unsupported by artillery; and Tippoo himself, it appears, had no apprehension of so early a visit, especially as neither Purseram Bhow nor general Abercrombie had yet joined.

Between the hours of ten and eleven at night, the center column, within a mile of the bound hedge, touched

touched upon the enemy's grand guard, or body of cavalry, who were coming with rockets, &c. to disturb the British camp. The cavalry galloped off to the lines, and left the rocket boys to harass the column and endeavour to impede its march. Perceiving themselves thus completely discovered, the column advanced with uncommon rapidity, and entered the lines in less than a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have reached the enemy.

The right column met with more impediments, and being led to a more distant point than was intended. By lord Cornwallis, was considerably later in reaching the hedge than the center column. It entered however about eleven, and the battle became general throughout the enemy's lines. The right division, owing to its late arrival, and to its having attacked a redoubt which the commander in chief had intended to be passed by, gave time to the enemy to form, and suffered severely from grape and musket shot during a sharp contest, which lasted almost till day-break. The enemy at length completely gave way before the persevering valour of the British troops; and at day-break general Meadows found himself complete master of the field; but being entirely ignorant of the operations of the other columns, was unable to proceed.

The main object of the center column, was to gain possession of the island, into which it was their intention to pass along with the fugitives. After entering the lines, the front division of this column soon dispersed the enemy, and passing the Sultan's tent, which was hastily abandoned, pressed forward to the river in two divisions. The

first party, commanded by captain Monson, crossed the ford under the walls of the fort without opposition. They proceeded instantly to the east gate of the city, but found it shut and the bridge drawn up; they therefore proceeded through the island to an extensive *bazar* or market place, where they made a considerable slaughter of the enemy. This party was almost immediately followed by the other division under colonel Knox, which however, instead of directing its course to the city, proceeded to the Rajah's garden, and thence to take possession of the suburb Shaher Ganjam, the gates of which they forced open, and soon drove the enemy from all their batteries in that quarter. Another party under captain Hunter crossed the river, and stationed themselves in the Rajah's garden; but as soon as their position was discovered, they were attacked by superior numbers of the enemy, so that captain Hunter was obliged precipitately to re-pass the river and join lord Cornwallis, where his presence afterwards materially contributed to his lordship's safety.

The center division of this column advanced to the Sultan's redoubt, which they found abandoned, and afterwards co-operated with colonel Maxwell in the defeat of Tippoo's right wing. Lord Cornwallis with the reserve remained close by that part of the bound hedge where the column had first entered; and here, two hours before day-break, he was joined by captain Hunter's party, who had but just time to change their cartridges, which were wet with crossing the river, before the whole party was attacked by a strong body of troops, part of Tippoo's center and left, who now recovered from their panic, rallied with redoubled

doubled resolution. The conflict was supported with inflexible courage on both sides, and it was near day light before the enemy was finally repulsed. Lord Cornwallis then, apprehensive of being surrounded, retired to the pagoda hill, where he was met by general Meadows who was in motion to support his lordship.

The intended operations of the left division under colonel Maxwell, were to attack the Carighaut hill on the right of Tippoo's fortified camp, and thence to force their way into the island by the most practicable means. The hill, though strong both by nature and art, was gained by colonel Maxwell without much resistance. The column afterwards marched down towards the river, though much galled by a party who had sheltered themselves behind a bank, and by the firing from the right of Tippoo's line from behind the bound hedge. They crossed the ford with much difficulty, and soon joined the victorious parties, who had obtained possession of the eastern extremity of the island.

The battle was continued in different parts during the whole of the 7th. The most desperate conflict was at the Sultan's redoubt, which was defended by a small party of British under major Kelly, against three vigorous attacks, seconded by a heavy cannonading from the forts.

The enemy having quitted every post on the north side of the river, the camp was advanced on the succeeding days as near to the bound hedge as the guns of the fort would permit, and a chain of posts connecting along the northern and eastern faces of the fort, were formed, so as strongly to invest the capital of Mysore on its two principal sides.

Thus pressed by the invaders in every quarter; his palace and beautiful gardens in the possession of the enemy, and his whole power reduced within the narrow limits of a citadel, the possession of which was even uncertain, the hitherto unsubdued spirit of the Sultan seems to have given way with his tottering fortunes; and peace, almost upon any terms, appeared a desirable acquisition. As a preliminary step towards an accommodation, he determined to release lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been captured at Coimbatore. On the evening of the 8th of February these officers were introduced into the Sultan's presence. They found him in a small tent on the south glacis of the fort, very plainly dressed, and with few attendants. After acquainting them with their release, he asked Mr. Chalmers, if on going to the camp he was likely to see lord Cornwallis; and on being answered in the affirmative, he requested that he would take charge of a letter to his lordship on the subject of peace. He affirmed solemnly that it never had been his wish or intention to break with the English; that from the first commencement of hostilities he had been extremely anxious for the restoration of peace. He expressed a wish that Mr. Chalmers would return with the answer; and concluded, by presenting him with two shawls and 500 rupees. Lieutenants Chalmers and Nash had been remarkably well treated while detained by Tippoo.

While the Sultan was thus anxiously endeavouring to restore tranquillity to his exhausted country, his mind was still fertile in the expedients and stratagems of war. By one master-stroke of policy, that of capturing the commander in chief, he

hoped

hoped to effect his purpose in a shorter and more honourable mode than by the slow and precarious method of negotiation. On the 8th and 9th of February, small parties of his cavalry were observed to cross the Caverry at the fort near Arrakerry (the station which lord Cornwallis had occupied in the preceding campaign); and on the morning of the 10th a considerable body of them got round the left wing undiscovered, and entered between the British camp and that of the Nizam. The allies, not suspecting these horsemen to be enemies, suffered them to pass on quietly; and on their asking some of the camp followers for the Burra Saib, or commander, these persons, supposing that the horsemen only wished to communicate some intelligence to colonel Duff, the commanding officer of artillery, pointed to his tent. The horsemen then drew their sabres and galloped to the tent, but being fortunately perceived by a party of sepoy drafts and recruits, who were encamped in the rear of the artillery park, and who formed with singular alacrity; and faced the enemy with undaunted firmness, they were soon dispersed, and the attempt proved abortive.

On the 16th of February the Bombay army under general Abercrombie, after a fatiguing march, and after having been in some degree harassed by detached parties of the enemy during their progress, joined lord Cornwallis, and afforded a reinforcement of about 2,000 Europeans and 4,000 native troops fit for duty. Preparations therefore were vigorously made on the 18th. for the attack of the fort, not on the island side, which was deemed the strongest, but on the quarter

facing the north, which appeared to lord Cornwallis most assailable; and trenches were immediately ordered to be opened, and batteries to be constructed with all expedition on that side.

As it was proper, however, to draw off the attention of the enemy as much as possible from these operations, on the 19th a diversion was ordered to be made from the island, and an assault was projected on the enemy's cavalry, which was encamped on the south side of the river.

Major Dalrymple and captain Robertson, with the 71st regiment and the 13th battalion of Bengal seapoys, were sent upon this enterprise. Captain Robertson with a party entered the camp undiscovered, and with the bayonet killed upward of 100 troopers, and double that number of horses, and retired without molestation, and without the loss of a man.

While this affair was transacting, a much more important operation was carried on during the night of the 19th, a parallel and redoubt having been completed within a small distance of the walls of the fort, from which it was only separated by the river. Day-light revealed to the Sultan these formidable arrangements; and he lost no time in endeavouring to defeat their effect. He opened every gun he could bring to bear on the parallel, and sent continual parties of infantry to harass the troops and interrupt the work. Finding these exertions to be in vain, Tippoo next endeavoured to deprive the camp of its supply of water, by altering the course and evacuating a large canal, from which it had been hitherto supplied: to counteract this injurious operation therefore, a party was detached under

der the command of captain Wahab, with pioneers to repair the embankment. They soon dislodged the enemy from their station, and as they had not been able to destroy much of the embankment, the damage was presently repaired, and the water restored to its accustomed channel.

On the 10th, the grand operation of the siege commenced by the opening of the trenches, and a heavy discharge from all the batteries; in the mean time, the Bombay army crossed the river in order to invest the western side of the capital. Some little resistance was made to general Abercrombie's establishing himself on that side of the river; but towards evening the party which opposed him was dispersed. General Abercrombie's force on the south side of the river consisted of three regiments of Europeans, and six battalions of seapoys. His camp, strongly situated on the heights, was pitched just beyond the gun-shot of the fort.

In consequence of the application through lieutenant Chalmers, lord Cornwallis agreed to receive vakeels or envoys to treat of peace. On the 15th, 16th, 19th, and 21st; sir John Kennaway and Mr. Cherry, assisted by Vakeels from the Nizam's son and Hurry Punt, the Maharratta chief, met the agents of the Sultan, but apparently little progress was made in the negotiation.

The siege still continued without intermission, and on the 22d, general Abercrombie conceiving it necessary to take possession of an evacuated redoubt and a grove, situated between his camp and the fort, the possession was warmly disputed by a detachment, chiefly consisting of dismounted cavalry; and though the British were in the end victorious,

it was not till after the loss of 101 men killed and wounded.

During the nights of the 22d and 23d of February, new works were erected; and two breaching batteries, one of 20 and the other of 12 guns, would have been ready to open on the 1st of March. The Maharratta army commanded by Purseram Bhow, and consisting of 20,000 horse, a body of several thousand infantry, and 30 pieces of cannon, was expected daily to join, as well as major Cuppage from the Coimbatore country, with 400 Europeans and three battalions of seapoys. In the mean time, Tippoo had been compelled to send off all his cavalry, as well as his workmen and camp followers, to Mysore. The British army was well supplied with every necessary, and that of the Sultan in want of every thing:

In this hopeless situation the monarch of Mysore was compelled to accept of whatever terms were offered by the British commander. Lord Cornwallis in this instance is supposed to have been actuated by motives of policy, rather than by any doubt of success in capitulating with Tippoo. The best informed persons on the politics of India, have been averse to the annihilation of the Mysorean power; and it is generally supposed that the governor general rather wished it to be humbled than destroyed. However this may be, preliminaries of peace were signed on the evening of the 23d of February, and on the following day there was an entire cessation of hostilities. The substance of the treaty was—

1st. That Tippoo was to cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers. 2d. That he was to pay three crores and 30 lacks of rupees. 3d. That all prisoners were

were to be restored. 4th. That two of the sultán's three eldest sons were to become hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th the two princes, each mounted on an elephant, richly caparisoned, proceeded from the fort to lord Cornwallis's camp, where they were received by his lordship with his staff. The eldest Abdul Kalick was about ten, the youngest, Mooza-ud-Deen, about eight years of age. The princes were dressed in long white muslin gowns, with red turbans richly adorned with pearls. Educated from infancy with the utmost care, the spectators were astonished to behold in these children all the reserve, the politeness and attention of maturer years. The kindness with which they were received by the British commander appeared to afford them visible satisfaction. Some presents were exchanged on both sides; and the scene is described by an eye-witness * as highly interesting.

It was the 19th of March before the definitive treaty was finally adjusted. The allies were probably exorbitant in their demands, and Tippoo and his courtiers appear to have exerted their utmost abilities, in artfully endeavouring to gain time and to mitigate the terms of submission. Tippoo however at length gave a reluctant consent, as it is said, to the terms prescribed by lord Cornwallis; and the definitive treaty was delivered by the young princes with great solemnity into the hands of his lordship and the allies.

Thus happily terminated a war, the good policy of which was greatly questioned by some of the most competent judges of Indian politics; and the conduct of which, from a variety of unfortunate circumstances, disap-

pointed, for a considerable time, the sanguine hopes of its warm supporters. It would, however, be unjust to withhold our approbation from lord Cornwallis in every thing that respects the conduct of the concluding campaign. Nothing that sound judgment could devise, or activity effect, appears to have been omitted. We have reason to believe, also, that the humanity and goodness of his lordship were conspicuous during the whole of the enterprise; and his moderation and sound policy in the concluding scenes cannot be too highly extolled. If his lordship, by the treaty which he has concluded, has established a proper balance of power in India, he has certainly effected much towards the security of our Indian possessions; and though in the nature of things, possessions at so great a distance cannot long remain a dependant part of the British empire, yet as human policy, at the best, cannot look far forward into futurity, to maintain them in peace and prosperity, even for a few years, is no mean achievement; and to provide against the violent anticipation of that separation, which the natural course of events will probably one day effect, with little tumult or agitation, is not only an advantage to the present generation, but is probably a benefit conferred even upon posterity.

Dishonoured as we fear the British name has too frequently been in those regions, and though our footsteps have been too often marked with blood, yet there is reason to believe that the civilization and intellectual improvement of the natives will be eventually promoted by an intercourse with Europeans. The philosophic mind cannot contemplate without pleasure the probable approach of that period when the

empire of prejudice shall be dissolved in those delightful climates; when the human intellect, once more restored to its natural vigour, shall assume its rights; and when Freedom herself shall perhaps erect her banner in those devoted territories where Despotism now only waves her blasting wand. Should such a period ever take place, the East will

once more become the seat of science, of arts, and of politeness; and the northern regions will have reflected back to its source that knowledge, and those communications, in an improved state, which emanated from that station where man first appeared in the character of a social, civilized, and rational being.

CHAP. V.

Remarks, on the general State of Europe, in 1792. Affairs of SWEDEN. Retrospect to the Revolution of 1772. Discontents of the Nobility and others. Imprudence of Gustavus III. Diets. Diet at Gefle. Conspiracy formed. The King receives an anonymous Letter. Assassinated at a Masquerade. Assassin detected. Several of the Nobility arrested. Confession of Akerstrom. His Trial and Punishment. Sentence on the other Conspirators. Death and Character of the King. Wise conduct of the Regent. POLAND. Reflections on the combination of Despots. Defenceless State of Poland. Perfidy of the Neighbouring States. Negligence of the King. Unjust proceedings of Russia. Resolves of the Diet. Declaration of Russia. The Country invaded. Base conduct of Prussia. Engagements between the Russians and Poles. Retreat of Prince Poniatowski. Cruelty of the Russians. General Engagement, and defeat of the Poles. Submission of Poland. Protest of the Patriots.

THE clouds which had been collecting for some time in the political horizon burst in the commencement of the year 1792 into a formidable and destructive storm, and the wild and ferocious contest which we foresaw between the selfishness of despotism, and the unbridled excesses of popular frenzy, deluged with blood the fairest plains of Europe.

Sweden, from the circumstances of its government, and the misconduct of its monarch, was not likely to preserve, for any length of time, its internal tranquillity. The cause of the public discontents may very properly be traced up to the famous revolution in 1772; but to explain that, as well as the subsequent events, a still further retrospect will perhaps be necessary.

Few of the nations of Europe have displayed more spirit and energy of character than the Swedes. The reclaiming of their liberty, under the justly celebrated Gustavus Vasa, was a noble exertion, and considering the darkness and general ignorance of the age in which it was effected, it was a wonderful event. Under the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden stood forth as the bulwark of the protestant cause; and even under the frantic and false heroism of Charles XII. the nation was respected, while the wild projects of its king were held up as the mark for censure or for ridicule.

Under the different vicissitudes of fortune which its military leaders experienced, the freedom of the nation still remained unviolated. During

ring the military frenzy which prevailed under Charles XII. it may indeed be said to have suffered a momentary eclipse, but that monarch expiated by his blood the injury he had done to his country; and on the accession of his sister, Ulrica Eleanora, and her husband the prince of Hesse, a better order was established by a solemn compact between the sovereigns and the people.

The secret history of the late government of France is not yet known with precision; the memorials of its crimes and its machinations appear to have perished with their authors. Thus far however is sufficiently known, that from the period in which this ambitious court was disappointed in its project of universal dominion by the power of its arms, it applied itself with equal assiduity to the milder, but perhaps more certain means of intrigue and corruption. The traveller who retained his cloak against the ruder efforts of the storm, relinquished it to the gentle influence of warmth and sunshine. France conquered by negotiation more than she could by her prowess. Spain, Austria, Naples, Rome, Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, even Portugal and Sardinia, with most of the smaller states of Europe, were, from time to time, entirely under the direction of the cabinet of Versailles. The machinery acted with apparent automotion, but the springs and directing forces were in the hands of the ministers of Louis.

It is generally believed that the late Swedish revolution was planned in the closet of Versailles. Gustavus III. it is well known, resided there for some months previous to his accession to the throne, and innumerable circumstances serve to

prove that he acted on a preconceived plan. The measure, in the views of France, had a deeper aim than the immature judgment of the young king led him to suspect. While the only object appeared to be to make Gustavus absolute; the real intention was to render him the dependant and the pensioner of France, to detach him from his own people, the more firmly to bind him to a foreign interest.

The circumstances of perfidy with which the revolution of 1772 was accompanied, were not likely to leave a favourable impression, with respect to the character of the king, on the minds of the people, and particularly of the nobility. While he externally courted popularity, he was aiming to destroy whatever was popular in the state. While he made professions the most flattering, disclaimed the title of king, and affected to call himself only the first citizen of the republic, he was meditating the downfall of all that wore even the guise of freedom. While with his lips he pronounced the solemn oath by which he bound himself to maintain inviolate the constitution of 1720, his heart must have been internally conscious of the intended perjury. The revolution left many discontented spirits among persons of the first rank and character in the nation: and baron Pechlin, a nobleman of great worth and popularity, was among the most strenuous of its opponents.

Despotic power is often not less difficult to maintain than to acquire. A standing army was the only instrument by which Gustavus could preserve his usurped authority; and yet to levy exorbitant taxes would not, in such a situation, have been a prudent measure. The intrigues of France were, therefore, triumphant

on this occasion, he became of necessity the pensioner of that court, and the connexion was not dissolved till the finances of France became unable to support the detail of the public expences, and till the wise and upright administration of Neckar directed the attention of the late monarch from foreign projects to internal œconomy and improvement.

Bereft of this resource, it is generally believed that the necessitous king looked anxiously round for a source to supply his pressing wants, and it is as generally believed that his exertions in favour of the Ottoman cause in the late war were very amply rewarded. Of the nature of the connexion which afterwards took place between Gustavus and the court of Petersburg but little is known. It is probable that he was the dupe of that insatiable power, whose views might be distantly directed to the possession of Sweden, when he had sufficiently exhausted his force in the absurd crusade in which under her influence he was about to engage.

In the mean time the Swedish nation had beheld the blood and treasure of the country squandered away in quarrels, in which they could not possibly have the most distant interest. They beheld something still more alarming. They beheld their king, under the influence of an insidious court, upon the point of raising his standard in the public defence of the cause of despotism, and saw him degraded to be a captain of banditti, marching to plunder the treasures and crush the rising liberties of France.

It was in the diets particularly that the high spirit of the Swedish nobility was manifested, and the very first of these which met after the revolution, manifested that the seeds of dissention had taken deep

root in the minds even of those who swayed the highest offices of the state. In this diet, which met in 1778, the king attempted to re-establish the ancient classes among the Swedish nobles, viz. the high nobility, the equestrian order, and the gentry. Each class was to vote separately, and as every question was to be decided by the majority of the classes, that is by the union of any two; the king flattered himself that a majority in the superior classes would be easily obtained, and that in this manner the people would be abused with the shew of representation, while the substantial power remained in his own hands. In this expectation however the views of the sovereign were disappointed. The higher orders, who felt more and more their own consequence, proved untractable; and the lower house who saw themselves degraded by this arrangement entered into a state of implacable opposition. A motion by Mr. Hummelkein to ascertain and limit the royal prerogative put a sudden termination to the diet. The registers, &c. were sealed up, and have ever since remained unopened in the royal closet.

The diet which assembled in 1786, was not more satisfactory to the views of Gustavus. Most of the measures proposed by the king (the main object of which, it must be confessed, was to replenish his exhausted treasury) were rejected; and to obtain one point, the establishment of granaries under his inspection, he was obliged to relinquish a prerogative which was attached to the crown by the old constitution from the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, that when the orders of the diet should be divided on any question, the determination should be referred to the king. This diet broke up with unequivocal

symptoms.

symptoms of dissatisfaction, and with mutual recriminations between the king and its leading members.

It is not surprising that after such experience of their refractory conduct, the king should have been averse to the assembling of the states at the commencement of the late war. The revolt of the army at Frederickstadt, and the urgent want of supplies compelled him however to assemble a diet again in 1789. The discontents which had prevailed in the former sessions seemed to increase in this. Some popular laws were notwithstanding passed; in particular the privileges which the nobility had before exclusively enjoyed, were by a law of this diet extended to all settled inhabitants of the kingdom. This circumstance, and the attention which was paid by the king to the inferior orders of citizens probably enabled him, with the concurrence of the people, when the disputes increased, to imprison the leaders of the disaffected nobles, among whom were the barons Degeer, Maclean, Stiernhold, counts Horn, Ferfen, and Brahe, &c. The vicemarshal colonel Liljehorn observed a very guarded conduct, but was generally considered as ill affected to the measures of the court. Several young gentlemen of spirit, among whom were counts Ribbing, Delagardie and Stenbock resigned their places; the ladies deserted the drawing rooms and assemblies; the places of public amusement were closed for want of a resort of company. In the end a kind of compromise took place. The prisoners were set at liberty, and the king obtained his object with respect to supplies, &c. and concluded the diet by abolishing the power of the senate, which was a further step to arbitrary power and extremely obnoxious to the nobility.

Averse as Gustavus must necessarily have been rendered to these assemblies, his necessities in the beginning of 1792 compelled him once more to summon a diet; but every precaution was employed to render it as little injurious as possible to his usurped authority. The proclamation for assembling the diet was issued only three weeks previous to its meeting, so that the elections were made in haste, and the patriotic party had no time to make any arrangements with respect to their choice of representatives. Instead of assembling in the capital, the states were ordered to meet at Gessle, a solitary situation on the Bothnic gulf, and 70 miles from Stockholm. The diet during the whole of its deliberations was surrounded by mercenary troops. Thus the expectations of the public were completely frustrated. No reform was effected, nor was any censure passed upon the king for the manifest infraction of both the old and new constitutions, in entering into war without the consent of the states. In his great object, however, Gustavus found himself in some measure disappointed; the diet were still too parsimonious to satisfy either his necessities or his wishes, and he was obliged to rest contented with only a part of his demand. The diet was dissolved on the 24th of February, 1792.

Though the dissatisfaction which the conduct of Gustavus had excited was thus prevented from bursting into an open flame, still the evil was not eradicated, and the sword of faction impended over his devoted head. Not only the nobles, but the people were averse to the crusade against France. The country was already sufficiently exhausted of its population and its industry; the finances were miserably deranged: immense loans

had been negotiated; and the people suffered equally from oppressive taxes, and a depreciated paper currency. Perhaps private and personal offences might co-operate with public grievances to arm against Gustavus that formidable conspiracy which was planned even under his roof, and might hasten the catastrophe which we have now to record.

Immediately on the dissolution of the diet at Gefle, his majesty returned to Stockholm, where he probably flattered himself that his address and affability would dissipate the chagrin which his conduct at Gefle had produced. On the 16th of March, as he was preparing to attend a masquerade at the opera-house, he received the following anonymous letter:

“SIRE,

“Deign to listen to the advice of a man who neither being attached to your service, nor desirous of your favour, flatters not your crimes, but is desirous of adverting the danger with which your life is menaced.

“Be assured, that a plot is formed to assassinate you. Those who have entered into it, are furious at being foiled last week, by the balls being countermanded. They have resolved to execute their scheme this day. Remain at home, avoid balls during the present year: thus the fanaticism of criminality will be suffered to evaporate. Avoid the road to Haga (the king’s country residence); in fine, be upon your guard for at least a month,

“Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter; the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident; be assured, however, that he has not any interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate.

“If your mercenary troops had made use of any violence against the citizens at Gefle, the author of this letter would have fought against you sword in hand; but detests assassination.”

The king, on reading the note, it is said, was observed to turn pale. He, however, affected to hear it with contempt, and to consider it as an insult to his courage, to attempt to deter him from enjoying his evening’s entertainment. It was farther remarked that it was late before he entered the ball room; but after some time he sat down in a box with the comte D’Essen, and observed that he was not deceived in his contempt for the letter, since had there been any design against his life, no time could be more favourable than that moment. He then mingled, without apprehension, among the crowd; and just as he was preparing to retire in company with the Prussian ambassador, he was surrounded by several persons in masks, one of whom fired a pistol at the back of the king, and lodged the contents in his body. A scene of dreadful confusion immediately ensued. The conspirators amidst the general tumult and alarm, had time to retire to other parts of the room, but one of them had previously dropped his pistols and a dagger close by the wounded king. A general order was given to all the company to unmask, and the doors were immediately closed, but no person appeared with any particular distinguishing marks of guilt. The king was immediately conveyed to his apartment, and the surgeon, after extracting a ball and some slugs, gave favourable hopes of his majesty’s recovery.

The 17th was a day of apprehension and terror. The Swedish guards were all under arms; patrols and pickets

pickets were ordered to traverse the streets of Stockholm both night and day; and the houses of the citizens were to be shut after eight in the evening. Suspicions immediately fell upon such of the nobles as had been notorious for their opposition to the measures of the court. The anonymous letter was traced up to col. Liljehorn, major in the king's guards, and he was immediately apprehended. But the most successful clue that seemed to offer was in consequence of the weapons which had fallen from the assassin. An order was issued directing all the armourers, gunsmiths, and cutlers in Stockholm, to give every information in their power to the officers of justice concerning the weapons. A gunsmith who had repaired the pistols readily recognized them to be the same, which he had repaired some time since for a nobleman of the name of Ankarström, a captain in the army; and the cutler who had made the dagger referred at once to the same person.

Ankarström was no sooner apprehended, than he confessed with an air of manifest triumph, that he was the person "who had endeavoured to liberate his country from a monster and a tyrant." Suspicions at the same time fell on the counts Horn and Ribbing, baron Pechlin, baron Ehrensward, baron Hartsmändorf, Von Engerström the royal secretary, and others. Baron Beilke, the king's private secretary, being also apprehended on suspicion, declared without hesitation that he was privy to the plot, but added that he had provided against the punishment which he knew awaited him, and against the risk of being compelled by torture to betray those who were associated with him. He had in fact swallowed poison, and expired shortly

after this declaration. His body was afterwards drawn on a hurdle, and exposed to public view at the common place of execution.

From the confession of Ankarström it appeared, that he had been himself a principal in the conspiracy from the beginning. That in consequence of an intimacy which existed between him and count Horn, they had often been led to converse upon political subjects, on which they were perfectly agreed. They deplored the annihilation of their country's liberty and constitution, and resented the recent calamities which the false ambition of Gustavus had brought upon the nation, and concluded, that the only means of redressing the grievances under which it laboured, and of rescuing it from others which were still more to be apprehended, would be to assassinate the king, or at least remove him from the government. In consequence of this determination, they concerted a plan for carrying him off by night from his villa at Haga, where he usually slept; and in the beginning of January they walked round through the park and woods of Haga, but found every avenue too securely guarded. Count Ribbing was informed of the conspiracy through count Horn, and readily acceded to it. Ankarström undertook to be the immediate agent for the assassination; and with this intention, in company with count Horn, he attended the theatre on the 16th of January, and sat in the next box to the king's, but his majesty did not appear at the theatre that evening. With the same purpose in view they went to the masquerade, which was given by the king on the 19th of the same month; but as the concourse of people did not appear sufficient to afford them any hopes of

concealment, the design was deferred.

Ankarstrom and Ribbing followed the king to the diet at Gefle, and returned with him to Stockholm. They determined to effect their purpose at a masquerade on the 2d of March, but that entertainment was put off. Count Ribbing informed Liljehorn, and baron Pechlin of the plot, which both of them approved, and promised their assistance. On the fatal 16th of March, when Ankarstrom had fired his pistol, not seeing the king fall immediately, he drew his dagger in order to effect his purpose, but was seized with a tremor, and dropped both the dagger and the pistol on the floor. He, however, had presence of mind to mingle immediately with the crowd, and to join in a cry of fire, which probably arose, at first, from the appearance of that confusion which it afterwards contributed to increase.

In a subsequent examination, Ankarstrom apologized for having so far exposed the secrets of his friends, by observing that no torture should have wrested this confession from him, had he not been informed that Liljehorn, who wrote the anonymous letter, and count Horn, were both in custody, and that his letters to the latter had been seized by the government. He mentioned, slightly, that his private misfortunes, by which he probably alluded to some slights which he suffered from the king, had contributed to render him desperate. After a very fair and ample trial, Ankarstrom was condemned to be publicly and severely whipped, on three successive days, his right hand and his head to be cut off, and his body impaled which sentence he suffered not till the 17th of May, long after the death of the

king.—His property was given to his children, who, however, were compelled to change their name.

The counts Horn and Ribbing were condemned to lose their right hands, and to be decapitated. Col. Liljehorn, and lieutenant Ehrenjwerd, were also to be beheaded.—All these conspirators were degraded from the rank of nobles, and their property declared to be confiscated. Major Hartmansdorf was to forfeit his rank in the army, and to be imprisoned for one year. Engerstrom was to suffer perpetual imprisonment, and baron Pechlin and secretary Lillestrahle, to be imprisoned during pleasure. Four others, accused of being concerned in the conspiracy, were pardoned, and some were acquitted.

The king languished from the 17th to the 29th of March. At first the reports of his medical attendants were favourable; but on the 28th a mortification was found to have taken place, which terminated his existence in a few hours. On opening his body, a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found unextracted within the ribs.

During his illness, and particularly after he was made acquainted with the certainty of his approaching dissolution, Gustavus continued to display that unshaken courage which he had manifested on every occasion during his life. A few hours before his decease, he made some alterations in the arrangement of public affairs. He had before, by his will, appointed a council of regency; but convinced, by recent experience, how little he could depend on the attachment of his nobles, and being also aware of the necessity of a strong government in difficult times, he appointed his brother, the duke of Sudermania, sole

regent,

regent, till his son, who was then about fourteen, shall have attained the age of eighteen years. Immediately on the death of the king, the young prince was proclaimed by the title of Gustavus IV.

Thus fell by the hand of treason, in his forty-sixth year, Gustavus III. He was a prince of high ambition, but rather a man of address than of ability. His manners were popular and insinuating, his eloquence fluent and bold. His conduct was, however, seldom tempered with judgment, or his speeches replete with solid information. He was too desirous of being great, to permit himself for his people to be happy; and the unfortunate predilection which he had imbibed for arbitrary power, made him, in reality, a slave and a dependant during the greater part of his reign. A passion for *war* in a sovereign, is the greatest curse that can afflict a state; and if a revolutionary power could be established consistently with the safety of a limited monarchy, the great disqualification should be, the love of war. If in private life a turbulent disposition unsuits a man for society, surely the evil is increased in an infinite proportion, where the lives of millions, and the treasures of nations are wantonly squandered. By the imprudence of Gustavus, in this respect, Sweden was exhausted of its resources, and reduced in its population; and had he proceeded on his wild enterprize against France, his country would, probably, at the termination of the crusade, have fallen an unresisting prey to the insatiable ambition of Russia. As the king of Sweden was desirous of emulating, in every instance, the character of his uncle, the late king of Prussia, he was not superior to the vanity of appearing as an author.

Some dramatic compositions, which were acted at the national theatre, we have heard well spoken of; but we must confess that none of his writings, that have fallen under our notice, deserve much commendation, and his orations, at the opening of the Swedish academy, in particular, are turgid and yet feeble, poor in matter and abounding only in words. It is but just, however, to add, that, except his love of *war*, which certainly always indicates a want of feeling and humanity in a character, the errors of Gustavus appear to have been rather errors of the understanding than of the heart. Even in desiring arbitrary power, he does not seem to have been prompted by any inclination to abuse it, for he was not practically a tyrant. The last scene of his life was such indeed as ought to blot from remembrance a long catalogue of crimes. His last words were a declaration of pardon to the conspirators against his life. The actual murderer alone was excepted; and he was excepted only at the strong instance of the regent, and those who surrounded his majesty in his dying moments.

With this mixture of character as a man, in which the good seems almost to be predominant, it cannot be doubted that Gustavus was a bad king. His perfidy, his usurpation, his military spirit, all conspired against the good of his country; and much as human nature shudders at the crime of assassination, still it cannot be dissembled that the death of Gustavus III. was a happy event for Sweden. The mild and equal conduct of the regent has preserved the country from the horrors of internal war; while the wisdom, spirit, and patriotism of his councils, will probably save it from the infectious

dous attacks of a restless and dangerous neighbour. Wisely averse to hostility, the duke of Sudermania has cultivated successfully the friendship of all the belligerent powers, except Russia. In the mean time, his attention has been laudably directed to exciting the dormant spirit of industry in the nation; to the encouragement of their domestic manufactures, and to the enforcing of rigid economy among all the dependants of government, in order that the example of the court, co-operating with his own, may exert a salutary influence over the people in opposing the increase of luxury, gambling, and dissipation. It is a pleasure to contemplate such dispositions in so elevated a station; and while the regent perseveres in this conduct, he will undoubtedly merit the enviable title of the father of his prince and his country.

It is melancholy to reflect upon what a tottering balance, upon what trivial causes, the prosperity and happiness of nations is frequently found to depend. In our last volume we announced to the public the establishment of a free, and apparently, well-poised constitution in Poland.—In this we have the ungrateful task of recording its destruction. We have more than once endeavoured to call the attention of the public to the alarming increase of power which the great monarchs of Europe have lately attained. In the case of Russia, that increase has been gradual, but it is the effect of system, and of a system which, if pursued through the course of another protracted reign, must inevitably be attended with the most fatal consequences to the independence and liberties of Europe and of mankind. To Great Britain herself, though the danger may appear re-

mote, from the remoteness of the source, perhaps no more is reserved than the melancholy privilege of being the last devoured. The spirit of humanity indignantly rises at such unprovoked and unprincipled attacks upon the independence and the freedom of a nation. In the subjugation and dismemberment of Poland, the spirit of that nefarious band of conspirators, who signed the treaty of Pilnitz, is sufficiently manifested; and that man who does not feel himself actuated by the strongest resentment at such violations of every thing that is laudable and right, must necessarily be deficient either in sense or in honesty.

Against a combination so hostile to the felicity of mankind, we are persuaded that nothing will act as a counterpoise, but a firm union among the weaker states; such a measure, whatever be their form of government, or their political principles, it will be their undoubted interest to adopt. The alarm which has been raised against the extension of democratic principles, and the ill conduct of the French, which it is no part of our wish either to dissemble or extenuate, have caused a considerable portion of the people of Europe to lose sight, for a moment, of the real danger which besets them; but we have sanguine hopes of the speedy return of common sense and reflection, and trust, that in fighting for a shadow, the nations of Europe will not expose themselves to the imminent danger of losing the substance.

The ready concurrence of the king of Poland in a measure adapted to promote the welfare of his people, and the animated support which he gave to the new constitution, evinced the goodness of his heart, and the liberality of his principles; but here our commendation must

must end. We cannot give to his Polish majesty the praise of political sagacity, of foresight, of activity, or even of courage. Lulled into a fatal security by the insidious professions of a court, noted for its perfidy, as well as for its versatile and selfish politics; a court which appeared to promote the revolution, while it meditated secretly the dismemberment of Poland; the unfortunate monarch appears to have neglected every means of defence; nor was even the hesitating and undecided conduct of Saxony sufficient to excite his vigilance. No alliances were formed, no preparations made for supporting with vigour the infant constitution. In the predicament in which Poland then stood, if Prussia was averse to forming a permanent and sincere alliance, or if the faith of Prussia could not be depended upon; if Great Britain had been found impracticable, and determined to sacrifice her real interests and those of Europe to the ambition of Prussia, it was then the part of Poland to look forward to other connexions, to cultivate, if possible, the friendship of France, of Denmark, and of Sweden. Such a combination, founded upon the moderate principle of mutual defence, would have successfully resisted the most determined attacks of imperial plunderers.—Something of this kind ought to have been attempted; but the Polish ministry permitted itself to be amused by fruitless negotiations at the court of Dresden, by the vague professions of Prussia, nor was it even roused to action by the cool reception which its ambassador experienced from the haughty despot of Vienna.

This neglect, great as it was, was even exceeded by the indifference of the king as to the means of internal defence. While the discontented no-

bles, who from personal resentment, or disappointed ambition, manifested the most earnest hostility to the constitution; while these were openly received and encouraged at Petersburg, neither the standing force of Poland was properly organized, nor the militia embodied. Not a magazine was erected, nor an intrenchment thrown up to oppose the entrance of the enemy. It was all a dead calm, and the Russians appeared upon their frontiers before the diet had recovered from its surprise at the first hostile declaration of the empress.

It was on the 21st of April, that the diet received the first notification from the king, of the inimical and unjust intentions of Russia. He informed them that, without the shadow of pretence, this avowed enemy of the rights of mankind had determined to invade the territory of the republic with an army of 60,000 men. This formidable banditti, commanded by generals Soltikow, Michelson, and Kosakowski, was afterwards to be supported by corps of 20,000, and by the troops then acting in Moldavia, amounting to 70,000. The king, however, professed that he was not discouraged, and declared his readiness to put himself at the head of the national troops, and to terminate his existence in a glorious contest for the liberties of his country. Then, and not before, the diet decreed the organization of the army, and its augmentation to 100,000. The king and the council of inspection were invested with unlimited authority in every thing that regarded the defence of the kingdom. Magazines were ordered to be constructed, when it was too late, and quarters to be provided for the army.

The diet and the nation rose, as one man, to maintain their independence.

pendence. All private animosities were obliterated, all private interests were sacrificed; the greatest encouragements are held forth to volunteers to enroll themselves under the national standard, and it was unanimously decreed by the diet, that all private losses should be compensated out of the public treasury.

On the 18th of May, the Russian ambassador delivered a declaration, which was worthy such a cause. It was a tissue of falsehood and hypocrisy. It asserted, that this wanton invasion, which was evidently against the sense of almost every individual Poleander, was meant entirely for the good of the republic. It censured the precipitancy with which the new constitution was adopted, and ascribed the ready consent of the diet to the influence of the Warsaw mob. It represented the constitution as a violation of the principles on which the Polish republic was founded—complained of the licentiousness with which the sacred name of the empress was treated, in some speeches of the members; and concluded, by professing, that on these accounts, and in behalf of the emigrant Poles, her imperial majesty had ordered her troops to enter the territories of the republic.

At the moment this declaration was delivered to the diet, the Russian troops, accompanied by counts Potocki, Rzewulski, Branicki, and a few Polish apostates, appeared upon the frontiers, and entered the territories of the republic, in several columns, before the close of the month. The spirit manifested by the nobility was truly honourable. Some of them delivered in their plate to the mint. Prince Radzivil engaged vo-

luntarily to furnish 10,000 stand of arms, and another a train of artillery. The courage of the new and hastily embodied soldiers, corresponded with the patriotism of their nobles. Prince Poniatowski, nephew to the king, was appointed commander in chief, and though his force was greatly inferior to the enemy, it must be confessed that he made a noble stand. On the 24th of May, the enemy's cossacks were repulsed, and pursued by the patrols of the republic, to the very entrenchments. On the 26th, about one o'clock, the piquets of the republic discovered a large body of Don Cossack's approaching the outposts; and a squadron of cavalry, commanded by lieutenant Kwasniewski, supported by lieutenant Golejowski with two squadrons more, in all about 300, marched out to meet them. They attacked the Cossacks with success, but pursued them with more valour than prudence, to the side of a wood, where they found themselves drawn into an ambuscade, and surrounded by 2000 horse, two battalions of chasseurs, and six pieces of cannon. The intrepid Poles bravely fought their way through the Russian line, and killed upwards of 200 of the enemy. The Poles, in this engagement, lost 100 men, and two officers: one of whom, lieutenant Kwasniewski, was wounded, and made prisoner. The remainder of the detachment reached their quarters in safety.

Perhaps the history of man can scarcely furnish an instance of perfidy, meanness, and duplicity, equal to that which was manifested by Prussia on this occasion. By the treaty of defensive alliance, solemnly contracted between the republic of Poland and the king of Prussia, and ratified

ratified on the 23d of April, 1790, it is expressly stipulated, "That the contracting parties shall do all in their power to guarantee and preserve to each other reciprocally, the whole of the territories which they respectively possess; That, in case of menace or invasion from any foreign power, they shall assist each other with *their whole force*, if necessary;"—and by the 6th article, it is further stipulated, "that if any foreign power whatever shall presume to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland, his Prussian majesty shall consider this as a case falling within the meaning of the alliance, and shall assist the republic according to the tenor of the 4th article," that is, with his *whole force*. Posterity will scarcely believe, or will believe with indignation after this, that on application to the court of Berlin, for the succours thus solemnly contracted for, the only answer they received, was—"That the treaty was dated previous to the new constitution, and that constitution establishing a new order of things, his Prussian majesty held himself absolved from his engagements."—Of such value are treaties in the eyes of despotic princes! But what enhances the treachery, is this, that it is confidently asserted, that most of the obnoxious acts, of which the empress complains in her declaration against the Poles, were done by the influence and advice of Prussia; that the king of Prussia, when the constitution was proposed, never gave the smallest intimation that "the new order of things" would dissolve the alliance; and that so far from this being the case, our readers will find, in our last volume, that "on the 17th of May, 1791, M. Goitz, chargé des affaires from the court of

Berlin, formally announced his Prussian majesty's approbation of the new arrangement."

The duchy of Lithuania was the great scene of action, in the beginning of the war; but the Russians had made little progress before the middle of the month of June. On the 10th of that month, general Judycki, who commanded a detachment of the Polish troops, between Mire and Swierzn, was attacked by the Russians; but, after a combat of some hours, he obliged them to retire with the loss of 500 men dead on the field.—The general was desirous of profiting by this advantage, by pursuing the enemy, but was prevented by a most violent fall of rain. On the succeeding day, the Russians rallied again to the attack; and it then too fatally appeared, that the Poles were too young and undisciplined to contend with an inferior force against experienced troops and able generals. By a masterly manœuvre, the Russians contrived to surround their antagonists, at a moment when the Polish general supposed that he had obliged the enemy to retreat; and though the field was contested with the utmost valour by the troops of the republic, they were at length compelled to give way, and to retire towards Nieswiesz.

On the 14th, another engagement took place near Labar, on the banks of the river Sluez, between a detachment of the Russian grand army and a party of Polish cavalry, dispatched by prince Joseph Poniatowski, to intercept the enemy. The patriotic bravery of the Poles was victorious in this contest; but upon reconnoitring the force of the enemy, the prince found himself incapable of making a successful stand against such superior numbers. He therefore

therefore gave orders to strike the camp at Lubar, and commenced a precipitate retreat. During their march, the Polish rear was harrassed by a body of 4000 Russians, till arriving at Boruskowee, the wooden bridge unfortunately gave way, under the weight of the cavalry. The enemy, in the mean time, brought their artillery to play upon the rear of the fugitives, who lost upwards of 250 men. The Polish army next directed its course toward Zielime, where meeting, on the 17th, with a reinforcement from Zaslów, it halted to give battle to the enemy. The Russians were upwards of 17,000 strong, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, and the force of the republic much inferior. After a furious contest from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, the Russians were at length obliged to retreat, and leave the field of battle in possession of the patriots. The Russians were computed to have lost 4000 men in this engagement, and the Poles about 1100.

Notwithstanding these exertions, the Poles were obliged gradually to retire before their numerous and disciplined enemies. Niesweż, Wilna, Mińsk, and several other places of less consequence, fell into their hands one after another. On a truce being proposed to the Russian general Kochowski, the proposal was haughtily rejected; while the desertion of vice brigadier Rudnicki, and some others, who preferred dishonour to personal danger, proclaimed a tottering cause. The progress of the armies of Catherine was marked with devastation and cruelty, while, such was the aversion of the people both to the cause and the manner of conducting it, that, as they approached, the country all around

became a wilderness, and scarcely a human being was to be seen.

In the mean time, a series of little defeats, to which the inexperience of the commanders, and the intemperate valour of new raised troops, appear to have greatly contributed, served at once to distress and to dispirit these defenders of their country. Prince Poniatowski continued to retreat, and on the 17th of July, his rear being attacked by a very superior force, it suffered a considerable loss, though the skill and courage of general Kosciuszko enabled him to make a most respectable defence. On the 18th, a general engagement took place between the two armies. The Russian line extended opposite Dubienka, along the river Bug, as far as Opalin. The principal column, consisting of 14000 men, was chiefly directed against the division of general Kosciuszko, which consisted of 5000 men only. After a most vigorous resistance, in which the Russians lost upwards of 4000 men, and the troops of the republic only some hundreds, the latter was compelled to give way before the superior numbers of the enemy, and to retire further into the country.

This unequal contest was, at last, prematurely terminated. The king, whose benevolent intentions were, perhaps, overpowered by his mental imbecillity, and whose age and infirmities, probably, rendered him unequal to the difficulties and dangers which must attend a protracted war, instead of putting himself, according to his first resolve, at the head of his army, determined, at once, to surrender at discretion. On the 23d of July, he summoned a council of all the deputies, at that moment in Warsaw. He laid before them the last dispatches from the

the empress, which insisted upon total and unreserved submission. He pointed out the danger of a dismemberment of the republic, should they delay to throw themselves upon the clemency of the empress, and to intreat her protection. He mentioned the fatal union of Austria and Prussia with Russia; and the disgraceful supineness manifested by every other court in Europe. The combination formed by crowned heads against the rights and liberties of men, and the little spirit which was manifested for the maintenance of those sacred rights.

Four citizens, the intrepid and patriotic Malachowski, the princes Sapieha, Radzvil, and Soltan, vehemently protested against these dastardly proceedings; and the following evening a company of gentlemen, from the different provinces, assembled for the same purpose. The assembly waited immediately on these four distinguished patriots, and returned them their acknowledgements for the spirit and firmness with which they had resisted the usurpations of despotism. The submission of the king to the designs of Russia, was no sooner made known, than Poland was bereft of all her best and most respectable citizens. Malachowski, as marshal of the diet, and prince Sapieha, grand marshal of Lithuania, entered strong protests on the journals of the diet against these hostile proceedings, and declared solemnly that the diet legally assembled in 1783, was not dissolved.

On the 21 of August, a confederation was formed at Warsaw, of which the grand apoitate, Potocki, was chosen marshall. The acts of this confederation were evidently the despotic dictates of Russia, and were calculated only to restore the

ancient abuses, and to place the country under the aggravated oppression of a foreign yoke. By some succeeding transactions, it has appeared, that the unhappy country of Poland is to be converted into a province of Russia. It is intended (if we may credit report) to be governed by the grandson of the present empress, prince Constantine Paulowitz, under the title of king, but we may well conceive, only as a dependant part of the Russian empire. The supineness of the king of Prussia, and his flagrant violation of his engagements, will not, however, in all probability, pass without a reward. Thorne and Dantzick, the possession of which he has long had in view, with some additional territory, will at least fall to his share in the partition. Austria too will scarcely be satisfied without a part; but to record the successful robberies of the imperial felons, will be the unpleasant duty of the succeeding year.

It is remarkable, that at the very moment when Poland was surrendering its liberties to its despotic invaders, the generous sympathy of Great Britain was evinced by a liberal subscription, supported by all the most respectable characters in the nation, of every party and of every sect, for the purpose of assisting the king and the republic to maintain their independence. Though the benevolent design was frustrated, the fact remains on record as a noble testimony of the spirit of Britons in the cause of freedom, of the indignation which fills every British heart at the commission of injustice, and of the liberality with which they are disposed to assist those who suffer from the oppression of tyrants.

Thus, in one instance, the concert of princes, as it is called, has proved fatally victorious over the cause of man.

man. Thus the growing happiness of a respectable nation has been sacrificed to the personal ambition of three despotic sovereigns. Thus the citizens of a free republic are by one blow reduced to be the abject slaves of tyrants. Thus the balance of Europe, so much the theme of politicians, and perhaps so necessary to the permanent welfare of Europe, has been sacrificed to private and to selfish views, while those nations who have on former occasions devoted millions of lives, and expended countless sums in maintaining it, view with frigid tranquillity the fatal increase of despotic authority.

Whatever be the real object of this combination, it is such as no sound politician can observe with indifference. The precedent is fatal, the proceedings are ominous. If the object is ultimately the gratification of personal ambition in the parties concerned. If they have really, as some are disposed to believe, formed a secret agreement to divide among themselves, as suits their interest or their inclination, or as opportunity permits, the territory of Europe. If, as in the case of Poland, they may without a shadow of pretence, without a cause of complaint, without any legal claim or interest, invade and subjugate a country, merely because it is too weak to oppose them. Then the citizens of free states have indeed cause to tremble. Then the opulent part of every community have cause to fear for their possessions, since a respect for property never has been the creed of conquering despots. Then the enlightened part of mankind may weep over the fate of their fellow-creatures; and every individual who would not wish to change the government under which he lives for, the most tyrannical and oppressive, may have cause to imprecate the interposition of Providence,

to put a stop to a system which threatens the subversion of all that is dear or valuable of temporal enjoyments.

The wisdom of our ancestors, and the keen penetration of our own William, saw the necessity of vigorously opposing the encroaching ambition of Louis XIV. They successfully withstood him; they formed a league powerful because it combined a variety of interests, before jarring and opposed to each other. The scheme of universal empire, which Louis had formed, was by no means so chimerical as it is regarded now when the danger is past, and when it is only viewed as an abortive effort. But the project of Louis was in reality not founded upon fancy, but upon precedent. It was frequently realized in the occurrences which ancient history records. It was realized by Charlemagne, and nearly realized by Charles V. Nothing but the sagacity, zeal, and activity of William; the conviction which he impressed upon the lesser states of Europe, and the alliance which on these principles he formed, could have defeated the views of the French monarch. The concert which is now established, we have no hesitation in pronouncing to be more formidable than the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV. The overthrow of the independent governments of Europe, will now not depend upon the exertions of one people, nor upon the efforts of one man, but upon the united force of the three greatest powers upon earth; acting, it is probable, upon a preconcerted system, and who can have no cause for disagreement among themselves, while there is one independent state remaining, whose territory they can appropriate or divide. The worst is, that there is hardly any single state in Europe able to oppose any one of these formidable powers, and there appears no principle of

union, no grounds on which an alliance can be formed sufficiently respectable to resist their efforts.

Should we, however, be mistaken in these conjectures, though we cannot conceive them to be utterly destitute of foundation—should the object of this concert of princes be merely what they profess, *the maintenance of regal and despotic authority*, and a *resistance* to every innovation whatever in favour of the people, we do not see that the case is much meliorated, as far as regards the interest and happiness of mankind. In Poland a revolution was effected without blood, with the unanimous concurrence of both prince and people; a constitution founded on the well-tried basis of British liberty, modelled after that which has existed for ages the glory and the wonder of Europe, because the only government which united personal liberty and personal security with the preservation of general order. This constitution, so equitable, so acceptable to those for whose benefit it was framed, could only be blotted out by the blood of the people. This constitution is to be annulled by despotic force—and why? Because it was an innovation in favour of the people; because it asserted that the people had rights independent of the will of their masters. The precedent, as we intimated, is truly dangerous. If the principle be just, no nation has a right, however free its legislature, however independent its government, to better its condition by amending a single law, should that amendment be contrary to the will of the executive government within, or to that of any foreign power without, which chuses to take exception against its proceedings.

There is no class of men in any state that enjoys a portion of liberty,

which ought not to be alarmed at such a precedent. Even those who subsist by the abuses of a free government, those who receive the wages of corruption, ought to remember that they are only gainers by the general freedom of the government, that where force can command, influence becomes unnecessary. Where despotism is established, and in proportion as it is established, every class of men becomes alike insignificant. Aristocracy itself is only “a Corinthian column,” where it rests on the durable basis of public liberty, where its foundation at least has been popular. There is scarcely any distinction of family in despotic states, because the monarch is the fountain of family, honour, consequence, nobility, every thing. The upstart greatness of a Potemkin or a Pomhal would create astonishment in England; but in a country where nobility itself is debased, the circumstance excites no surprize.

It is of little importance whether such a project is the dictate of policy and previous concert, or whether it may be the casual result of a peculiar combination of circumstances: the effects will be equally fatal. The nobleman, the legislator, all those whose influence and consequence depend upon a balance between the democratical and regal powers, will find themselves as to efficiency and consequence completely annihilated; nothing will exist but kings, and their immediate dependents; or rather, tyrants and their slaves. Such was once the system of Europe; and we believe that philosophers and authors ascribe too much to their own peculiar functions, when they say that the progress of science and literature will never permit it to be so again.

CHAP. VI.

France. Defects of the Constitution. Character of the Legislative Assembly. The meeting of that Body. Indications of Faction. Threatening Appearances. Convention of Pilnitz. Concert of Princes. Decree concerning the King's Brothers. Answers from Foreign Courts. League formed in the North. Decree against the Emigrants. Exercise of the Royal Veto. Intrigues of the Republican Faction. Imprudence of the Emigrants. Troubles in St. Domingo. Non-juring Priests. Decrees against them. Second Interposition of the Veto. King's Speech on the State of Foreign Affairs. Petion elected Mayor of Paris. Club of Feuillans. Seditious Proceedings of the Jacobins. Designs of Leopold. State of the French Finances. Troubles in the Colonies. Hostile Appearances. Impeachment of Ministers. Death of the Emperor. His Character. Triumph of the Jacobins. New Ministry. Dumourier. Decree of Sequestration against the Emigrants.

THE state of France during the preceding year, affords scarcely a single prospect consoling to the philanthropic eye, scarcely a spot or point on which it can rest with satisfaction. It is a dreary wilderness disfigured with crimes, and deluged with human blood: and whether we contemplate the unprincipled attack on its constitution by a combination of despots, or the savage fury with which a frantic populace and a bloody faction disgraced the name of liberty, we have equally to lament the depravity of human nature, the deep-rooted malignity of tyrants, and the desolating madness of a relentless multitude.

In treating of the defects of the new constitution, we instanced several causes which might operate to its destruction. The weakness of the executive government laid it open on every occasion to the assaults of faction; and had this cause not operated internally to the overthrow of the government, it would equally have accomplished that end, by impeding the exertions of ministers for the defence of the country. The *patriotic* societies too (as they were erroneously termed) contained in

themselves the seeds of anarchy and confusion. Instead of aiding, they were calculated to oppose or, to govern the legislature; they were "an empire within an empire;" and as they had at their disposal the most desperate instrument of faction, the mob of a depraved and overgrown metropolis, it was not probable that their leaders would long rest contented in a subordinate situation.

The great source of misfortune to France, from the commencement of the revolution, has been the prevailing apprehension which has existed in the minds of the people, of the return of despotism. This has enabled a vicious faction to act upon their fears, to keep the public mind in perpetual agitation, to teach the multitude to consider their best friends as their determined foes, and to instigate them to excesses which must disgrace, for ever, a civilized nation. Too many of the provisions established by the legislature itself, were dictated by this groundless fear. Hence a mere shadow of executive authority was constituted without efficiency, without vigour. Hence the sessions of the legislative body were ordered to be held within

the polluted walls of a factious capital. Hence the constituent assembly were induced to pass that famous decree, so honourable indeed to their own character, but so fatal to their country, which deprived them for a certain period of the privilege of being re-elected to represent the people.

With the constituent assembly the sun of French liberty set. With it the wisdom, the moderation, the dignity of the nation was dissolved. That fatal decree which deprived the country of all the assistance which might be derived from the exertion of the most brilliant talents matured by experience, placed in their seats men incapable either from want of principle or of ability to exercise the sacred and important function of legislators. The new assembly consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, whose inexperience in political affairs rendered them incompetent to act for themselves, and made them the passive dupes of a party, which, though not numerous, compensated for this defect by its activity and boldness. This faction consisted of men of letters, but not of the highest rank in literature. The editors of newspapers, and the publishers of periodical libels, were, by the singular change in the affairs of France, elevated to the rank of senators, and soon assumed to themselves the authority of sovereigns. Even of this faction, however, it would be uncandid in the extreme, to consider all the members as equally unprincipled. The great majority of them were decided republicans; but some were mere enthusiasts in this system, while the object of others was undoubtedly to gratify their private ambition, or to satiate their private revenge. In this point, however, they were all agreed, that no government but a pure democracy

was adapted to the condition of free men, and that France could never be happy and flourishing till every vestige of monarchy was finally obliterated. This point they determined to enforce, and few of them, we fear, hesitated with respect to the means by which it was to be accomplished.

There is something in true religion which softens the ferocious passions of man; it can arrest the hand of the assassin, it can whisper peace to the perturbed spirit. It rejects the attainment of its end by unlawful means, and follows rather the dictates of conscience, and immediate duty, than the most splendid visions which the imagination may form of distant perfection. This only safeguard of moral principle the republican philosophers of France unfortunately wanted; they were even bigots in infidelity; the throne and the altar were equally obnoxious to them; and many of the excesses into which they plunged, may be more properly attributed to their irreligious prejudices than to any other cause.

Such was the general outline of the first legislative assembly, as it was called, though we must except from censure, some respectable and independent characters, who fall properly under neither of the classes which we have described. The assembly met on the 1st of October, and the following day proceeded to the verification of their powers. On the 3d M. Pastoret was elected president, and Mess. Francois, Garçon de Coulon, Cerutti, Lacépède, and Guyton-Morveau, were proclaimed secretaries. On the 4th all the members of the assembly solemnly took the constitutional oath in the following terms :

H 2

"I swear

"I swear to maintain to the utmost of my power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituent national assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and neither to propose nor consent to any thing during the continuance of this legislature, which may be injurious or contrary to it; and to be in every thing faithful to the nation, the law, and the king."

A deputation of the members was at the same time appointed to wait upon the king, to acquaint his majesty that the assembly was finally constituted.

The spirit with which the future deliberations of this assembly was to be conducted, soon began to manifest itself. On the return of the deputation to the assembly on the 5th, the reporter having stated that the king had informed them by the minister of justice, that he would receive the deputation at nine o'clock, one of the republican members adverted to a decree in the month of July, 1789, which enacted, that the assembly and its deputations should correspond directly with the king, and not through the medium of the ministers; that decree was therefore re-enacted and enforced with peculiar rigour.

The king having announced that he would repair to the assembly on Friday the 12th, it was next debated in what manner he should be received. In the decree that followed this debate, the mean and trifling spirit by which the assembly was afterwards to be actuated, was clearly evinced. The moment the king entered the assembly, the members were to rise and be uncovered, but as soon as he arrived at the bar, they were to sit down and cover themselves. The king was to be seated on the *left* of the president,

not on an elevated throne, but on a similar seat to that of the president. These petty indignities were as impolitic as they were undeserved, and were inconsistent with magnanimity, and utterly unbecoming a great nation.

Previous to the arrival of the king on the 7th, several deputations appeared at the bar, among the rest, one from the commons of Paris which renewed their protestations to maintain the constitution inviolate; the king also sent a written notice that he had appointed M. Bertrand to be the naval minister, in the room of M. Thevenard.

Notwithstanding the jealousy which had been manifested by the assembly on the 5th, and the desire which they had since shewn of degrading the regal dignity, yet the first meeting between the king and the legislature was cordial. The excellent temper of Louis did not permit him to retain resentment, and the courtesy and affability with which he entered the hall, rendered the most inveterate republicans respectful. The king addressed the assembly in a judicious and patriotic oration. He pointed out briefly to them the nature of the duties they had undertaken to perform, and recommended some objects as requiring instant attention. The state of the finances, he observed, was such as required strong and speedy exertion to establish an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; to accelerate the assessment and collection of taxes, and to introduce an invariable order into all the departments of this immense administration. The revision of the civil code was also an object which he recommended to their care; and the simplifying the mode of proceeding, so as to render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

He

He proceeded to enlarge on the necessity of a system of national education; on the organization of the army, and the propriety of restoring order and discipline. He reserved himself to a future occasion for the communication of his sentiments concerning the navy. He stated his hopes that the nation would not be troubled by any attack from abroad. Recommended in a style of paternal regard, unanimity and unalterable confidence between the two great branches of government, the legislative and executive powers, as he pointedly remarked that the enemies to the prosperity of the country were continually labouring to disunite them.

The speech of the king was received with unbounded applauses, and the president replied in terms of confidence and respect. He complimented the king on his appearance among the representatives of the nation, which he termed a new engagement with the country. He observed that the constitution, so far from diminishing the real power of the king, had only placed it on the firmest foundation; it had converted those into friends, who had formerly been termed subjects; and had made him the first monarch in the world. He concluded with expressing the wish of the assembly to co-operate with the benevolent views of the king, to purify the business of legislation, to re-animate public credit, to repress anarchy. "Such, sire, said he, is our duty, such are our earnest wishes, such are yours; such are our hopes, the gratitude and blessings of the people will be our reward."

It would have been a circumstance truly fortunate for France if these sentiments had been sincere, or if this harmony had continued unbro-

ken; but it was not merely the republican ardour of the new legislators, which revived the jealousy between the executive and legislative powers; a still more potent cause existed externally. The hostile preparations of the emperor and the continental powers; the veil of secrecy, which they cast over their proceedings; the vague and obscure terms in which they expressed themselves compared with the open boasts, and the imprudent and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, contributed to excite in the minds of the people, a variety of suspicions, in which all the persons connected with the court were occasionally involved.

To unravel more explicitly the cause of these fatal jealousies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumstances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and distracted country, it will be necessary to have a retrospect to a transaction which occurred some months previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was then faintly known by the vague insinuations of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of some whose information appears to have been rather founded upon conjecture than upon competent evidence.

The meetings of great and powerful princes, like the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, have generally been considered as ominous to the peace and happiness of the world. Towards the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention of this kind took place at Pillnitz in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the present king of Prussia, between whom as principals a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate

and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of France and the new modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia of the 6th of July, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in a resistance to those principles so obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more

offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the Germanic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents has dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs *.

Con-

* The following paper, which has since been made public, will serve to unveil this mystery of *iniquity*, and cannot be read without indignation by any friend of liberty and justice:

Partition treaty between the courts in concert, concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July, 1791.

"His majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

"His majesty the emperor will preserve, for ever, the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

"Her serene highness the Archduchess Maria-Christina shall be, conjointly with his serene highness her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

"Alsace shall be restored to the empire, and the bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges, and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

"If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishopric of Porentrui, the desiles of Franche-Comte, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Verfoz, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

"Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, le Bugey, and the Pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

"In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient dauphins.

"His majesty the king of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bearn, with the island of Corsica, and he shall take possession of the French part of Saint Domingo.

"Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kaminieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

"His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

"His majesty the king of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the empress of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there annex the Palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

"His

Considering, however, the convention of Pilnitz in the most favourable point of view, and accepting the explanation of its express framers, the proceeding is sufficiently unjust and absurd to warrant the most unqualified censure. If any thing on earth is sacred, it is the domestic œconomy of both nations and individuals. In private life the iniquity of interfering in a hostile manner in the internal state or household concerns of a neighbour, is felt and acknowledged by all mankind. Are then the rights of nations to be accounted less sacred than those of private citizens? Are the lives of millions, who must fall on both sides in such a contest, of less consequence than the poverty or anxiety of individuals. But this is not the worst; the principle, if once admitted, is subversive of every right, and necessarily sanctions every crime that can be committed against society. It sanctions robbery and murder. In this view, the conquests of Alexander and of Mahomet were acts of virtue; it was criminal to resist the ambitious projects of Louis XIV; and should the empress of Russia at any future period, discover any thing to be new modelled in the laws or constitution

of Great Britain, we are bound to receive her barbarous legions, not as enemies or invaders, but as philosophic friends, who are only come to make improvements in our condition, and benevolently to present us with that most inestimable of blessings, a despotic government,

France, at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting against her peace, might be said literally to be in a state of internal tranquillity. There existed parties in the nation, it is true, as must exist in every country which is agitated with the spirit of freedom; a large portion of her citizens might indeed be desirous of a republican government; but a still larger portion were attached to their king, and contented with the constitution which was then established. If these contracting powers were really well-wishers to the unfortunate Louis, they should have considered that plots and conspiracies only prosper in times of tumult and confusion; that the bad citizens have need of war, of internal or external distress, to accomplish their purposes; that weakened as the executive power was by the new constitution, it is in times of peace and tranquillity, it is when the people feel themselves

"His majesty the king of Prussia shall besides acquire Lusace, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

"His majesty the present king of Poland shall abdicate the throne, on receiving a suitable annuity.

"His royal highness the elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness, the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

"LEOPOLD,

"PRINCE NASSAU,

"COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA.

"BISCHOFFSWERDER."

"The king of England is said to have acceded to this treaty in March 1792. And Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements respecting their limits with his imperial majesty should be made according to the desire of the republic before the partition.

"Spain renounced it when count d'Aranda came into office as minister, giving assurances however of the strictest neutrality."

H 4

happy,

happy, prosperous, and indolent, that the monarchical authority recovers its sway; and that there still remained an immense civil list, and a considerable patronage, which afforded a prospect of influence to the monarch.

But we cannot, in justice, attribute the conduct of these powers to any principle of benevolence, generosity, or humanity. The man who sets no value on the lives or the happiness of his own subjects, but will squander them even to achieve a degree of lost authority, or any temporal advantage for an individual, cannot be endued with any share of accuracy in moral arithmetic, cannot have the most liberal notions of virtue, cannot be supposed to act upon the broadest and most rational principles. Besides, if we observe the conduct of these princes with respect to Poland, it will afford the fairest comment on their motives with respect to France. It was not the cause of Louis, it was not entirely the cause of kings that influenced their determinations. They felt almost as little for Louis, as for his subjects; for if indeed they had properly estimated the probable consequences, they must have foreseen that these measures could only operate to his destruction, however unfavourably the contest might terminate for the French revolution. He must be overwhelmed in the storm whatever party might prevail; but that was a matter of small concern when put in competition with the private views and ambitious projects of arbitrary princes.

The convention of Pilnitz, as we have intimated, was not unknown in France, though the terms and conditions of the treaty were but imperfectly understood. It was impossible then in the nature of things

that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the express purpose of invading the country, of overturning the constitution, of re-establishing despotic authority, and that the minds of the people should not be agitated with fears and with suspicions. It was next to impossible, that a part of these suspicions should not fall upon the court. The queen in particular had never been popular, and even since the revolution, candour obliges us to confess, that upon the best inquiry we do not find her conduct to have been guarded with that strictness of prudence and reserve which the circumstances of the times required. The fatal flight of the king could not be eradicated from the minds of the people, and the imprudent proclamation of Bouille could not be recollected without resentment and apprehension. The republican party, and the enemies of order and government, eagerly took advantage of these circumstances; the atrocity of the monarchical combination was magnified, and the whole was laid to the charge of the court and of Louis. The first movements of dissatisfaction were directed against the ministers, and our readers will recollect that we pointed out as one of the glaring defects of the new government, the little protection which was afforded to the servants of the state, against the intrigues of demagogues in the national assembly; and to unsettle and dismiss the ministers in rapid succession, was the most certain means of disorganizing the government.

Such we apprehend to have been nearly the state of parties, at the period of which we are now treating. The perturbed state of the public mind was manifested in the assembly,

even so early as in the evening session of the 8th of October, when the ministers were introduced into the assembly, to render an account of their proceedings. On M. Montmorin being questioned, with respect to the intercourse maintained with foreign powers, he replied, that the intercourse with other nations had ceased during the suspension of the royal authority, and had only recommenced from the king's acceptance of the constitution. "I move," said M. Lecroix, with that impetuosity which distinguishes the nation, "that the minister for foreign affairs be obliged to answer more pointedly. However the royal functions may have been suspended, have we ceased to maintain ambassadors at these courts? These ambassadors must have been acquainted with whatever occurs at their respective courts, and they ought to have informed the minister."—"It is this correspondence," added he, "which I wish to be laid open." After some altercation, a series of interrogatories was put to M. Montmorin, and the substance of his replies went to establish his former proposition, that the intercourse with foreign courts having ceased for a time, he had nothing official or satisfactory to produce on that subject; that the correspondence alluded to contained nothing but vague and unsupported rumours, which it would be even dangerous to reveal, and that when any thing of certainty occurred, he would not fail to communicate it.

The subject was renewed on the succeeding day, and a decree was passed, ordering that the ministers should be obliged to inform the assembly concerning the state and arms of the national guards destined for the frontiers; concerning the motives

for retarding the national Gendarmerie; concerning the neglect in replacing those officers in the troops of the line, who had deserted their corps; concerning the delay in sending arms to the departments of the Haute-Loire, the Haut-Vienne, the Haut-Rhin, &c.; concerning the slowness of the recruiting service, the want of provisions in the frontier places, and the neglect in providing arms, &c. On the 11th the minister at war read a long *memoire* on the actual state of his department, and he cleared up the doubtful points so much to the satisfaction of the assembly that his *memoire* was ordered to be printed.

In the mean time the emigrants still continued to assemble in considerable bodies upon the frontiers, and the brothers of the king to issue hostile proclamations. It became necessary therefore to pursue more vigorous measures, and to take some immediate steps to repel the approaching danger. The first measure which the assembly thought proper to employ on this occasion, respected the right of Monsieur to the regency, in case of the death of the king; and, after some deliberation, the assembly passed a decree nearly in the following terms—

"The national assembly, considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being the next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom—In virtue of an article in the second section of the French constitution, decrees that the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the space of two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

"In case the said L. S. Xavier, French prince, shall fail to return to
the

the kingdom within the period above signified, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The assembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the 30th of this month, (October) a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published, within three days in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the assembly, within the three following days."

On the day on which this decree was passed, the public mind was greatly relieved by the report of M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs.—It stated, at large, the reasons which induced him to hope for a continuance of the general tranquillity, and contained the answers of the several courts to the general notification from the king of his acceptance of the new constitution. The replies from even the most hostile of the combined powers were in flattering terms; the emperor and the king of Prussia in particular, gave the most lavish assurances of their amicable intentions, and the elector of Mentz alone had the honesty to avow his disapprobation of the state of affairs in France.

The minister next stated the measures taken by the king with respect to the countenance given to the emigrants by foreign powers. The Austrian Netherlands principally attracted his attention; and, on application to the emperor, the most peremptory orders he said had been given, to prevent them from collecting in too great numbers in any one place, from appearing in military array, or being supplied with any of the implements of war.

Such were the professions of kings and courtiers, while some of them,

at the very moment, were pursuing the most hostile measures, and actually studying to find excuses for commencing a war; while the league of Pilnitz existed in its full vigour; and while the disaffected Frenchmen were privately encouraged by the emperor, the king of Prussia, and their adherents, to assemble in formidable bodies on the frontiers, and to form the most fatal arrangements.

Notwithstanding this was the actual state of affairs, the crafty Leopold, impressed perhaps with some degree of apprehension, from the spirit and enthusiasm manifested by the French nation, or considering the plot as not yet matured for execution, still continued to temporize. Agreeably to the intimation of the minister he issued a proclamation, forbidding the emigrants to assemble in warlike array in the Austrian Netherlands; to prohibit their appearing in military uniforms, their engaging recruits, and still more their encouraging deserters from the French troops. How far this proclamation was complied with, in the spirit as well as in the letter, the succeeding events sufficiently testified.

While the emperor was thus clandestinely making preparations against the French nation, the northern powers were more open and decided in their measures. Prussia, Sweden, and Russia, entered into strict engagements for the restoration of the old despotism of France. Denmark was strongly solicited to enter into the alliance, but with a degree of prudence, which has always characterized the present administration of that country, the proposal was declined. The emperor did not openly and avowedly enter into this new confederacy; whether his inclinations, which seem to have been

always

always pacific, really indisposed him to precipitate measures, or whether it suited that duplicity with which his character was so remarkably shaded, it is impossible at present to determine; but by the convention of Stockholm, it was determined that he should be apparently forced into the war, by the empress insisting on his fulfilling the terms of the alliance which existed between the imperial crowns.

Thus menaced on every side, and unable to conjecture from what quarter the first fatal blow was to proceed, some allowance may be made for those unhappy jealousies which the nation entertained, and for those severe measures towards the emigrants which they were about to adopt. Tremblingly alive on every topic that affected their newly recovered liberties, not knowing whom to suspect, or whom to consider as their friend, this unfortunate people naturally became the dupes of that faction which made the most lavish professions in favour of popular liberty, and directed their resentments, possibly without any good reason, against those whose interest they conceived to be most concerned in their oppression—the king and his ministers.

The constituent assembly had treated with unexampled lenity the hostile proceedings of the emigrants, but at this crisis measures more vigorous and more severe were perhaps required. On the 9th of November, therefore, a decree was passed, stating,—“That the French who were assembled in a hostile manner beyond the frontiers, were suspected of a conspiracy against their country. That, if after the 1st of January they should be found in that situation, they should be declared actually guilty of a conspiracy, and

punishable with death. That all the French princes and public functionaries, who should not return before the 1st of January, should be adjudged guilty of the same crime. That the high national court should immediately after that period be called to pronounce judgment on such offenders. That such as should be convicted during their absence, should forfeit their estates and property during their own lives, but not to the prejudice of their children. That all such persons holding offices, &c. should be adjudged to have forfeited the same; and all such being officers in the army or navy should be considered as deserters. All Frenchmen who enlisted men to attack the frontiers were to be adjudged guilty of high treason. No arms or military stores were to be transported out of the kingdom.”

This decree was immediately followed by another, ordering the vacancies in the army to be filled up without further loss of time. Supplies were voted for putting the kingdom in a respectable posture of defence; and some regulations were adopted concerning the military schools, and the organization of the army.

The party disaffected to the new constitution were furnished with fresh matter for murmur and complaint, by the refusal of the king to sanction the decree of the 9th of November against the emigrants. The moderate party exulted in this testimony of his constitutional freedom exhibited by the monarch, and considered it as a proof that he intended to govern strictly agreeable to the principles of the constitution. A king, they observed, who was not sincere in his attachment to the new order of things, would have borne the mask of dissimulation through the whole of his conduct; such a one would

would not have hazarded an unpopular step, but would have ostensibly joined in the most violent measures in the hope that they could not long endure, and that the machinations of the enemies of freedom would soon restore the ancient depravity and abuses.

While such were the sentiments of the more moderate and reasonable part of the nation, the republican faction eagerly embraced the opportunity to declaim against the new constitution, and against monarchical government. It was a constitution they asserted composed of inconsistent and incongruous principles, an hereditary monarch, and a democratic assembly. This very prerogative of a veto, which the constitution had conferred upon the king, would be the means, it was urged, of defeating every patriotic measure of the legislature, while the immense civil list enabled him either to bribe its members, or to cherish and assist the enemies of the nation assembled in foreign countries.

The exercise of the royal veto on this occasion was certainly an imprudent step, though there is no reason to attribute it to any perfidious motive, or to account for it on any other principle than that gentleness of disposition, that tenderness of character, by which this unfortunate monarch was so much distinguished. To deprive at one blow, and by his own agency, his nearest connexions of their hereditary rights, of their revenues, their subsistence, and to subject them to the penalties of death for their mistaken zeal, while they professed that all their efforts were directed to his service, doubtless appeared to him a harsh and ungrateful measure; while, judging probably of their dispositions by his own, he flattered himself with the hopes

of persuading them to abandon their projects, and no longer contumaciously to oppose themselves to what appeared almost the unanimous sentiment of the whole nation. In contemplating the history of this amiable and unfortunate prince, and the dreadful catastrophe which has since taken place, our sorrow is rather increased than diminished by the melancholy reflection, that he was less the victim of the cruelty of his enemies, than of the imprudence and folly of his professed friends. If instead of deserting their country and their king, the misguided nobility of France had only for the time conformed a little to circumstances, contented themselves for the moment with that share of dignity and authority which they could save out of the general wreck of privileges, and rallied round the throne to support their king in the exercise of his constitutional rights—Could they have conceded with grace, and defended themselves with candour and moderation—Had they only assumed the appearance of acting more for the public, and less for themselves, France would never have been the victim of anarchy; the nobility would still have preserved, if not their titles, at least their fortunes and their consequence, and their innocent monarch would never have fallen a sacrifice to a relentless mob.

Above all things, it is ever impolitic to call in foreign aid to extinguish the internal troubles of a nation. It is rarely successful; and when it is successful, the end is generally that both parties are equally the prey of the invader. A high spirited nation will seldom endure the insult; and the consequence has frequently been, that the contending parties, when languishing under the oppression of a foreign

yoke,

yoke, have forgotten their mutual animosities to unite against the common enemy, and to expell from the country that banditti, which their dissensions had before introduced. Had the confederated powers been successful in their efforts against France, there is little doubt that the very persons who invited them to the contest, would have been among the first to complain of their tyranny and injustice; and, singular as the thought may appear, we shall not be surprized to find in the vicissitudes of war, some of the first emigrants who fled their country because they could not endure a limited monarchy, contending under the banners of the republic for the democracy of France.

Independent of the factions which distracted the councils, and divided the sentiments of the nation, the internal state of France was far from prosperous at the close of the year 1791. The public treasury was exhausted, and the revenue was still inadequate to the expenditure. The assignats still circulated under a considerable discount. Poverty pervaded the country; and the neglect of agriculture threatened an impending famine. Distressing as was this state of affairs in the mother country, that of the colonies was still worse. The island of St. Domingo in particular, was still convulsed by the dreadful contest, in which the impracticability of the white inhabitants, in refusing the just demands of the people of colour, had involved the island. The negroe slaves, taking advantage of the anarchy which ensued from this unfortunate conflict, embraced eagerly the opportunity to emancipate themselves. In the northern district, not less than *one hundred thousand* revolted. More than two hundred plantations were

entirely burnt; the masters were massacred, and if the women were spared, it was to endure a captivity worse than death. The ships that were anchored off the island afforded the only asylum to which the unhappy fugitives could resort, while fire and devastation every where marked the path of the victorious rebels. Such was the representation of the colonial assembly: on the 30th of October the minister of marine announced to the national assembly, that 2,300 troops of the line had been sent thither, and this embarkation was immediately followed by that of 600 more: 10,370,912 livres were voted as a supply for these expeditions; and these public efforts were nobly seconded by the patriotic offers of an individual. M. Mosneron of Nantz, on the 3d of November, made a spontaneous proposal to the national assembly to equip a vessel entirely new, and to transport, at his own expence, a body of 400 men to assist in restoring peace to the distracted colonies. The assembly, at the time they accepted the offer of M. Mosneron, passed a decree of thanks to the king of Great Britain, to the English nation, and to lord Eslington the governor of Jamaica, for his generous conduct in relieving the planters of St. Domingo from the horrors of famine, and in furnishing them with arms and military stores against the rebel negroes.

Among the calamities which at this period afflicted France, perhaps not the least to be deplored, were the dissensions which were likely to ensue from the influence of the ejected and non-juring clergy. The measures of the constituent assembly, respecting ecclesiastical affairs, were certainly not consistent with either justice or policy. It was not consistent

sistent with justice to alienate property from its legal destination; still less laudable was it to wrest from the hands of the possessors that revenue which had been legally committed to them, and to reduce to comparative indigence those who had long been in the habits of opulence and ease. The hardships and difficulties of the clergy, were increased by the bigoted spirit of the court of Rome; the pope had prohibited them under the most alarming anathemas from conforming to the injunctions of the assembly, and from taking the civic oath. One false step necessarily leads to another; injustice always produces injustice. The decree which enjoined the civic oath was followed by another, which expelled from their benefices all whose consciences could not submit to the terms prescribed by the legislature, all whose attachment to the see of Rome was still preserved inviolate, all who from virtue as well as from less worthy motives, felt an aversion to the new order of things. Thus, at the period of which we are treating, there remained in the heart of France an immense body of disaffected persons, united among themselves, connected with a foreign hierarchy, which itself was irritated by recent injuries in the affair of Avignon; and to complete the distraction, this body was possessed of an influence over the minds of the people, which it was not easy to suppress. In fact, the non-juring clergy were possessed of all the popularity, of all the credit of the order. Their chapels were crowded, while those of the constitutional or conforming clergy were utterly deserted. We are not therefore to suppose that this influence would be entirely without its effects; we are not to suppose that such an accumulation of power

in the hands of men would not be employed to the gratification of their resentments. In some places the disaffected priests openly declaimed against the constitution; in others secret conspiracies were formed, foreign correspondences were established, and no means were left untried to inflame the minds of the populace. Every engine of superstition was employed, every art of eloquence essayed to seduce them from their allegiance. Nocturnal meetings were held, and nocturnal processions were conducted by the factious priests. The shrines of the virgin and of the saints were resorted to in mourning, as if to indicate the projected overthrow of all religion. The contests in fine arrived at length at such extremity, that actual combats took place between the fanatical adherents of the ejected priests and the national guard. The remote parts of the kingdom were nearly engaged in a religious war, and the sanguinary scenes of St. Bartholomew were in danger of being renewed.

No measure has drawn more odium upon the legislative assembly, and none has excited more the indignation of other nations, than that severe decree which banished for ever from their country, on pain of death, the non-juring clergy. Much as we deplore the harshness of the measure; much as we sympathize in the sufferings of that body; innocent and respectable as we believe a considerable portion of them to have been; still justice obliges us to confess, that this measure, harsh as it was, appeared only a necessary consequence of those which had preceded it. It was the rash and impolitic proceeding of the constituent assembly in hastily confiscating the property of the church,

that

that unfortunately implanted the seeds of discord between the religion and the legislature of the country. The enlightened part of the community might see the error with regret, but they saw it only when it was too late to rectify it.

The first step of the legislative assembly against the refractory priests, was however less violent in appearance, though in reality it was fraught with severity. On the 18th of November, a series of resolutions were passed, by which it was enacted, that the pensions of the ejected clergy, which had been allowed by the constituent assembly, should be withdrawn from all such as still refused the civic oath. That wherever any troubles were found to exist, of which religion was the cause or the pretext, the municipal officers should have liberty to remove from the neighbourhood such of the non-juring clergy as might be suspected of fomenting or favouring such seditions; that in case of disobedience to the directory of the department, they might be prosecuted before the tribunals, and imprisoned; and that those who should be convicted of actual sedition should be liable to two years imprisonment. To these decrees, after some delay, the king, from apparently the most humane and conscientious motives, opposed his *veto*, and thus unfortunately increased the clamour which was insidiously excited against him in very part of the kingdom.

If the general tenor of the replies from foreign courts to the king's notice of having accepted the constitution be attentively considered, it will be impossible not to observe that remarkable strain of artifice and duplicity which pervaded the majority of them, and particularly those from the most powerful states,

and those nearest in alliance with the reigning family. They contained, indeed, expressions of personal respect and sympathy for the king, but nothing which could be construed into an approbation of the new order which had been established in France by the prevalence of popular councils. However therefore the court and ministry might appear satisfied with these empty professions, it is certain they were far from gratifying to the people at large. Instead of diminishing, the insolence of the emigrants appeared to increase. The enrolments in the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine were carried on with increased vigour and alacrity; they were even encouraged to commit acts of violence on the bordering territories of the Bishoprick of Strasburgh; and an attempt was also made by an agent of the princes to corrupt general Wimpfen, who commanded in the department of the Upper Rhine, and to engage him to deliver by treachery the fortrefs of New Brisac into their hands, by which the hostile troops might have obtained an easy entrance into the territories of France. Impelled by these circumstances the assembly decreed, on the 29th of November, that a deputation of 24 of its members should wait upon the king to communicate to him, on the part of the assembly, its solicitude concerning the dangers which menaced the country from the perfidious combinations of armed emigrants, assembled without the kingdom, and the fatal conspiracies which they apprehended internally threatened its domestic peace; to intreat him to require the elector of Treves, of Mayence, and the other princes of the empire, to issue a prohibition to these hostile preparations and enrolments which were

were openly carried on by the emigrants on the frontiers; and to request that he would embody a force sufficient to compel them, in case of a refusal.

On the 14th of December, the king repaired in person to the national assembly; he acquainted them, that he had taken their message into deep consideration, and that on so important an occasion he had thought it his duty to be himself the bearer of the answer. He observed, that he had long been of opinion, that the circumstances of the nation required great circumspection. He assured them that he had done every thing to recall the emigrants to the bosom of their country, and to persuade them to submit to the new laws. He had employed both amicable intimations, and caused formal requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes and encourage them in their rash designs.

He observed, that the emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states. His measures at other courts, he said, had not been equally successful, and unaccommodating answers had been given to his just requisitions. These unjust refusals, he observed, called for resolutions of another kind. As the representative of the people he felt for their injuries—In consequence, he had caused a declaration to be made to the Elector of Treves, that if before the 15th of January, he did not put a stop within his states, to all hostile dispositions on the part of the emigrants, he should be obliged to consider him as the enemy of France. The king added, that he should

order similar declarations to all who favoured assemblages which might menace the peace of the kingdom.

To enable the nation however to prepare for that war in which they might find it necessary, after all these precautions, reluctantly to engage, the king advised an attention to the finances of the country, and the strict observance of peace and unanimity—He modestly alluded to the violence of those who endeavoured to surround with disgusts the exercise of that authority which was entrusted to him—pledged himself faithfully to preserve the deposit of the constitution, and to shew to all mankind that he felt how truly glorious it was to be the king of a free people.

In the former part of this discourse, where the king speaks of having employed amicable intimations, and exerted his personal influence with foreign powers, he probably might allude to a circumstance, which has only been publicly known since his death; which was this—So early as the month of March 1791, the emperor Leopold had formed at Mantua a secret plan, consisting of 21 articles, the object of which was to re-establish the king in all his former authority: for this purpose the emperor was to enter France, in the month of July, at the head of all his troops, while the frontiers were left totally defenceless. The king prevented by his interposition this plan, and probably might induce the emperor to assume at least that mask of moderation and friendship which for some time he affected to wear.

But however sincere the king might be in his declarations, he was not fortunate enough to still the voice of faction. The republican party in particular did not fail to

take every advantage which the fears and suspicions of the people afforded to excite this detestation of the court, and of the little remains of the aristocratic faction which existed in the kingdom. The negative which the king had unfortunately given to the decree against the emigrants, and his tardiness in functioning that respecting the non-juring clergy, afforded the disaffected and designing too easy a pretext to work on the passions of the multitude. Addresses crowded in from every part of the kingdom, abounding in commendations of the national assembly, and indicating their dissatisfaction as to the conduct of the king and his ministers. Most of these addresses were entered on the journals of the assembly, and were seconded by inflammatory speeches from the more violent members. M. Montmorin, unable to withstand the storm of popular violence, resigned; M. Delessart was nominated to the department of foreign affairs, and M. Cahier de Gerville to that of the interior. In the beginning of December, also M. du Portail was dismissed from his office as minister of war, and M. Narbonne appointed in his room. The hasty dismissal and impeachment of ministers in consequence of inflammatory harangues from popular orators, and without any hearing or investigation, may be accounted among the principal causes of the calamities of France. The rapid succession of ministers allowed them no time to remedy abuses, or to make the necessary arrangements for the defence of the kingdom; the fear of impeachment rendered them cautious and timid, and directed their attention rather to the arts of acquiring popularity, than to the performance of their duty; rather

to intriguing with the despicable journalists, who governed the mob of Paris, than to the actual service of their king and country.

Before the conclusion of the month of November, a circumstance occurred which served to put in motion the two parties which was shortly to divide the kingdom, the constitutionalists and the republicans; and the event might have shewn in whose favour the balance was likely to preponderate. The mayoralty of the judicious and patriotic M. Bailly terminated in the month of November—The once popular La Fayette appeared as a candidate to succeed him, and it was generally understood that he was supported by the court—He was however opposed by a violent Jacobin and a declared republican, M. Petion. It is almost unnecessary to state the issue of the contest, and to add that M. Petion was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority.

As melancholy experience had evinced the increasing credit and power of the Jacobins; as it was evident that, by gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the populace, that pernicious society was enabled to controul even the assembly itself; as the only means of averting the dreadful consequences with which the nation was threatened by the disorganizing principles avowed by the leaders of that club, the friends of the constitution and of the monarch endeavoured to counteract its influence, by a new institution of a similar kind, but professing principles more moderate, and consequently more calculated to preserve the tranquillity and happiness of the nation. As the new society assembled in the vacant convent of the Feuillans, it re-

ceived its name; as well as the Jacobin club, from the place of its meeting. It was composed of the most active and most respectable members of the constituent assembly, among whom were M. M. D'Andre, Barnave, the Lameths, Du Port, Rabaud, Sieyès, Chapelier, Thourét, Labord, Taleyrand, Montesquieu, Beaumetz, &c. to these may be added 266 members of the existing assembly, and about 880 other respectable citizens.

The republican party and the Jacobins could not behold this new association without secret disquiet. It was evidently formed to disconcert their conspiracies, and to open the eyes of the public to their true interest. As they despaired of vanquishing it by the force of reason and truth, they determined to employ that blind and desperate instrument, the sole guidance of which they had long been labouring to acquire. The first alarm was on the 21st of December, when a large body of ruffians armed with clubs forced themselves into the hall of the Feuillans; they commenced with direct threats to several of the members, with interrupting all discussion, and at length openly acknowledged that they were sent thither to effect the dissolution of the society.

A riot of a still more serious nature was threatened on the 23d, and M. Charon the president wrote to the mayor to request that a commissaire de police might be ordered to attend the meeting, for the purpose of preserving the peace; but M. Petion, who was indebted for his own elevation to the Jacobin club, could not be supposed to be extremely ardent in favour of its rival. He excused himself, by saying that he could not command the attendance of a commissaire, but

that he would take every precaution in his power. At the instance of the commander of the national guard, however, M. Petion wrote to the commissaire de police, and requested his attendance. As the members of the society came armed as well as the rioters, a tumult of a very sanguinary nature was expected; but happily, by the interposition of the municipal officer, a massacre was prevented. The rioters imperiously insisted on the dissolution of the club, and this by the other party was contemptuously refused. On the exhortation of the peace officer, however, to separate and depart from the scene of altercation, the society afforded the first example of moderation, by quitting its hall, and leaving their property to the discretion of their opponents.

The majority of the assembly had, from these circumstances, an immediate opportunity of manifesting its disposition towards the new institution. The vicinity of their place of meeting to that of the legislative body, and the various committees afforded M. Merlin (who had been imprudently attacked by one of the guards) and others of the Jacobin faction, a ready excuse for insisting on their removal; and a motion being made to that effect, it was unanimously decreed. Thus was victory at once declared in favour of the Jacobins, and success by such unworthy means only served to encourage them to more atrocious proceedings. The constitutional party indeed were too late in their adoption of active measures. Their more diligent adversaries had already obtained possession of the public mind, and they entered the field only when the contest was virtually decided.

These transactions afford a tolerably

ably accurate picture of the state of parties in France, at the conclusion of the year 1791. Its situation, with respect to foreign powers, became every day more and more critical. The conduct of Leopold was a singular tissue of inconsistency and deception. He pretended formally to revoke the circular of Pavia, in consequence of the king's acceptance of the constitution, and yet exhorted the powers of Europe not to desist from the measures concerted between them, but to continue vigilant, and to declare that their coalition had still an existence. This declaration was followed by a letter to the king of France, reviving the claims of the imperial vassals in Alsace and Lorraine; insisting that no compensation could be accepted, but that matters should be restored in every respect to their ancient situation; and acquainting the king that the emperor conceived himself not only bound to interpose by solemn protestation, "but also to give to the injured *all the aid* which the dignity of the imperial court, and the maintenance of the present constitution, required."

While such were the pretences of Leopold, it appeared that the German princes, in general, were more than satisfied with the mode of compensation proposed by the French. The prince of Lowenstein readily accepted of an indemnification, and the prince of Hohenloe, and the prince of Salm-Salm, declared themselves equally ready to treat upon the same terms. The dukes of Wirtemberg, and Deux Ponts, as well as prince Maximilian, freely negotiated, and only required, what in itself was no more than perfectly reasonable, the reimbursement of their revenues on the

feudal rights in question, from the 4th of August 1789.

The designs of Leopold gradually unfolded. The declaration to the European powers, the substance of which is given in a preceding paragraph was dated 10th Nov. the letter to the king the 3d of December; and on the 21st of the same month an official notice was delivered to the French minister at Vienna, in answer to the French king's notification to the elector of Treves, which more directly manifested the hostile intentions of the Imperial court. It stated, that the elector had given notice to the court of Vienna, that he had adopted, with respect to the French refugees and emigrants, the same principles and regulations as had been put in force in the Austrian Low Countries; that notwithstanding this, the elector was still apprehensive that the tranquillity of his frontiers and states would be disturbed by France; and that in consequence of this notification, the emperor had been constrained to order marshal Bender to march to the states of his electoral highness speedy and effectual succours, in case he should be attacked with hostile incursions, or even imminently menaced with such.

As it was a well-known fact that the French emigrants were assembled in immense force, and with every hostile preparation in the electorate; as such an arrangement could not be with amicable intentions towards their country; and as the emperor by this official notice, declared his intentions of protecting the elector in these proceedings, his views with respect to France could be no longer mistaken. In the letter which the French king transmitted to the assembly, inclos-

ing the notice of the court of Vienna, he expressed his astonishment not less than his regret. He conceived that he had a right to reckon on the good intentions of the emperor; and added, that he could not yet bring himself to believe that his dispositions were changed, but wished to persuade himself that the court of Vienna had been deceived respecting the state of facts, and had been made to suppose that the elector of Treves had fulfilled in reality all the duties of justice and good neighbourhood. In the answer which the king returned to the emperor, he said, he had reminded that monarch that nothing was demanded of him, but what France had afforded an example of, and that the French nation had taken immediate care to prevent the hostile assembling of the refugees from Brabant, when they attempted it in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Netherlands; at the same time he confirmed his former declaration, that if, after the period already fixed, the elector of Treves should not have really and effectually dispersed the hostile assemblies which exist in his states, nothing would prevent the king from proposing to the assembly to employ the force of arms to constrain it.

As the intentions of Leopold therefore could be no longer doubted, the preparations for war were renewed with redoubled vigour. By an act of the legislature, the king had previously been requested to confer on M. M. Rochambeau and Luckner, the dignity of marshals of France, and M. La Fayette had proceeded to assume an important command on the confines of Germany. The war minister, M. Narbonne, made the circuit of the frontiers, to inspect personally

the state of the army there. New levies were immediately ordered, and the whole country assumed the garb of war.

Though the spirit of the nation was not depressed by the prospect of impending hostilities, still if the state of the finances be considered, war could not be contemplated without the most serious apprehensions. The extraordinary resources had all proved hitherto inadequate to the liquidation of the public debt. On the 29th of December, 20 millions of livres were voted by the assembly, which the minister at war informed them, on the succeeding day, must be all appropriated to the deficit of 1791, and not to the expences of 1792.

M. Lafond on the same day presented a general estimate, from the particular estimates of the several ministers, of the expences of 1792:

Appanage of the	Liv.
princes - -	5,000,000
Army — —	221,000
Foreign affairs -	6,000,000
Marine and colonies - -	43,000,000
General administration - -	5,000,000
Public worship -	81,000,000
Pensions to ecclesiastics - -	63,000,000
National assembly	5,000,000
Civil list —	25,000,000
Bridges and roads -	4,000,000
High national court and court of appeal - -	450,000
Schools and academies - -	1,000,000
Interest of public debt - -	20,000,000
Life annuities -	100,000,000
Perpetual annuities	300,000,000

Total 663,671,000
He

He then presented an estimate of the ordinary ways and means; consisting of land tax, tax on personal property, patents, stamps, &c. taken at 530,000,000. The remaining sum of 133,671,000 must be provided for from the fund of extraordinary.

Notwithstanding previous appearances, the year 1792 opened with fair but delusive omens to the peace of Europe and the liberties of France. Leopold again wavered or prevaricated. Unprepared for the attack, or confident that his deep and sinister policy would be successful in amusing the assembly, his language to the French ministers at Vienna and Brussels was contradictory to his former public declarations; indeed, contrary to his actual conduct, it was pacific and conciliatory: thus while a cordon of troops was gradually forming on the frontier of the Netherlands, the solemn protestations of the emperor asserted them to be intended merely for the purpose of precaution and defence. M. de Sainte Croix, who had been dispatched as an envoy extraordinary to the elector of Treves, was received by that prince with the most perfect cordiality and respect. The emigrants were prohibited from continuing their military exercises, and the elector pledged himself by the strongest assurances to the French minister, that within eight days the hostile assemblages within his dominions should be entirely dispersed. All military stores and even horses for the emigrants were prohibited; and he declared, that in every respect it was his most ardent wish to maintain perpetual peace and amity with France.

The people, more sincere than their sovereigns, willingly seconded this disposition. In many towns the

emigrants were ignominiously expelled by the populace; and the prince of Conde was compelled by the magistrates of Worms to leave that city for fear of insurrection. While their enemies thus appeared to be crushed or removed, the apprehensions of the French for their own frontier were completely dispelled by the report of the war minister on his return from his tour. The fortresses were represented as being in a most respectable state, and the patriotism of the soldiery exceeded every expectation that the most sanguine friend of his country could form. The credit of the paper currency experienced an immediate rise from these favourable appearances, and manufactures and agriculture began once more to flourish. The accounts from the colonies were less encouraging. The dreadful revolt of the negroes at cape François had indeed produced a temporary cessation of the dissensions which existed between the white inhabitants of St. Domingo, and the people of colour; and an actual concordat, or agreement, had been entered into by the two parties. The successes of the free inhabitants thus united against the revolted negroes were brilliant; but every new instance of success but added to the calamity of individuals, as it was a destruction of property. It affords matter for astonishment that the most severe calamities are frequently insufficient to destroy the force of prejudice. That rancorous spirit which prevailed in the white colonists, that contempt in which they continued to hold the people of colour, was repressed, but not extinguished by the concordat. While the ratification of this contract was still in agitation, a private quarrel served once more to rekindle the flames of

civil war. On the 16th of November the sections of Port au Prince were assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the execution of the concordat, and the forming of a new provincial assembly, to which the people of colour should have equal admission with the white inhabitants. At the very moment in which this important question was in agitation, a free negro quarrelled with a white cannonier. The soldier drew his sword, but the superior force of the negro wrested it from him, and broke it in pieces. For this offence the negro was apprehended; he was immediately tried, condemned, and hanged, in opposition to the most urgent and humble intreaties of the people of colour, who only requested that the execution of the sentence might at least be suspended.

The consequence of this hasty and imprudent act was, that the people of colour fired on the canoniers; the white colonists flew instantly to arms, and the contest was renewed with all its former fury. The succeeding day the town of Port au Prince was set on fire by some unknown incendiaries, and 23 islots, making two fifths of the whole, were totally consumed. The subsequent history of this distracted colony is nothing but a repetition of crimes and disasters. The island divided into three parties, has continued a prey to its intestine divisions. The revolted negroes have still maintained their ground. The people of colour have either remained undecided and inactive, or have taken the part of the insurgents. Even the troops which were sent over to restore tranquillity, have in some measure been corrupted, while the white inhabitants have displayed unequivocal marks of counter-revolutionary principles.

As but little hope appeared of the emigrants returning to their country, and as the veto of the king had caused much discontent in the nation, the assembly proceeded to stronger measures, and a decree of accusation of high treason was passed against the brothers of the king, the prince of Conde, M. Calonne, and Mirabau the younger; and notwithstanding the professions of the emperor, reports had gone forth that a congress was to be formed by Austria and Prussia for the purpose of subverting, or modifying, at least, the French constitution, a decree was passed by the legislature, and immediately sanctioned by the king, which pronounced every Frenchman infamous, and guilty of high treason, who should directly or indirectly take any part in such measures, or who should, in any respect, unite with those whose object was a modification of the existing constitution.

The principal misfortune, however, that afflicted France, at this juncture, was the parties which existed within its bosom, and which precipitated rapidly one after another the ministers from their stations. M. Delessart was accused, and M. Bertrand declared by a vote of the assembly unworthy of being employed. While the republican party were thus obtaining a gradual ascendancy in the assembly, and taking advantage of every circumstance that could increase their power, the more desperate among them were insidiously employed in dispersing rumours among the people, atrociously slanderous of the king, and the existing government. Pikes were openly manufactured in different parts of the city, and avowedly distributed among the populace, under the specious pretext of arming them against the enemies of liberty. On the 17th of February, therefore, the king

thought it necessary expressly to deny, in a spirited letter to the mayor and municipality, all the charges which were circulated against him, relative to his supposed disaffection to the constitution; the municipality also, nearly about the same period, passed a resolution prohibiting the citizens from keeping stores of concealed arms in their houses.

In one instance, however, it must be confessed that the Jacobin and republican party evinced superior sagacity, and shewed that they were possessed of either better information, or more honesty than their opponents. They penetrated more successfully the designs of Leopold, and saw that the false serenity which prevailed at the commencement of the year only preceded a storm; and that it was a mere delusion created by that crafty prince to lull the spirit of France into a fatal tranquillity. Not uninformed probably of the actual grounds of the treaty of Pilnitz, they saw that an alliance of such extent was not likely to vanish in vapour; the reasons still existed in which it originated; with this opinion the preparations of Austria and Prussia entirely corresponded—and while no motive of sufficient weight had occurred to induce the combination to lay aside their project, there was an obvious reason for the concealment of it, and that was, that it was evidently not yet ripe for execution. At their instance, therefore, the military preparations were carried on with vigour; at their instance a decisive answer was demanded from Leopold, and a period was fixed, after which his silence was to be construed into a declaration of war. The court itself indeed was not without its alarms; for marshals Luckner and Rochambeau, and M. La Fayette, were ordered to Paris,

towards the latter end of February, to concert with the executive power concerning the proper arrangements for the defence of the country; a considerable promotion of officers was made, and even a marine equipment was ordered, in expectation that some naval power might be induced to join the confederacy. What was scarcely conjecture, in the preceding month, was converted almost into certainty on the 21 of March, when the minister for foreign affairs laid before the assembly the late correspondence with the emperor. Besides the papers which we have already noticed, it included a note from prince Kaunitz, dated January 5th, 1792, stating, that though the elector of Treves had seriously resolved to enforce the regulations adopted by the emperor against the emigrants, still the French king had assembled three armies, and that violent declamations had been permitted in the French clubs against all the sovereigns of Europe.

The reading of this paper was followed by an extract from the instructions of the minister to M. Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna, dated January 21st, in which an explanation was required of the orders given to general Bender, and of the meaning of the expression employed by the emperor—"The sovereigns united for the safety and honour of crowns."

The most important paper, however, was a dispatch from prince Kaunitz to the imperial chargé des affaires at Paris, and dated February 17th.—It was penned with studied ambiguity.—The emperor made many protestations of his desire to preserve peace, but still avowed the engagements which he had formed with other powers for preserving inviolate the monarchy of France.

While he professed his apprehensions for the safety of the king, the dispatch was charged with such expressions as appeared studiously calculated to irritate the people, and precipitate his ruin. It inveighed, in the most unqualified terms, against the republican spirit, and the Jacobin societies; and instead of soothing or conciliating the passions of the multitude, it appeared only calculated to urge them to some act of desperation.

These papers were accompanied by a letter from the Prussian envoy at Paris, avowing the intimate union and connexion which subsisted between the two courts, and the entire acquiescence of his master in the Austrian memorials. By another communication from the minister, it was understood, that the imperial troops in the Netherlands amounted to 55,000, in January last, and that as soon as they should be joined by the several bodies which were ordered to march, they would amount to upwards of 90,000. The minister concluded by saying, that the king had instructed his ambassador at Vienna to represent, that it became neither the dignity nor the independence of France to enter into any discussion concerning her internal affairs; that the measures of Austria and Prussia, having no explicit object, could only serve to create jealousy and distrust; and that, if the emperor was sincere in his professions, he would shew it by reducing his troops in the Netherlands to the peace establishment in 1791, which would be immediately followed by a similar proceeding on the part of the French.

The fallacious calm which had pervaded the nation and the assembly, was on the publication of these dispatches, changed into a tempest of

rage and resentment. The minister Delessart was charged with having deceived the nation; the various communications from foreign powers were treated as little better than forgeries, and the minister for foreign affairs was considered as being a party in the fraud: to many it appeared, that war itself was a less formidable evil than the enormous expences in which a continued state of alarm involved the nation; and some even went so far as to regard the menaces of the confederacy as empty threats; and as concerted solely to increase the distresses of the nation, by deranging its finances.

While the indignation of the popular party in the assembly was directed against M. Bertrand, minister of the marine, and M. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, the court, under the influence, as was confidently suspected, of the house of Austria, determined on the dismissal of M. Narbonne from the war department; and of M. Cahier de Gerville from that of the interior. M. de Grave was appointed as successor to M. Narbonne, whose dismissal was both resented and resisted by the leading members of the assembly. M. Sage moved, "that M. Narbonne carried with him the regret of the national assembly;" and on a motion of censure by M. Cambon, on the ministers who advised the king to retain M. Bertrand in his service, after he had lost the public confidence, M. Cahier de Gerville was expressly excepted. Nothing indeed could be more impolitic in the court than both these measures.—It was as absurd as it was useless to endeavour to support the minister of marine, however innocent, against the voice and feelings of a majority of the legislature; and considering that the temper of the assembly rather led them

them in general to derange the ministry, than to vote for their continuance in office, the king ought to have rejoiced that any of his servants enjoyed a portion of their confidence, and ought certainly not to have set them the example himself of dissolving the administration.

These measures were followed, in the same sitting, by the impeachment of M. Delessart. He was accused by M. Brissot of omitting to give information to the assembly of the concert formed among foreign powers against the liberty and independence of France; of not pressing the measures proper for the safety and defence of the nation; of having given to prince Kaunitz details on the situation of the kingdom, calculated to convey an improper idea; of having meanly sued for peace; and of having refused to obey the decrees of the national assembly. In consequence of a decree passed against him, M. Delessart was apprehended, and conducted to Orleans to be tried by the high national court. There is every reason to believe that this unfortunate minister was substantially innocent; but the tide of faction, from a variety of unfavourable circumstances, run hard against him—He may indeed be considered as having fallen a sacrifice to the indignation which the crooked and deceitful conduct of Leopold excited; to the temporizing politics of the mild and undecided Louis; and to that finesse which has been so long attached to the French character, that perhaps even republican sentiments will not easily eradicate it. These circumstances prevented him from acting with that decisive openness, and boldness of character, which the rectitude of his conduct might have inspired. He was the first victim to that desperate faction which has since

deluged France with blood; and the assembly by passing a decree of accusation against a citizen, without first hearing him in his own defence, have fixed an indelible blot upon their records, and afforded a fatal specimen of that prompt and hasty punishment which has since exhibited the juridical proceedings of that nation, as an object of detestation and contempt to the world.

The impeachment of M. Delessart so completely terrified the marine minister, M. Bertrand, that he lost no time in requesting leave to give in his resignation. Thus the ministry was at once completely dissolved; and yet, unpermanent and difficult as the situation was, the contest to supply the vacant offices served still farther to divide the distracted empire.

While France was thus agitated by internal faction, and the apprehension of a foreign attack, the politics of Europe once more appeared to vibrate in favour of peace, by the sudden death of the emperor of Germany. This event happened on the first of March, and from the suddenness of the attack, and the nature of the complaint, violent suspicions were at first entertained that he owed his death to poison. The complaint entirely affected the stomach and the intestines, his body swelled to an enormous degree, and his bowels literally burst. The accusation of poison was naturally directed against the French party, but the whole suspicion was soon removed by the narrative of his decease, which was published by authority, and which ascribed the fatal event to a rheumatic fever—By those, however, who pretended to have better means of information, it was asserted, that the use of certain stimulant medicines, which this prince was in the habit of employ-

employing, produced this dreadful effect, and terminated a life of such apparent importance to the politics of Europe.

As a man, Leopold was generally considered as a debauched and sensual character; as a prince, he was certainly possessed of ability, and though his principles were despotic, it must be confessed, that, in general, he made use of his power for the good of his subjects. His political career, while grand duke of Tuscany, was marked by wisdom and moderation. He simplified the laws, he remitted the most grievous of the public burdens, and his regard to the administration of justice was such, that he allowed, and even encouraged, appeals to himself, wherever any party conceived himself injured in the course of a process in the ordinary courts of law. He had the merit of restoring peace to the empire, as well as to Austria and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the distress and confusion in which he found the nation all involved, by the imprudent administration of his predecessor. His political wisdom and general sagacity were certainly far above the ordinary standard of hereditary monarch. The soundness of his judgment, and his regard to his people, were strongly evinced by one trait—he loved peace. How far his conduct in uniting with the confederacy of princes against the liberties of France, may be fairly cited in contradiction to this assertion, we are scarcely qualified to decide, unless we were better informed as to the motives and the extent of that confederacy. Leopold might be influenced by family considerations; he might be deceived with false representations as to the actual state of France; he might be prompted by the intrigues of another power, whose

insidious policy Europe will long have occasion to regret: or, after all, he might not be serious in his intentions of commencing offensive measures, and might flatter himself that the dread of a powerful combination might enable him to obtain better terms for the royal family than the constitution of 1791 afforded. With all his public virtues, we are under a necessity of recording one indelible blemish on his character.—His notorious duplicity rendered him at once an object of universal abhorrence and contempt; and it was even asserted, by an eminent speaker in the British senate, intimately connected with administration, that “no man would take his word for a single day.”

The ascendancy which the Jacobin club had obtained by their victory over the Feuillans, and still more by the impeachment of M. Delessart, rendered their authority absolute in every thing that concerned the politics of France. The court seemed at this moment to relinquish every thought of resistance, and to sail with the tide. This was soon evinced in the appointment of ministers; M. Dumourier and M. Lacoste, two of the leading Jacobins, being nominated to the vacant departments of foreign affairs and the marine. As the name of the former will frequently occur in the course of our narrative, we embrace the opportunity of his first appearance in a public capacity, to give some account of this extraordinary character.

M. Dumourier was born about the year 1739, and is, we have been informed, of a noble but not an opulent family. His father was a *Commissaire de Guerre*, and was a man of education and considerable talents, as is evident from a translation of the *Secchia rapita* of Tassoni, and

Some other poems, which have preserved his name in the annals of literature. As it was almost a point of necessity, that every gentleman in France, under the old government, should be at one time or other of his life, a soldier, young Dumourier commenced his military career at a very early period and was wounded and made prisoner in the battle of Closter camp. By nature enterprising and active, the next opportunity that offered for the display of his distinguished talents, was in the year 1770, when the first infamous partition of Poland was planned and executed by a banditti of despots; on this occasion M. Dumourier appeared on the side of liberty, at the head of a battalion of French volunteers, and is said to have performed some desperate and able services to the republic. The event of that unpropitious contest is too well known, and too deeply lamented by every friend of justice and of freedom. M. Dumourier had, however, so far succeeded for his personal views, that he was immediately noticed by Louis XV. and was sent into Sweden in 1772, with M. Favier and two others, confidentially by the king, and unknown to the ministry, when the great revolution was to be effected in that kingdom; the plan of which, as we have already stated, was laid in the cabinet of Versailles. Dumourier contrived to convey private intelligence to the king, that the object was effected, before the ministers had received any dispatch from their agents. His promise and ability, however, only served to awake the jealousy of the courtiers, and on his return, in reward for his services, he was committed to the Bastille. His continuance there, we have reason to think, was however not long.

In the late war, M. Dumourier was governor of Cherburgh, and is said to have offered a plan to the minister, M. Vergennes, by which he undertook, with a handful of men, to surprize the island of Jersey and the other British possessions in that quarter, but, for what reason we know not, the proposal was rejected.

From the first dawn of the revolution, M. Dumourier studied to ingratiate himself with the people; and to render himself more acceptable to them, is said to have disclaimed the nobility of his ancestry. As the Jacobin club was the great theatre for talents and ambition, he soon became an active and distinguished member, and by their influence established himself in the important, and, at this period, very responsible situation of minister for foreign affairs.

The French king, as a further testimony of his attention to the will of the people, dismissed the Swiss guards on the 17th of March; and on that day the guard appointed by the constitution entered upon duty.

The death of the emperor, instead of protracting, appears to have accelerated hostilities between Austria and France. The young king of Hungary, Francis I. was scarcely seated upon the throne, when he desired a conference with the Prussian minister Bischoffwerder, and directed him to inform his master, that he was determined strictly and literally to adhere to the convention of Pillnitz. The preparations on the part of the French, in the mean time, proceeded with alacrity; and the new minister, M. Dumourier, declared in the Jacobin club, that he would in his negotiations with Austria, direct them to the point of obtaining

obtaining, without delay, a solid peace or a decisive war.

On the 22d of March a decree of sequestration was passed against the property of the emigrants, saving however the right of creditors to be reimbursed their demands; and such as returned within the space of one month were to be re-established in the possession of their estates, subjected, however, to a proportionate tax to defray the expences of the armament, which their emigration had occasioned*.

The succeeding day the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party to the

ministry, viz. M. Garnier, minister of justice, in the room of M. Duport du Tertre. M. Roland, minister of the interior, instead of M. Cahier de Greville; and M. Claviere, minister of finance, in the room of M. Tarbe. The new ministers were all members of the Jacobin club, which at this period seems to have possessed the entire confidence of the nation. The vigorous measures pursued by the assembly, had also the happiest effects, both upon public credit and upon the minds of the emigrants, upwards of 400 having passed through Lisle on their return in one day.

CHAP. VII.

Dispatches from Vienna. From Sardinia. Abolition of Ecclesiastical Distinctions. Rejection of some newly discovered Islands. Insolent Answer from Vienna. Declaration of War. Unfortunate Expeditions against Tournay and Mons. Murder of M. T. Dillon. Attack of Furnes. Resignation of M. Rochambeau, and appointment of M. Luckner to the Command of the Northern Army. Austrians attack Bavay. Progress and Successes of M. la Fayette's Army. Death of M. Gouvion. Decrees passed in the Assembly. Machinations of the Republican Party. New Decree against refractory Priests. Negatived by the King. Decree for a Camp near Paris. The King again interposes his Veto. Dismission of the Jacobin Ministry. Disturbed State of Paris. Letter of M. la Fayette. Resignation of the Ministry. Outrages of the 20th of June. M. la Fayette repairs to Paris. Successes of the French in the Netherlands. Their Retreat. Union of Parties. Arrival of the Federates. Confederation. Change of Ministers. Country proclaimed in danger. New Levies. Outrages of the Marseillois. False Accusation against La Fayette. Decision of the Assembly in his Favour. Resignation of the Directory of the Department. Proclamations of the combined Courts, and the Duke of Brunswick. Petition for deposing the King.

THE dispatches which were received, in answer to the requisition made by M. Delessart to the court of Vienna, and which were submitted to the assembly on the

29th of March by the new minister, M. Dumourier, amounted almost to a declaration of war. Prince Kaunitz, in a memorial dated 18th of March, in the name of his master,

* By an additional decree, they were deprived of the rights of active citizens for two years after their return to France; and such of them as should not return within a month, were deprived of those privileges for ten years.

the king of Hungary, began with stating, that the king had fully adopted the political system of the late emperor, and would explain himself with that frankness which became a great power. He recri- minated on the French the charge of assembling troops upon the fron- tiers; and added that the king of Hungary and the princes of Ger- many might perhaps think it neces- sary to assemble still greater numbers to maintain their internal peace against the example of France, and the criminal machinations of the Ja- cobins. The rest of the paper was in a similar style of haughtiness and outrage, and concluded with observ- ing that the sound and principal part of the nation, in other words, the aristocratic faction, would con- sider as a consoling prospect, the existence of a *concert*, the views of which were worthy of their confi- dence. Notwithstanding the indig- nation which so insolent an address must necessarily have produced, M. Dumourier, with great temper and magnanimity, intreated the assembly to wait in tranquillity for the catego- rical answer of the court of Vienna, which he expected in the course of a few days; and this recommendation of the minister was unanimously as- sented to.

The vigorous and spirited conduct of M. Dumourier, extracted from the king of Sardinia a more mode- rate and favourable reply. He as- sured the minister in general terms, that his troops were actually below the peace establishment, and that he permitted no hostile assemblages of the emigrants within his dominions.

We have already expatiated on the general character of the second national assembly, and we shall soon have too many instances to record in confirmation of its imbecillity.

An attention to trifles has marked too many of its deliberations, and such an attention is the surest mark of incapacity. Of the absurdity of admitting the populace to the gal- leries of the assembly, permitting them to applaud the speakers, and in a manner to take a part in the deliberations, it would be unjust to accuse this body, since it was among the errors of the constituent assemb- ly; but certainly no one circum- stance has contributed more to the misfortunes of France. It was easy for any active and unprincipled fac- tion to assemble a mob, and to fill the galleries, when any measure was either to be carried or resisted. But this was not the whole extent of the evil; the vanity incident to human nature in general, and which has been considered as characteristic of Frenchmen, converted the legis- lators of a great nation into mere actors; their debates consisted more of popular declamation than of wise and temperate inquiry, and their speeches were addressed to the ears of the galleries rather than to the understanding of the deputies; connected with this destructive mode of proceeding has been the practice of voting decrees and resolutions by acclamation; a practice which utterly excluded all the influence of reason, and which was more adapted to the pastimes of children than the deliberations of philosophers or le- gislators.

A singular instance in confirma- tion of these reflexions occurred on the 6th of April, when the com- mittee of public instruction having moved the suppression of the mo- nastic orders, one of the popular ecclesiastics, to catch the applause of the galleries, moved an additional decree to abolish all distinction of dress both ecclesiastical and monkish.

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A most indecent scene followed this motion—bishop Fauchet pulled off his *calotte*, and another bishop deposited his cross of gold upon the table as a patriotic gift—Many irreligious allusions were indulged in, and it was *solemnly* decreed by the legislature of a *great* nation, that all ecclesiastical marks of distinction, except in the actual celebration of divine worship, should be abolished.

The assembly on the 19th afforded an example of more enlightened and liberal policy. In the evening sitting, a letter was read from Messrs. Baur, merchants of Versailles, which announced that M. Marchand, commander of the *Solide*, had discovered four new islands in the Indian seas, of which he had taken possession in the name of the French nation, and of Louis XVI. The islands were full of people, and abounded in animal and vegetable productions. The speech of M. Luesnay, on this occasion, is worthy of being recorded.

“It is a great problem, said he, whether the discovery of America has been useful to Europe; but certainly America has greatly suffered by the discovery. The islands discovered by M. Marchand are peopled—If there was but one man there, he is master of the isle which he inhabits. With what right can a people, who renounces all conquest, take possession of an island which does not belong to them by any possible title? Gentlemen, the moment to prove our attachment to the principles of our constitution is come. Let others, if they please, carry to these savage islands, as they have been hitherto denominated, the arts, the riches, and the vices of Europe! Let us remain faithful to our declaration of the rights of men, and let us take care not to make an

attack on the natural liberty, which we have recognized, and which we have been the first to proclaim.”

This opinion was crowned by general plaudits, several times reiterated, and the assembly closed the discussion.

The period now approached when the interested and barbarous politics of a combination of despots was to deluge Europe with blood, to bring on a great and populous nation the most dreadful outrages, and to involve in the general ruin a benevolent and pious prince, whose only crime, if he was really guilty of any, was being the dupe of their criminal intrigues.

What the caution of Leopold would at least have deferred, was precipitated by the violence and ardour of a young king. Yet even he (if we may credit the representation of M. Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna) was urged to a premature declaration of his intentions by the court of Berlin. What the objects of that court could be is not easy to conceive—Its dominions did not border upon France, nor was the *military* government of Prussia likely to be deranged by the extension of democratic principles. Two objects only present themselves to our imagination, and on one of them conjecture must rest. It must have had in contemplation either the acquisition of territory from the dismemberment of France, or the still more insidious design of contributing still further to the humiliation of Austria, by the probability of its losing again in the contest, should they not prove victorious, the Belgic provinces which had been so lately reconquered.

The dispatch of M. Dumourier to the king of Hungary was accompanied by an affectionate letter in

in the king's own hand writing to his nephew, intreating him by every motive to stop the effusion of blood, and assuring him that the conflict could only prove ultimately fatal to him, the king of France. With so little success, however, was this application attended, that the reply of the imperial minister seemed only to breathe an increased spirit of insolence and pride. The minister avowed openly the concert of princes against the constitution of France, and insisted upon certain terms, upon which alone the courts of Berlin and Vienna could withhold from hostilities. These terms were first, To guarantee the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; 2dly, To restore Avignon to the pope; and the third condition was the most singular of all, since as it was indefinite it must necessarily be modified according to that construction which the demandants might prefer, and was incapable of any other definition. The terms of the condition were, "That the neighbouring powers shall have no reason for the apprehensions which arise from the present weakness of the internal government of France." For the rest, M. de Noailles was referred to the official note of the 18th of March, which we have already noticed.

As the intentions of the combined courts could be no longer doubted, it was resolved in the council to declare war against the king of Hungary. Perhaps, notwithstanding the provocation which had been given to the French nation, it would still been most politic to have been less precipitate, and to have compelled Austria to appear in every view in the character of the first aggressor. Such at least we are assured was the opinion of M. La Fayette,

whose judgment appears in general to have been sound, and whose patriotism none but a violent and desperate faction has ever presumed to question. The proposal for a declaration of war was made, by the French king, to the assembly on the 20th of April, when war was decreed against the king of Hungary and Bohemia, amidst the applauses of the whole legislative body, and of a numerous crowd of spectators.

The motives alledged by the French nation, in their declaration for commencing hostilities, were,

That the court of Vienna, in contradiction to repeated remonstrances continued to grant open protection to the rebel subjects of France, who were preparing to carry fire and sword into the bosom of their country.

That it excited and formed a concert of princes against the independence and liberty of France.

That the king of Hungary and Bohemia, in his official notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April, openly avowed, and refused to renounce this concert.

That notwithstanding the proposal made to him on the 11th of March, to reduce on both sides the troops on the frontiers to a peace establishment, he continued and increased his hostile preparations.

That he insulted the sovereignty of the French nation, by presenting to it conditions as the only terms upon which peace was to be obtained, among which was the confirmation of the feudal rights of the German princes, having possessions in France, though the French nation has always continued to hold out indemnifications to them.

Besides these instances, the French declaration mentions the contempt with which the ultimate requisition

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of the king was received, in not condescending to answer it, &c. The assembly declares solemnly its intention of adhering to the principles of the constitution, in not undertaking any war of conquest, and hopes that under the present provocations, the nations of Europe will not consider the war which they are now obliged to commence in defence of their liberties, as an infringement of that principle.

Among the most powerful motives which impelled the politicians of France to hasten the commencement of hostilities, we must certainly consider the probable expectation they formed of a ready reception and powerful support from the Belgic provinces, which had so lately been in a state of revolt, and were, at this period, scarcely reconciled to the dominion of Austria. The operations of the campaign were precipitated also upon this account, and their hasty and ill-concerted measures were attended with the success that might reasonably be expected. The reader has already anticipated the unfortunate repulse from Tournay, and the disgraceful consequences of that event.

Perhaps the specific mode in which the Austrians were to be attacked, was not much better concerted than the general plan—Perhaps it would have been most conducive to success, to have united the whole of their raw undisciplined troops under one able general, in whom they could have had a thorough confidence, and to have made one bold effort where the enemy appeared most vulnerable. On the contrary their untrained soldiers were parcelled out in small divisions under commanders, with whose merits they were little acquainted, and some of whom were actually sus-

pected of disaffection to the popular cause. In pursuance of this plan, the object of which was, to divide the enemy's forces, on the 28th of April three parties of French entered the Austrian Netherlands in different parts. A body consisting of ten squadrons of cavalry, under the command of M. Theobold Dillon, an able and experienced officer, and a field marshal, was directed to march from Lille for Tournay. Another of 10,000 men, under lieut. general Biron (formerly the duc de Biron) was to present itself before Mons, in order to prove the dispositions of the Austrian soldiers, and still more of the inhabitants of the country, from whom considerable aid was expected; and a third detachment of 1,200 under the command of M. Carl, was to proceed to Furnes. Valenciennes was the place of general rendezvous for the troops which marshal Rochambeau was to draw from the garrisons, to support the body under M. Biron.

In almost every instance, the French appear to have had bad intelligence, and to have been deceived both as to the numbers and the disposition of the enemy. At Tournay M. Dillon found a strong body under general count D'Happen-court ready to receive him, and strongly posted. The national troops, not yet accustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were thrown into disorder almost on the first attack. The general made every exertion to reduce them to their duty, and was observed in the front of the line, exhorting them to keep their ranks. Unfortunately in the midst of the confusion, some person actuated either by cowardice or treachery exclaimed—"Sauve qui peut." and the voice appeared to proceed immediately from the spot where M. Dil-

lon stood. The suspicious and irritable temper of the French was instantly excited; a general cry of "Treason, treason, we are betrayed!" spread from rank to rank; the panic became universal, and the whole party fled before their pursuers in the utmost disorder, even to the gates of Lisle. The unfortunate commander, M. Dillon, was murdered almost as soon as he entered the city, and his dead body was torn to pieces by the soldiers and the mob. Their savage fury had scarcely satiated itself upon this victim of popular delusion, before a party of the royal Cravate (a regiment of cavalry) rushing precipitately towards Lisle, overtook M. Berthois, an officer of engineers beyond the Porte de Five. They no sooner saw him, than some of them exclaimed, "There goes another of these traitors!" and instantly fell upon the unhappy gentleman, who, after receiving several shots, fell from his horse, and the body being suspended from a lamp-iron, every soldier in the party discharged his piece at it as he passed. It was also said, that M. Chaumont, aid de camp to general Dillon, a priest under the suspicion of being a spy, and four Tyrolese prisoners, were murdered. It however afterwards appeared that M. Chaumont had only been missing, having been left for dead upon the field of battle. That one or two persons besides the general and M. Berthois, lost their lives in the affray, we are disposed to believe; but that they could not be prisoners, is certain, since the fact is, that the retreat of the French was so precipitate that no prisoners were taken.

The division under M. Biron took possession of Quiévrain on the 29th, without opposition, and marched towards Mons in three columns.

1792.

The general reached Bossu without meeting any person except some travellers, who informed him of a grand movement of the Austrians. At the end of the village of Bossu, he was opposed by some Hulans, whom he dispersed by some discharges of cannon. As soon as he came in sight of Mons, he could discover that the heights before the city were occupied by a very considerable body of troops, advantageously posted; which, it appeared afterwards, were commanded by the baron de Beaulieu. The Austrians, it was evident, were more numerous than the French, and the general could discover some manœuvres which announced an intention to turn his right. Thus situated, M. Biron determined to wait the news of the attack towards Tournay. About five in the evening, however, the enemy attacked a part of his right wing at the village of Vannes. The French conducted themselves with great skill and firmness, and the Austrians were repulsed with some loss.

At length M. Biron received information from marshal Rochambeau of the defeat of general Dillon, and determined to retreat in the morning. Towards ten o'clock at night he saw the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons mounted on horseback without orders, and proceeding to the left of the camp, where they formed a column. He pursued them alone and unarmed, but was carried away with the column, which was in a quick trot, and crying out, they were betrayed. In this manner the general was carried for more than a league, before he could prevail on his flying troops to obey him. He succeeded at length, and brought them all, except 30 or 40, back to the camp; but the deserters proceeded on to Valenciennes, reporting, that they

they were betrayed by M. Biron, who had deserted to Mons. On the 30th at day-break M. Biron began his retreat, and arrived without molestation at Quievrain. Here he left M. Fleury with a part of the troops, and went to conduct the army to the camp they had occupied before Quievrain. He scarcely, however, was arrived at this place, before the battalion of national guards, who covered Quievrain were dispossessed by the Hulus. M. Biron now conceived that the only means of saving the camp was to attack Quievrain, which he did with the 49th regiment and carried it; but to keep it, some support was necessary, and the rest of the army, and the infantry in particular, were so exhausted with fatigue, that they were utterly unfit for service. The general therefore found himself under the necessity of abandoning his camp and train to the enemy, and of making a precipitate retreat to Valenciennes. Marshall Rochambeau posted himself with some squadrons on the heights of St. Sauve to favour the retreat, which was accomplished happily without a repetition of the disgraceful scene which had been acted at Lille. The French sustained a considerable loss in this expedition, but more by hunger and fatigue than by the sword of the enemy.

The only one of the three parties which succeeded, was that under M. Carl, and which consisted of only 1400 infantry and 240 cavalry. This small party presented themselves on the 29th of April before Furnes, and the commander desired a conference with the magistrates; in the course of which, he informed them, that the French were not come to make war on the Flenings, but to treat them as friends and brothers. The magistrates offered to deliver

up the keys of the gates, but this was declined. The failure of the general plan obliged M. Carl to retreat to Ghywilde, and soon after to Dunkirk, with no other fruit from his expedition.

So ill concerted had the measures of the French ministry been, that M. Rochambeau complained that "the plan of M. Biron's expedition was published in all the Journals before he knew it officially;" and says, in his letter to the king, that "the ministers, and particularly the minister of war, wished to play the whole game, and made him only a piece to be moved about at will." On this account, and because he disapproved of offensive war, he desired permission to resign, and after some delay, marshall Luckner was appointed to the command of the northern army in his stead.

The news of the atrocities committed at Lille, were received at the capital with a universal sensation of horror; nor was the army under M. la Fayette less earnest in expressing its abhorrence, and in demanding justice on the murderers. The mention of his army leads us naturally back to the narrative of its operations. It was a part of the plan concerted in the French cabinet, that all the French troops should be in motion about the same time, and form, if possible, a general rendezvous in the centre of the Austrian Netherlands. Agreeably to this plan, M. la Fayette was to be at Givet by the 30th of the month; and though the orders only reached him on the 24th, and though he was in most respects very ill appointed, he was, by great exertions, enabled to provide 78 pieces of cannon by the 26th, and on the same day dispatched a large body with the convoy of artillery, under the command of M. Narbonne,

Narbonne, late minister of war, to penetrate by forced marches to Givet. It was a wonderful instance of activity in military operations, that M. Narbonne, with a heavy train of artillery, performed a march of 6 leagues, over ground generally bad, and which he had not had time previously to examine, in five days. The rest of the troops were equally punctual; and after driving in the patrols of the enemy arrived without loss on the appointed day. On the 1st of May, major general Gouvion took post at Bouvines, half way to Namur, and every thing appeared to conspire to crown this expedition with success. The failure of M. M. Iron and Dillon, however, rendered it utterly fruitless, though M. la Fayette continued to retain his post, and even slowly to advance upon the enemy.

Notwithstanding the repulse of the French northern army, on their attempt to penetrate the Austrian frontier, it was some time before the enemy was in a condition to retaliate. On the 17th of May a body of Austrians, to the amount of 3000, attacked Bavai, and took the garrison, amounting to 80 men, prisoners. Intelligence was however no sooner brought of the attack, than M. Nollin with a van guard of cavalry, was sent to the relief of the town. Marshall Luckner in person accompanied this advanced guard; and marshal Rochembeau followed to support him with a body of infantry. The expedition of the Austrians was, however, only a predatory excursion, and they had retreated two hours before the arrival of M. Luckner, and took with them a quantity of baggage, which, in effect, appeared to be their principal object.

We left the army of M. la Fayette, occupying a tract of country from

Givet to Bouvines, and rather gaining ground gradually on the enemy. On the 22d and 23d of May, the advanced guard under M. Gouvion was employed in foraging, which, though attended with success, was also productive of considerable fatigue. On the 23d M. Gouvion was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a force, as it afterwards appeared, superior to his own, which amounted to only 4000 men. The Austrian advanced guard were twice repulsed; but M. Gouvion observing the great superiority of the enemy, gave orders to dispatch his camp equipage to Philipville, and this was effected with the loss of only 20 tents, which he had not the means of transporting. After this precaution, M. Gouvion effected a retreat with the utmost regularity. The French in this action had 24 killed and 63 wounded, and lost 3 pieces of cannon.

The next action in which this army was engaged, though it was crowned with victory was yet unfortunate for France, as it deprived the nation of one of its ablest generals and firmest patriots. On the 11th of June the Austrians attacked the advanced guard of M. la Fayette, at Grifelle near Maubege; but M. Gouvion, who commanded, aware of their design, dispatched his camp equipage to Maubege, and began a retreating fight, in which his infantry was constantly covered by the hedges, and the enemy's columns suffered considerably from his cannon. A violent hurricane prevented the main body from hearing the signals; but as soon as the news arrived at the camp a considerable reinforcement was conducted by M. Narbonne on the flank of the enemy; while M. la Fayette himself advanced with the main army.

my. The Austrians abandoned the field, and a part of their killed and wounded to the French, who pursued them more than a league beyond the ground of their advanced guard, which again took possession of its former post.

In the course of the action the lieutenant colonels of the regiment of Côte d'Or were killed; and M. Gouvion, enraged that an ammunition chest did not come up in time, went to expedite it with a hussar, towards a house, not in sight of the enemy, and there by a most fatal accident was killed by a rolling bullet.

The desertion of the 4th regiment of hussars, and some other foldiers from Strasburgh, served to raise the hopes of the emigrants in favour of the probability of a counter revolution. Their hopes, however, in this instance were ill founded, as it appears that the foldiers had been persuaded, by false pretences of their officers, and that a considerable number, when informed of the delusion, returned to their duty.

The concerns of the war, and the contests of party, occupied the national assembly so completely that little was effected in the business of legislation from the commencement of the year. The decree which ordered the burning of the parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to the pedigrees of the nobility, was a further instance of that trifling spirit, so utterly disgraceful to the legislature of a great nation, which they already had frequently evinced. A decree passed about the same period, for educating, at the expence of the nation, those children, who had been sent from St. Domingo to France, but whose parents or relations had been disabled by the troubles from remitting money for their

support, was truly laudable. Some laws were also made respecting the crime of desertion, which, unless we consider them as adapted entirely to the exigencies of the time, must be accounted too severe for *even the military code* of a free country. The decree, however, for the suppression of privateering, was calculated in every view to reflect honour on a civilized nation. War is a state so naturally pregnant with evil, as to induce the benevolent mind to wish for every mitigation of its calamities; and the plunder of individuals is a shameful practice, calculated entirely to pervert the morals of a people, and to render them in every instance sanguinary and ferocious.

We have now to report a series of transactions, equally disgraceful and ruinous to France. In our last volume, when treating of the flight of the king, we intimated our opinion that the kingdom was not in a state to bear a second revolution. It was impossible in the clash of parties that there should not be a subversion of order and of property. It was impossible that a new government diametrically opposite to all former principles, should be established without the most violent convulsion of the whole state. The first constitution was a sufficient deviation from the habits and prejudices of the French; it was as much as could be endured, and to attempt to carry farther the democratic scheme, was to sacrifice the liberty they had already achieved.

The Republican party thought differently, and they did not foresee that they must themselves shortly lose the power which they were about to assume by unjustifiable means, and that men of still more daring views and dispositions would be enabled to take the lead, and

follow their example in forcibly excluding them from that authority which they occupied. These were consequences which they did not foresee, but which they might have anticipated, had they studied history rather than metaphysics, and looked upon the manners of mankind rather than on theories of government.

The designs of this party, almost from the first meeting of the new assembly, had evidently tended to the dethroning of the king, and the establishing of a republic. The Jacobin clubs instituted in all the principal cities of the kingdom, and linked together by an intimate correspondence, constituted the great engine by which the public sentiment was to be changed. The press was crowded with productions abusive of royalty; the private characters of the reigning family were publicly calumniated; the sincerity of the king's acceptance of the constitution was questioned; and to keep the public mind in constant agitation, continual rumours were spread of his intending to quit the kingdom, and throw himself into the arms of the hostile powers.

The ascendancy of the Jacobins has been proved already in several instances. It was evinced in the late appointment of the ministry. On the resignation of M. de Grave, which soon followed the unfortunate affair of M. Dillon, M. Servan, another violent Jacobin, was added to the ministry, which in the beginning of May was entirely composed of that party. In thus driving before the storm, the king acted with prudence and propriety, but he endeavoured to stem it too soon. Perhaps the sanguine temper of M. Dumourier, and a fond reliance on his own great abilities, might make him the adviser of the king in these im-

prudent measures; perhaps the king might be wearied out with the continued insults to which he was exposed, and might determine upon one great and desperate effort to resume his lost authority. Be this as it may it was not long before it was discovered, that there no longer existed that harmony and confidence between the members of the cabinet which was essential to the public safety; M. Dumourier was suspected of deserting his Jacobin friends, and was on most occasions in an actual minority with M. Lacoste, the minister of marine.

The republican party in the mean time were indefatigable in exciting the suspicious and turbulent spirit of the factious metropolis. The existence of what they termed an Austrian committee, or a combination of courtiers to betray the public to the house of Austria, was publicly asserted; and as the ex-ministers M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand, were charged with being at the head of this combination, they determined on the prosecution of their calumniators. An unfortunate step which was taken by M. La Riviere, a judge of the peace, in citing M. M. Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the assembly, and among the most clamorous of the detractors of M. Montmorin, to appear before him, rather injured the cause it was meant to serve. A decree of accusation was passed against M. La Riviere, and M. M. Genfonne and Brissot undertook to prove the existence of an Austrian committee.

As the character of the king was implicated in the calumny respecting this traitorous combination, he wrote, himself, to the assembly, requesting, that the truth of the report might be fully investigated, and if destitute of foundation, that

the base inventors of it might be brought to punishment.—But such is the perverseness of mankind, that this interference of the king was censured as unconstitutional, and the application was heard with a murmur of disapprobation.

On the 22d of May, M. M. Genfonne, and Brissot, brought forward their accusation against M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand; but their speeches were more replete with declamation than proof, and the only fact on which they could rest was a passage in a letter from M. Montmorin to the French minister at Vienna in August 1791, in which he says, "The best men in the national assembly, (viz. Barnave, Lameth, Duport, &c.) and those who have the greatest influence, are now acting in concert with the true servants of the king, to restore to his majesty the authority necessary to carry on his government." On the 1st and 2d of June, the ex-ministers submitted their defenses in writing to the national assembly, who referred them to a committee.

As the rumour of the Austrian committee did not appear sufficiently to act upon the fears and suspicions of the multitude, and as there was an actual deficiency of evidence on that subject, another expedient was resolved on by the republican party, which appeared better calculated to promote their views. A report was industriously circulated that on the 23d of May, the king intended secretly to abscond from Paris; and to lend a colour to the fiction, M. Petion, the mayor, wrote to the commandant general of the national guard, communicating his suspicions, and intreating him to employ every measure of observation and prudence. The letter of M. Petion produced an

immediate reply from the king, directed to the municipality of Paris.—His majesty treats the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended only to excite the people to insurrection, and to force him to quit the capital.—He however assures them, that the efforts of these traitors shall be in vain. "While France, says he, has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my post is to be established"—"I commit myself," he adds, "without reserve to the citizens of Paris and the national guard.—Surrounded by them, and strong in the purity of my intentions, I shall wrap myself up in tranquillity, fearless of all events, &c."

M. Petion answered the letter of the king. He mentions having received information from different quarters respecting the king's intended flight, but he omits to specify the evidence on which he grounded his suspicion. From this circumstance therefore we are inclined to doubt the truth of the report. That the king, harrassed as he was by the factions of the metropolis, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, might indeed meditate a second flight, is by no means improbable; that even supposing the suspicion not well founded, M. Petion might receive information to that effect, either from ill-intentioned or credulous persons, is equally to be believed; but in either case, the evidence on which the fact rested should have been brought forward; the case should have been elucidated by every possible means, since an accusation, unsupported by proof, must according to every law of evidence be deemed a calumny.

The French character, however, we have too frequently had occasion to intimate, is particularly prone to be acted upon by jealousy and suspicion. Notwithstanding the defect

of evidence which we have just noticed, the king's intention to withdraw himself appears to have obtained some degree of credit; and as the body guard which had been allotted to the king by the constitution was particularly suspected of *incivism*, it was disbanded by a decree of the assembly on the 30th of May, and the province of defending the person of the king was committed to the national guard of Paris. A decree of accusation was also passed against the commandant M. Brisfac. At the same sitting two of the deputies, attached to the court, M. M. Frondiere and Calve, were committed prisoners to the Abbey, on a charge of insolent conduct towards the assembly.

The refusal of the king to sanction the decree against the refractory clergy, only served to provoke a measure of still greater severity and cruelty against these unhappy persons. On the 26th of May a decree was passed, authorizing the banishment of any non-juring priest, on a petition presented to the directory of the district by 20 citizens. The ecclesiastic was, in such case, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to be furnished with a passport, and to quit the district within 24 hours. To this decree also the king, after some deliberation, affixed his veto.

The national guard of Paris did not escape the suspicions of the republican party. They still feared or affected to fear the Austrian committee. More therefore with a view to retain their power, and to preserve that controul which they had established over the measures of the court, than to preserve the capital from its external enemies, it was proposed on the 6th of June, by the military committee—"That a

camp of 20,000 men should be formed under the walls of Paris—that to complete this levy, every canton in the kingdom should be obliged to contribute five men, one of whom was to be a horseman; and that they were to assemble at Paris before the 14th of July, the day of the celebration of the general confederation, at which, to augment their patriotism, they were to assist." This proposal, which was first suggested by the minister of war, was received with infinite dissatisfaction by the national guard and volunteers of Paris; and as the object did not escape the penetration of the court, the king refused to sanction the decree.

Nearly about the same period, a proposal was made to the national assembly, by the section of Croix Rouge, that, as the necessity was urgent for arming the whole nation, in the present critical moment, and as the scarcity of fire arms, and their immense price, rendered it impossible to many patriotic citizens to obtain a supply; the deputation requested the assembly to order an immediate fabrication of pikes over the whole surface of the empire. It was, however, some weeks before the banditti of Paris was formally armed, in this manner, by a decree of the assembly—a decree which must ever be regretted as fatal to the cause of liberty.

Whether driven to desperation, or encouraged by the support which he experienced from some of the most respectable characters, and particularly from M. La Fayette, is uncertain; but the king seemed now determined spiritedly to vindicate his authority against his opponents. The event proved that this resolution was prematurely taken. He should have permitted his more violent adversaries more completely to expose them-

selves; he might even perhaps have made a selection from those who were not the most favourably disposed to the court, and by friendly and ingenuous conduct, might have convinced them of the sincerity of his intentions, and might have made the best use of their influence with the people. The minister Roland was perhaps of this description; and as he has carried with him to retirement the regrets of all honest men, we can only believe that he was himself deceived with respect to the intentions of the king, or that the monarch did not, at least, act that steadily upright part which the exigences of the times required.

On the other hand, it must not be denied that a numerous and active party, including some men of brilliant talents, though we think not of the soundest understanding, were determined on a republic, and they do not seem to have hesitated much about the means of accomplishing their purpose. It may therefore be doubted whether, if the king had temporized, the storm could have been averted. But however this may be, it certainly was the only mode of proceeding that could afford him a chance; this mode was (we think imprudently) rejected, and the king passed the Rubicon, on the 12th of June, when he announced to the assembly the dismissal of the Jacobin ministry, M. M. Servan, Claviere, and Roland. M. Dumourier was appointed minister of war, and was to be succeeded in the foreign department by the French envoy at Deux Ponts; M. Mourges succeeded M. Roland, and M. Naillac was some time afterwards appointed the minister of finance.

Previous to his dismissal, M. Roland had written a letter to the king, which he afterwards published—

the purport of which was, to press him to sanction the decrees concerning the banishment of the refractory clergy, and the camp near Paris. M. Roland also blamed the conduct of the king's guard, and represented to him that his proclamation, on its dissolution, in which he expressed the high satisfaction he had derived from its services, was an impolitic measure. As a private communication to the king, the letter of M. Roland was calculated to do good, but he ought not to have published it.

In the mean time every means were employed to render the king odious in the eyes of the people. An infamous incendiary news-writer, of the name of Marat, had even exhorted the populace to murder their sovereign. Every thing on that side was permitted with impunity, and every thing on the other side suppressed or prosecuted: The most seditious addresses were received by the assembly. The inhabitants of the suburb of St. Antoine, accompanied by immense crowds of the lower rank from all parts, and all armed with pikes, and headed by a M. Santerre, a brewer, on the 9th of June, presented to the assembly an address, congratulatory on the decree for the camp, and 20,000 armed men, in direct violation of the laws, filed off through the assembly.

It was impossible that men of reflection should not foresee the natural consequences of such proceedings; it was impossible that men of virtue should not feel indignant at such open violations of every good and sound principle. M. La Fayette, with more honesty perhaps than prudence, stepped forward on this occasion. He wrote a long letter to the assembly, dated from the camp of Maubege, the 16th of June, in which he draws a very formidable picture

of the dangerous situation in which the nation was placed by the attempts of its enemies, foreign and domestic; he unveils the criminal designs of the Jacobin club, and attributes to that source of faction a considerable portion of the public calamities: he, at the same time, addressed a letter to the king, expressive of similar sentiments. If M. La Fayette was not well assured that the sentiments of his army concurred with the tenor of these letters, he should not have written them; if he was certain of the support of the military, he should have marched to Paris, and dispersed the traitors.

The situation of ministers now became too dangerous to be any longer desirable. The politic Dumourier wished to retrieve a portion of his lost popularity, and again attempted to court the favour of the Jacobins. He made a positive demand of the king, either to sanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept his resignation. The king remained steady to his purpose, and the minister resigned, and was followed by M. M. Morgues, La Coste, &c. On the 18th of June, a new appointment took place; major general Chambon was appointed to the office of foreign affairs, M. Lajard, minister of war, and M. Montciel, president of the department of Jura, was appointed minister of the interior; the department of finance was still kept vacant. M. Dumourier, in a letter to the assembly, requested permission to repair to the army, and concluded by wishing that the fate of Gouvion might speedily demonstrate his attachment to his country.

The agitation produced by the letter of La Fayette, and the avowed determination of the banditti of St. Antoine to present an address to the king, demanding the sanction of the

obnoxious decrees, the threats of the disaffected, that they would plant as the tree of liberty, "an aspin in the garden of the Tuilleries," prepared the minds of the citizens of Paris for some great event. On Monday 18th of June, the Jacobin club declared their sittings permanent. Their meeting was tumultuous and outrageous in the highest degree. They proposed that M. la Fayette should be sent to Orleans as a traitor; and others wished a decree to be passed denouncing him an enemy to France, and inviting all good patriots to murder him. While such were the debates within doors, at the hall of the Jacobins, their emissaries without were busily employed in exciting the people to insurrection, and it is to be lamented that their endeavours were but too successful. On the 20th of June, in the morning, M. Kæderer, the procureur general syndic, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, and informed them that, contrary to the laws, there existed in the city and suburbs the most formidable associations of armed men; that they threatened to proceed to the Tuilleries, to present a petition in arms, both to the king and the assembly. He intreated the legislature not to receive them, but to preserve the laws and the constitution inviolate.

While the assembly was debating whether this unconstitutional deputation should be received or not, an immense multitude, with M. M. St. Huruge and Santerre at their head, presented themselves before the hall. They amounted, by their own report, to 8,000, but in all probability, they were still more numerous. They consisted of all the refuse of Paris, a large proportion of them women, and carried standards expressive of the most seditious purposes, one of which was

was a heart at the end of a pike, with an inscription beneath it, *cœur d'un aristocrate*. After a tumultuous debate, they were admitted. The orator, at the head of the deputation, indulged in a long and violent speech against the king, and the whole conduct of the court; and, as soon as he had concluded, the whole party marched through the hall—The procession lasted two hours, and in the end, M. Santerre presented the president with a banner, in return for the honour conferred on the inhabitants of St. Antoine.

In the mean time an immense crowd had collected round the palace and the garden of the Tuilleries. There was however a sufficient force of troops of the line and of national guards in the palace to have defended it against every attack; but a respect for the lives of the deluded multitude induced the king to forbear repelling force by force. At four o'clock in the afternoon the mob amounted to about 40,000, and the gates of the Tuilleries were thrown open to them. At the moment of their entrance, the royal family was at dinner, and on their attempting to break open the door of the apartment where the king was, he rose to prevent the guards from making resistance, and said calmly, "I will go to them, I will prevent them from breaking the door." On the instant that it opened, a pike which had been thrust against it to force it open, would have killed the king, but a chasseur turned the weapon aside with his hand.—One of the mob now advanced, and insisted upon the king's wearing the red cap, which was the ensign of the Jacobins; and another presented him a bottle, and desired him to drink the health of the nation. Some of the attendants offered to bring a glass, but the sovereign

refused the offer, and immediately drank out of the bottle.

It would be an unpleasing task to detail the indignities which were offered to the unfortunate monarch, or the torrents of abuse which he submitted patiently to hear. The mayor of Paris was unaccountably absent during the greater part of these disgraceful scenes. He at length arrived; he exhorted the mob to preserve moderation, and assured the king that he had nothing to fear—"The man," replied the monarch, who has a clear conscience, fears nothing;" and, taking the hand of a grenadier who stood by him, he applied it to his breast, and said, "There, friend, feel my heart whether it beats quicker than usual."

To the incessant demands of the populace, the king replied, that it was his firm intention to preserve the constitution; and to the torrents of abuse, and the repeated threats against his life, he answered in a pathetic tone—"Alas! if my life could secure the good of my country, how willingly would I offer it as a sacrifice!"

The approach of night delivered the monarch from this dreadful persecution; the mayor embraced the opportunity to persuade the people to disperse, and between eight and nine o'clock the palace was cleared of these unwelcome intruders.

During the whole of the tumult, the princess Elizabeth continued close by the side of her brother, as if she was born to be the victim of her generous affection, and to partake in all his unmerited disgraces and misfortunes. On the first breaking in of the rabble, the queen fainted, and, with her children, was accidentally separated from his majesty, and conveyed to the apartments of the king's physician. As soon as she

she recovered, in her distraction she attempted to penetrate to the king, but was stopped in her way thither, by the mob breaking into the council-chamber. Fortunately M. Lajard, the minister at war, and general Wittinghoff, had retired to the same spot. M. Lajard formed a kind of rampart of the great council table, which he placed against the door, with a double row of national guards before it. Behind the table stood the queen with her children, the princess de Lamballe, and some other ladies. In this situation she remained the whole time, condemned to hear the most indecent reproaches, and the foulest imprecations, from the meanest and most depraved of her sex.

On the first entrance of the mob into the palace, a deputation was sent from the national assembly, with orders to exert themselves for the preservation of peace; and during the course of the tumult, this deputation was renewed three times.

The events of the 20th of June were a plain prelude to the downfall of monarchy, and, we may add, of all government in France; and men of reflexion foresaw many of those evils which have since happened to this devoted country. From this moment all respect to authority, all order and subordination, ceased; a momentary shame indeed appeared at first in the Parisians, and the directory of the department, which was composed of some of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, at the head of whom was M. Rochfaucault, and the former bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand, determined to take every step for preventing the repetition of similar outrages. The conduct of M. Petion on the occasion could not be viewed without suspicion. One of the first steps of the department

therefore was to publish a declaration, "That the events of the 20th could not have taken place, if the laws in being, and particularly those relating to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and better observed by the magistrates charged with the execution of them." To this declaration M. Petion published a very voluminous answer, calling upon them to commence a prosecution, and protesting his innocence in general terms. The department next published an advertisement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and subordination, and intimating that there existed a secret connexion between the external and the internal foes of the public tranquillity. At the same time, a petition to the national assembly, complaining in very strong terms of the outrages of the 20th, was signed by the most respectable of the inhabitants; and several addresses were received from different departments, to the same effect.

As the insolence of the Jacobins had increased to an intolerable excess since the affair of the 20th, and as their violence had been principally directed against M. La Fayette, that general conceived it expedient to present himself at the bar of the national assembly. He no sooner arrived at his hotel, than he was waited upon by several battalions of the national guards. A tree of liberty, ornamented with ensigns and cockades, was planted before his door, and every circumstance evinced the return of affection in the people to their former friend and benefactor. He appeared at the bar on the 20th of June, with that confidence and dignity which integrity alone can give. He assigned as a reason for his appearance among them,

them, the shame and indignation of the army at the outrages of the 20th, which he said must have increased to an alarming degree, had he not thought it his duty to moderate their resentment against the factions of Paris, by assuring them that he would appear alone before the representatives of the nation, and demand in their name that order, obedience, and respect for the laws should be restored. He avowed his letter of the 16th, intreated the assembly to come forward and save the country from ruin, by dissolving the factional clubs, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the promoters of the late disgraceful riots.

Notwithstanding the apparent gallantry of M. La Fayette's conduct on this occasion, we cannot help censuring it as unwise. If, we must repeat, the sentiments of the army were really such as he represented them, he ought to have taken advantage of them, and to have restored peace and liberty to his country, by marching to Paris, by punishing the movers and abettors of faction, by annihilating completely the Jacobin clubs, by removing the legislature from the disgraceful influence of the Paris mob, and by dissolving the present assembly, into which too many persons of desperate fortunes and unconstitutional designs had unfortunately obtruded themselves. If ever France is to be regenerated, and a free constitution given to it, it must be by some such proceeding. Perhaps, however, M. La Fayette might be mistaken in the principles of his army; and indeed the events which have occurred since the period of which we are now treating, seem to indicate that the loyalty of the soldiery was scarcely to be relied on.

The Jacobins were filled with

consternation on the arrival of La Fayette; but it served only to redouble their activity in rendering him odious to the populace. The name of Cromwell was echoed from every press, and their indefatigable emissaries succeeded so far with the mob, that he was burnt in effigy. In the assembly he was violently attacked by Isnard, Guadet, and some others of the anti-constitutionalists, and was defended in a most able and eloquent speech by M. Ramond. Finding, however, that no good was to be effected in Paris, M. La Fayette left that city on the 30th, and proceeded immediately to his army.

That the officers at least of both armies sincerely sympathized in the indignity offered to the hereditary chief of the nation, is evident from the letter of marshal Luckner to the king, which was communicated on the 29th to the assembly by the minister of war. In that letter the marshal declares publicly his approbation of the conduct of M. La Fayette, and expresses in the most forcible terms the sentiments of the soldiers on the outrages of the 20th. "Their indignation, Sire," says he, "was terrible and sudden, and the army admire your courage."

On the same day, the minister of justice communicated a plan which the king proposed as a substitute for the two decrees which he had refused to sanction — With respect to the protection of the capital, it was the proposal of the king to levy forty-two new battalions, to be stationed not at Paris, but between that city and the enemy, so as to form a second line behind the army then on the frontiers; and as to the danger apprehended from the refractory priests, the minister assured the assembly, that it was the strict intention of the king to enforce the execution

ention of the laws against all disturbers of the public peace.

To prove that the intentions of the Jacobins were not what they professed, it has been well remarked, that at the period in question, the army of La Fayette amounted to only between seventeen and eighteen thousand effective men, and that of Luckner did not exceed 23,000. The augmentation proposed therefore was certainly inadequate to the defence of the capital, and if intended sincerely for that purpose, it ought to have been stationed nearer to the frontiers, and in such a situation as might enable it to co-operate with the army already commissioned for the defence of the country. Such a force stationed, in or near the metropolis, would only add to the licentiousness already practised there—They must reciprocate in the corruption of morals and discipline, and while they helped to deprave others, must be inevitably depraved in their turn.

The assembly persisted however in their decree, and the *federates*, for that is the name which was bestowed on these new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris without any lawful authority. On the 1st of July, on the motion of M. Jean de Brie, it was proclaimed by the assembly, "that the country was in danger." Ten other resolutions were passed, ordering that all citizens, having been previously national guards, should be on permanent duty, and every officer at his post.

While these affairs were transacting in the metropolis, the armies of France had made some progress in the Austrian Netherlands. On the 18th of June, Courtray surrendered after a short resistance to the arms of marshal Luckner; and about the same period, M. Carle took possession

of Ypres and the country adjacent. M. La Fayette's army had also advanced and gained possession of St. Ghislain and the key of Mons. Marshal Luckner soon afterwards entered Menin.

The triumph of the French, however, was not of long duration. On the 6th of July, the king announced to the assembly, that one enemy more was added to the confederation against French liberty—That the insidious conduct of the king of Prussia had long indicated hostile intentions, and that he was now in the act of marching 52,000 men to co-operate with the king of Hungary. About the same period, the assembly received advices from marshal Luckner, signifying, that the numbers of the enemy were such, that it was impossible for him to proceed farther into the territories of Austria, without the risk of being cut off from a communication with the army of M. La Fayette; that the Prussians and Austrians were bearing down upon him in two columns; that in consequence of these circumstances he had ordered his camp to be raised, and was himself retiring towards Valenciennes, and M. La Fayette towards Givet. A subsequent dispatch announced the actual retreat of the armies, and that in breaking up the camp of Courtray, some of the enemy having got possession of the suburbs, they had fired upon field-marshal Jarry, who, to prevent the repetition of similar outrages, had set fire to the suburb and consumed several houses. The conduct of M. Jarry was considered as disgraceful and injurious to the cause of France, and he was in consequence of it, afterwards dismissed from his command.

The motives which induced the victorious generals to abandon thus hastily

hastily the Netherlands, have never been completely explained.—Soon after the appointment of marshal Luckner to the northern army, it was generally understood that the plan and operations of the campaign were entirely left to the generals themselves; and yet it has since been insinuated, and in part confirmed by some expressions which had fallen from M. Luckner himself, that they retreated only by the express orders of the court. Should this have been really the case, it forms indeed an article of charge against the unfortunate monarch, which it will not be easy to extenuate; and would almost prove the existence of a conspiracy in the court, most fatal to the liberties of the nation. The fact, however, has not yet been established upon competent evidence.

On the 5th of July, the king informed the assembly of his intention to celebrate the approaching anniversary of the confederation.—He expressed his hopes that this festival would more strongly cement all good patriots in their country's cause, and disappoint the attempts of the factious. On the following day the council general of the department of Paris, after a long sitting, pronounced the suspension of M. Pétion from the office of mayor, and of M. Manuel, the procureur of the commune. The federates about this period arrived at Paris in considerable numbers, while every circumstance announced the agitation of the public mind.

The extreme points on which the two parties differed, were that of pure democracy on the one part, and the institution of an upper chamber, similar to the British house of peers, on the other.—Such an institution as a remnant of aristocracy, was regarded by the French with almost as much

abhorrence as absolute monarchy itself: while the establishment of it was considered as the great object with the court, as a preliminary step to the annihilation of liberty. The middle party was still numerous; and it was judged that there were many who might secretly incline either to the court or the republicans, who yet would be well disposed to sacrifice something of their prejudices to the preservation of peace and order. On the 7th of July, at the moment when M. Brissot had ascended the tribune, to pronounce a discourse on the means of securing the state against all its enemies, M. Lamourette, the patriotic bishop of Lyons, requested to be heard for a few minutes. He expatiated on the necessity of union, and most particularly among the members of the national assembly, "Let us make, said he, a solemn sacrifice of our passions and our prejudices, on the altar of our country; let us give a great example to Europe, and inspire our enemies with terror; there is nothing incompatible but vice and virtue.—I move that the president put a question, in these terms—Let all who hold in equal detestation a republic and two chambers, and who wish to maintain the constitution as it is, rise!"

The words were scarcely pronounced, when the whole assembly, by an instantaneous impulse, rose from their seats.—The two parties advanced and embraced each other, and solemnly protested their adherence to the constitution. A deputation, with the bishop of Lyons at their head, was immediately appointed to convey the joyful intelligence to the king; and the administrative bodies were charged to communicate it without loss of time to the citizens.

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The bishop of Lyons, on returning from his deputation, informed the assembly of the satisfaction which the king had testified on being informed of what had passed. He had however scarcely finished, when the approach of the king was announced. He was received with loud and reiterated applauses. He was accompanied by his ministers, and placed himself without ceremony beside the president. He addressed the assembly;

"Gentlemen,

"No spectacle can be more affecting to me than that general re-union of opinion and sentiment which has now taken place. This re-union I have long desired—at last my wish is fulfilled; the nation and the king form only one. The constitution will now become that point of union, around which all Frenchmen will assemble, in order to protect it, and the king will always set them the example."

To this the president replied,

"Sire,

"This memorable epoch must inspire with the greatest pleasure all the friends of liberty. It is a dreadful epoch for its enemies—henceforth the nation is invincible. In vain tyrants conspire against liberty."

Both these speeches were received with the loudest applause. The king made some efforts to answer, but was so much affected that he could only say, in a tone which indicated the utmost emotion, "The pleasure which I feel is delicious." He then retired, accompanied by a deputation, and the assembly rose, amidst the exclamations of *Vive la nation! Vive la liberte! Vive le roi!*

Thus ended this memorable session; this well-meant but fruitless effort to restore harmony and tranquillity. It is asserted to have been

the spontaneous act of the bishop of Lyons, without any previous concert with any party whatever. The patriotic and well-disposed part of the assembly, however, we may well believe, cordially embraced an opportunity so favourable to the demonstration of the purity of their intentions; by most of the ardent spirits of both parties, it was also earnestly approved for the moment, and it was calculated in every event to have a momentary good effect. It afforded an opportunity to all who were fond of peace to disengage themselves from the trammels of party; and to this circumstance we may in part attribute the apparent tranquillity of the day of the confederation; the evil therefore was at least deferred, and, had the court either acted with more prudence, or the combined powers with more justice and honesty, the dissensions that so fatally divided France might perhaps have been finally composed.

The reconciliation of the 7th of July was considered by many as in some measure intended as a compromise of the parties, relative to the affair of M. M. Petion and Manuel; and indeed the king, the very same evening, wrote to the assembly, intimating, that though to decide on their fate was a part of his constitutional prerogative, yet as the matter personally concerned him, he chose rather to refer it to the determination of the assembly. By his own party he was much blamed for this sacrifice of his prerogative; but the action corresponded well with that love of peace, which was so congenial to his disposition; and he was doubtless wrought upon by the scene in which he had been so lately called upon to act: the same evening the king announced that he had ap-

appointed M. de Joly to the home department.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances of the 7th, it was soon found that the executive power had entirely lost the confidence of the ruling party, and the clamour was so great against its agents in the assembly, that all the ministers so lately appointed, except M. de Joly, resigned on the 10th; and on their notifying their resignation to the assembly, the mob in the galleries had the indecency to applaud.

Addressees from the Jacobin party in different parts of the kingdom crowded in to the assembly in favour of the mayor and M. Manuel; and the assembly, with their usual precipitancy, without examining the proofs, and merely after hearing a few florid speeches, pronounced them guiltless. M. Delsau conjured the legislative body to act with more dignity and deliberation. He painted in strong colours the disgraceful outrages which were acted in the Tuilleries on the 20th of June. He accused M. Petion of encouraging sedition, and of a want of respect for the hereditary representative of the nation. It is with pain we record that the galleries, those fatal galleries, which must be accounted among the prime movers of the national calamities, as they had before discarded all decency and order, now finished the outrage, by destroying the freedom of debate; and M. Delsau narrowly escaped from the tribune with his life.

During the first weeks of July, the federates arrived in Paris in small companies. They were courted by both parties, but most assiduously by the Jacobins. The number of the federates present, however, on the 14th of July, is said not to have exceeded 1,500. That day, as we

have previously intimated, passed in tranquillity, and the confederation was celebrated with the usual magnificence. The concourse of people assembled has been stated at 400,000. The national assembly met at nine o'clock, and proceeded to lay the first stone of the column of liberty, to be erected on the ruins of the Bastille. Before this ceremony was concluded, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horse, a party of troops of the line, 500 national volunteers, and the Swiss guards. He was accompanied by the queen, Madame Elizabeth, the prince and princess royal, &c. The six ministers walked by the side of the king's coach.

A palm tree overshadowed the altar of liberty, and near it a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of those who had expired on the frontiers, in the defence of their country. Between the altar and the Seine a poplar was planted, hung with escutcheons, and other remnants of heraldic folly, which was set on fire by the priest, who performed mass at the grand altar, in allusion to the destruction of the feudal system.

Though the king was in general well received, the day did not pass without some degree of mortification to him. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly shouted, *Vive Petion, Vivent les Jacobins, a bas le department, a bas le veto, &c.* At about six o'clock the king and the national assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution, and the royal family immediately afterwards returned to the Tuilleries. The federates on this occasion behaved with much order and loyalty; they appeared to join cordially in the shouts of *Vive le Roi*; and some

are even said to have testified by their exclamations their disapprobation of the factious.

Notwithstanding the deceitful calm which the spectacle of this day exhibited; notwithstanding the supposed reconciliation of the 7th, and the restoration of Petion and Manuel, still the discerning part of the public saw that the crisis was only deferred, and that the fatal contest was only ripening to maturity. The republicans have themselves confessed, that the plan for abolishing royalty was determined upon and settled at least as early as the 29th of July; and we may reasonably conclude, from their conduct, that it had been for a much longer period in agitation: on the other hand, it must be allowed, that the aristocratic faction was never inactive; the plans were innumerable which were presented to the king and queen from that quarter; and as the constitution was, from the objections which we stated in our former volume, found to be in some measure impracticable, it is certain that if the king did not wish it entirely abolished, he at least wished it to be reformed: he felt himself, what he really was, a mere cypher in the government, and he naturally desired to be something more. His situation was indeed still worse than this; he was a cypher, with an immense weight of responsibility attached to him; he was posted in a place of the greatest danger, without the advantages which ought to accompany such a station.

One of the most serious evils which the government at this crisis experienced, was the frequent impeachment, and the consequent change of ministers; and it is a fact, almost unparalleled in

the annals of any other country, that France had witnessed no fewer than twenty-six ministers move across the stage of public affairs in rapid succession, in the short space of six months. A few days after the confederation, a new administration was announced, which consisted of M. De Joly as minister of justice, M. St. Croix for foreign affairs, M. Dubouchage for the navy, M. D'Abancour minister of war, M. Champion for the home department, and M. Leroux de la Ville for that of finance. It was some time before this arrangement could be settled, for the office of minister was become, at this period, so much the post of danger, that the king was obliged to solicit many who could not be prevailed upon; and those who did, accepted the port folios of office only on his most pressing intreaty.

On the 22d of July, agreeably to a decree of the national assembly, proclamation was made in all the sections of Paris, "that the country was in danger." Three guns were fired from the Pont Neuf every hour, from six in the morning till night. Picturesque scaffolds, representing fortifications, were erected in different parts of the city; on each of them a tent was erected, decorated with the national colours, in which sat the officers appointed to register the new levies for the frontiers, and the camp to be established at Soissons. The proclamation was made in a solemn manner by the municipal officers on horseback; and the whole ceremony had such an effect on the minds of the populace, that in a few days several thousands had enrolled themselves.

In the mean time the federates arrived from all parts in consider-

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able bodies; those from the southern provinces were the most ferocious, both in conduct and appearance; and from the circumstance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of Marseilles, the appellation of Marseillois has been almost indiscriminately applied to this description of volunteers. They consisted chiefly of the lowest and most dissolute of the rabble from every part, many of them immediately from the galleys, and were in every respect well calculated to fraternize with the fans culottes of Paris.

From the first moment of their arrival, they manifested a savage and turbulent disposition. Innumerable instances are recorded, by the aristocratic writers, of their ferocity; some undoubtedly fabulous, but too many beyond the reach of contradiction. One of their first outrages was committed on the person of M. D'Esprenenil, who had rendered himself so famous in the first legislature as the champion of monarchy. He was walking peaceably on the terrace of the Feuillans, when he was attacked by a party of these savages, and, after receiving some very dangerous wounds, was rescued at last from destruction by the courage and humanity of M. Jounneau, a member of the national assembly, assisted by four grenadiers of the national guards.

It was not long before the Marseillois were engaged in another riot, by wantonly attacking a party of the national guards, who were dining peaceably together under the trees in the *champs elisees*. In this conflict a grenadier of the national guards was massacred; but the Marseillois were at this period of too much consequence to be punished by the party in power.

The resentment of the Jacobins appeared for the present to be principally directed against M. La Fayette. The consistency of this respectable patriot had mortally offended these factious spirits; they had tempted him with the highest bribes, and the most splendid promises; but he proved inflexibly attached to the party of the king, and determined to fall with the constitution. His ruin was therefore resolved upon; and the spirit which he evinced in his late fruitless journey to Paris determined them to exert themselves to procure his immediate dismissal. The Jacobin clubs had been occupied for weeks in debates on the treason of La Fayette, and innumerable inflammatory addresses were presented to the assembly against him.

The principal ground of complaint alleged against the general, was that of having quitted the army without leave; and the first motion in the assembly on this subject imported, "that the minister of war should be interrogated whether M. La Fayette had received an order from him, authorising his journey to Paris on the 28th of June." This motion, however, when put to the vote, was rejected by a considerable majority: the Jacobins, thus disappointed, still cherished the expectation, that by keeping alive the public resentment against him, the assembly might at some period be found more propitious to their wishes. The consideration of his petition was deferred from day to day, and whenever it came under consideration, the most violent debates took place. In the mean time, a new circumstance was brought forward to inculcate the general. On the 21st of July, after much inter-

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perate language, M. Lafource pledged himself to the assembly "that La Fayette had proposed to lead his troops to the capital, and that M. Bureaux de Pusy had made the proposition to marshal Luckner." In support of this assertion, M. Lafource appealed to the testimony of M. M. Brissot, Guadet, Genfonné, Lamarque, and Herault, and demanded that M. Luckner himself should be cited to give his evidence to the facts. The speech of M. Lafource was greatly applauded by the wretched mob in the galleries, while M. Dumoland, and every person who spoke in favour of the general, was actually hissed down by those disturbers of decency and order. In support of the allegation of M. Lafource, the following certificate was laid on the table, and the discussion was adjourned till marshal Luckner should have explained himself upon the subject. In the mean time M. Bureau de Pusy, and the other parties, were summoned to the bar of the convention.

CERTIFICATE.

"Some members of the national assembly having had an opportunity of seeing M. the Marechal Luckner, on the evening of the 17th of July, at the house of the bishop of Paris, and having asked him if it was true, that it had been proposed to him, on the part of M. La Fayette, to march to Paris with his army, after the event of the 20th of June,—M. the Marechal Luckner answered in these terms:—I do not deny it; it was M. Bureaux de Pusy;—he who has been, I think, three times president of the national assembly. I replied to him, I shall never lead the army I command but against our external enemies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what

he pleases; but if he marches to Paris, I will march after him, and I will drub him. M. Bureaux de Pusy then said to me, but the life of the king is in danger! There is what he said to me; and they made me other proposals still more horrible."

"Such were the exact expressions of the Marechal Luckner, which we heard, and which we attest. (Signed) Brissot, Guadet, Genfonné, Lafource, Lamarque, Delmas."

On the 20th of July, M. Bureaux de Pusy appeared at the bar, and not only refuted on his own testimony this atrocious calumny, but produced actual copies of the letters which he carried to Marechal Luckner, with the Marechal's answers, and which regarded only the plan of the campaign. From these letters it appeared, that M. La Fayette had intimated to Marechal Luckner his intention of proceeding alone to Paris, in consequence of the atrocities of the 20th of June, and that the Marechal had objected to it, solely on account of the personal danger which he would incur by such a step: M. de Pusy deposited on the table the private letters of the generals, in which the sentiments of both were clearly revealed, and from which it appeared that the former professed himself in these terms: "Ever since I have breathed, I have lived only for the cause of liberty; I will defend it to my last sigh against every species of tyranny." And that the latter, when he had received an intimation of an intended denunciation, wrote in these terms to M. La Fayette, "I have been told they mean to denounce us: I wait for more information, but most certainly I will live in peace, or I will give up my commission." After this complete

and satisfactory testimony, M. Guadet observed, "That he should not wonder if certain persons prevailed on M. Luckner to recant."

On the following day a letter was received from M. La Fayette himself; the contents of which were as follows:

Longwi, July 26th, fourth year of Liberty.

"The minister for the home department has signified to me an act of the legislative body of July 21, and the information which six of its members have signed.

"If I were questioned respecting my principles, I should say, that a constant proclaimer and defender of the rights of man, and the sovereignty of the people, I have everywhere and always resisted authorities which liberty disavowed, and which the national will had not delegated; and that I have everywhere, and always, obeyed those of which a free constitution had determined the forms and the limits.

"But I am questioned respecting a fact—Did I propose to Marechal Luckner to march to Paris with our armies?—To which I answer in four words—*It is not true.*

"LA FAYETTE."

The letter of Marechal Luckner himself was not less decisive against the testimony of the six members of the assembly. He denied in strong terms that ever any proposal was made to him of marching to Paris, and lamented that such a construction should be put upon a conversation, which it was evident these gentlemen must have misunderstood. It was indeed something very singular, and by no means favourable to their veracity, that they had suffered the Marechal to depart from Paris without citing

him to the bar, or demanding any explanation of so extraordinary a conversation.

The decision upon the charges against M. La Fayette was deferred to the 8th of August, when a long and tumultuous debate took place, M. Jean de Brie, one of the most factious members of the assembly, made the report, which concluded by proposing a decree of accusation, and was highly applauded by the disgraceful mob that infested the galleries. He was answered in a most able and eloquent speech by M. Vaublanc, who was hissed vehemently by the galleries, but applauded by the majority of the members: at length the motion for a decree of accusation was rejected by 406 voices against 224.

It was evident from this decision, that the assembly, weak and incompetent as it was, still preserved some share of decency in its character and proceedings; but the Jacobins had made sure of their party: the mob were completely devoted to them, and they hoped to carry by their force the boldest measures. Innumerable addresses had been presented to the legislature, which contained the most insolent and outrageous abuse of the king and royal family; even the constitution, which had so lately been an object of adoration with the whole nation, was openly reviled both within and without the doors of the assembly, and the galleries never failed to testify their displeasure with their usual indecency. The restoration of Petion was the signal to the directory of the department to resign, though their only crime was endeavouring to restrain the fatal insanity of faction, and to support a constitution they had laboured to establish.

While we cannot but censure these unwarrantable proceedings, the

the same principle of candour and equity obliges us to look to their origin, the concert of princes against France. That concert has been avowed by themselves, and it could not have been founded in any motive of virtue or good will to France. In our preceding volume, we freely animadverted on the defects in the constitution established by the assembly in 1791. The great error in that constitution was the weakness of the executive government. But that was not to be removed by external attack, or the interference of foreigners. Time, the continuance of peace, the support of his nobility and kindred, who basely forsook him for the purpose of gratifying their own private resentment, were the only means of restoring to Louis XVI. that reasonable share of authority which was likely to effect his own and his people's happiness: but we cannot suspect the hostile sovereigns of any such benevolent design as that of procuring for France a just and equal government: their success, should the contest terminate in their favour, will explain their designs; it will then appear whether or not their immediate object was to take advantage of the distresses of France to procure for themselves what is always the foolish passion of monarchs, an accession of territory.

Some time must generally elapse before the veil is entirely removed from political transactions. Whether there actually existed or not a connexion and correspondence between the hostile powers and the court of France; whether the league of Pilnitz and the inimical proceedings of Austria were either planned by the royal party at home, or approved by the king, is at present involved in impenetrable obscurity. The affirmative is almost universally

believed in France; but it is believed on presumptive, and not on positive evidence. On the other hand, the friends of Louis have been strenuous in denying the charge. They assert that his personal influence with Leopold actually prevented that monarch from engaging in hostilities; and that every effort was made as a sovereign and a brother, by the able and trusty agency of M. Bigot de St. Croix, to induce the emigrant princes to return to the bosom of their country.

Whatever conclusion posterity may be disposed to draw upon this subject, upon better evidence than lies before the public at this period, certain it is, that every measure of the combined courts appeared calculated to precipitate the ruin of the unfortunate monarch, for whose cause they professed to have taken up arms. It was of little immediate avail to him, whether he was really innocent of any traiterous design against his country or not, provided it was believed in France; and how should it not be universally believed, when the emperor and the king of Prussia positively asserted, in their proclamation, that "the king was not sincere in accepting the constitution?"

The insulting and sanguinary manifesto issued at Coblenz, on the 25th of July by the duke of Brunswick, insinuated the same fact, and, as well as that of the 27th of the same month, was calculated to have the very worst effect upon the populace of Paris. It left no middle party in the nation; all who wished to preserve a government, in any degree popular; all who conceived that a limitation of the supreme authority was a desirable circumstance, were thrown, by these measures, into the hands

of the avowed republicans, and felt themselves compelled to give way to the sanguinary madness of that fanatical party, or at once accede to the destruction of liberty by the army of the duke of Brunswick—A fatal alternative, which rendered it almost impossible to be at once the friend of order and the friend of liberty!

The unfortunate Louis did not dare to present this declaration to the assembly as an authentic paper. The very letter which submitted it to the inspection of the legislature questioned its authenticity; and though the royal message was replete with the strongest, and probably the most sincere expressions of patriotism, the proposal of printing it for the use of the departments was rejected, and the notoriety of the matter authorized in point of fact the insolent remark of M. Isnard, "that the king had asserted what was not true." The republican party acquired new accessions of vigour and of authority; and on the 3d of August the fatal die was cast, when M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly to demand the deposition of the king. The audacious proposal was heard with horror by all good patriots; but it was followed by others of the same nature on the 6th and 7th. A petition had lain for eight days on the altar of the Champ de Mars, and was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, who were preceded by a pike crowned with the Jacobin

ensign, the red woollen cap, with an inscription upon it, "The deposition of the king."

In compliance with these repeated requisitions, the assembly at length determined to come to a decision on this difficult and dangerous subject, and the fatal 10th of August was appointed for the discussion. The assembly, however, had exhibited some proofs of caution and temperance which did not coincide with the impetuosity of the Jacobins, and the urgency of their cause. The federates had been detained on various pretences in the metropolis, and even if their stay could be protracted, the leaders of the party were doubtful whether harmony could long exist between them and the mob of Paris: the passions of the people were now inflamed; but the French are versatile, and a change of opinion might succeed. In few words, there can be little doubt but that it was well understood that the people were to be excited by the Jacobin party, and that force and a mob were to effect what they despaired of from the legally constituted powers. In proof of this assertion many facts might be adduced. To some foreigners regular notice was given by the leaders of this party to absent themselves from Paris on that day; and we know, from the best authority, that one of the most active in the conspiracy was heard to say, "If we cannot provoke the people to rise by the tenth, we are lost."

C H A P. VIII.

Preparations for the Defence of the Tuilleries. Election of a new Commune. Murder of M. Mandat. The King and Royal Family desert the Palace. The Tuilleries attacked by the Federates. Resistance and Massacre of the Swiss. Death of M. Clermont Tonnerre. Deposition of the King, and Accusation of the Ministers. Imprisonment of the Royal Family. Murder of M. de Rochefort. Flight and Imprisonment of La Fayette. Submission of the other Generals. Capture of Longwy and Verdun. Execution of Ministers. Banishment of the Priests. Horrid Massacre on the 2d of September. Murder of the Princess de Lamballe. Decree proposed for forming a Battalion of Regicides. Advance of the combined Armies. Action at Grand Pré. Armistice. Retreat of the Prussians. Recapture of Longwy and Verdun. Weakness of the Court of Berlin. Ill conduct of the combined Armies. Sieges of Thionville and Lisle. Declaration of War against Sardinia. Conquest of Savoy. Of Nice. Transactions with the Republic of Geneva. Success of Cyprien. Capture of Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfurt. Recapture of the latter.

WHILE such were the evident designs of the adverse party, the king was not uninformed of their proceedings; and as no alternative now appeared but to repel force by force, preparations were made for defending the Tuilleries in case of an attack. The dreadful Rubicon was now passed, and no hope of the return of harmony or peace remained. A solemn gloom overspread the palace, and superseded the native gaiety of the French nation. Loyalty and friendship were now put to the severest test; and the question was not, Who will conquer, but, Who will die in the defence and in the presence of his sovereign? Amidst his accumulated misfortunes, a small and firm band retained their attachment to the king, and upon different motives devoted themselves to his defence. Among these might be counted some of the remnants of the ancient aristocracy, who made this last sacrifice to their principles, and whose errors, when united with such disinterested virtue, became respectable. Some had been among the

most forward of those who united in the first efforts to meliorate the condition of their countrymen, but equally remote from anarchy and despotism, now dreaded the evils which impended on a total alteration of government: some were the personal friends of the fallen majesty of France; some from gratitude, some from prejudice; some pregnant perhaps with improbable hopes; and some, in the frenzy of despair, crowded round the tottering standard of royalty.

Among these brave and gallant men, none were more respectable than the Swiss guards. By repeated decrees of the assembly, this body of troops had been considerably reduced; and even on the 7th of August, the king had been obliged to dismiss 300 of them. The departure of the whole from Paris had been indeed decreed; but the king, upon the plea that the arrangement pointed out by the legislature was contrary to the treaty with the Helvetic body, had deferred the execution of the decree; and the number which remained in

the Tuilleries, previous to the 10th of August, was about 700. On these the court party placed their strongest reliance for the defence of the palace.

Besides the Swifs, the number of gentlemen and others who repaired to the palace on this melancholy occasion, is said to have amounted to from twelve to thirteen hundred men.

As these were, however, not considered as quite sufficient, the commander of the national guards, M. Mandat, an honest man, and attached to the constitution, having represented to the mayor the apprehensions which he entertained for the safety of the royal family, had obtained from that magistrate a written order to defend the palace with all his force, and to repel the attack of any invader. The detachments of national guards, which M. Mandat had ordered to the palace upon this occasion, are stated at about 2400 men, with twelve pieces of cannon; and to these we may add the *gendarmerie a cheval*, a body of cavalry amounting to about 1000.

With this force, well-ordered and well-arranged, it is the opinion of some, that had there existed a sufficient portion of spirit, firmness, and unanimity in the council within the castle of the Tuilleries, it might successfully have resisted the designs of the republicans. Some dependence was also to be placed upon the temper and moderation which the majority of the assembly had lately exhibited, and upon the indignation which the more respectable inhabitants of Paris had expressed with respect to the outrages of the 20th of June.

The 9th of August was spent in tumultuous and disturbed debates in the assembly. M. Vaublanc and

some other members, suspected of an attachment to the cause of royalty, complained that they had been pursued, ill treated, and in danger of being assassinated; and claimed the protection of the nation. As the assembly manifested an inclination to proceed with deliberation in the decision of the great question relative to the suspension of the king, the rage of the populace was greatly excited. The mayor appeared at the bar, and alledged he could not be answerable for the peace of the city; he added, that it was generally understood that the alarm bell was to sound at midnight, and that the palace was to be assailed.

Within the Tuilleries all was consternation and dismay. Some shew of order was however preserved. At about eleven o'clock at night the mayor repaired to the palace, where he remained till between two and three o'clock in the morning. There is no proof that he was detained by force, but the disaffected made use of the circumstance of his remaining there to circulate a report to the injury of the royal party, that he was either murdered or kept as a hostage. As the report however reached the assembly, which sat all night, the president thought proper to order him before them, and he immediately appeared at their bar. M. Petion was afterwards, probably by his own desire, put under an amicable arrest by his own party at his house, as he was ashamed or afraid to appear more openly in so disgraceful a transaction.

At midnight the alarm bell was sounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. In this moment of confusion a most unjustifiable and illegal step was taken. As it was pretended that the present council

of the commune did not possess the confidence of the people, a few persons from each of the sections immediately assembled to elect a new one, and the measure was carried into effect upon the spot, to the exclusion of the whole municipality, M. M. Petion, Manuel, and Danton, only excepted. This self-elected commune took immediate possession of the common hall, and proceeded to such measures as might most effectually promote the designs of the insurgents.

One of their first resolves proved fatal to the royal party. As M. Mandat was known to be a determined supporter of the constitution, as it was evident that his presence would afford the strongest encouragement to the national guards, and would greatly contribute to the retaining of them in their duty, and as the order which he had received from the mayor was an additional authority in the eyes of the soldiery and the people; it was determined by any means to deprive the king of this essential support. The creation of a new municipality was not known at the palace, and under the cover of this delusion a message was dispatched to M. Mandat, requiring his attendance at the common-hall, under the pretence that they had something of the utmost importance to communicate to him. M. Mandat was at that moment occupied in assigning to the detachments of the national guards their different posts; and, as if suspicious of a conspiracy against his life, he hesitated to obey the order. A new message more pressing than the former was therefore sent, and M. Rœderer, the procureur syndic, who is with some justice suspected of being a party in the plot, joined with two other municipal officers who were present, in persuading him to obey the com-

mands of the constituted authorities. He left the palace about four o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the town-house, accompanied by a single aid du camp.

We may easily imagine the surprise of this unfortunate officer at meeting an assembly so different from what he had expected; and his surprise must have been augmented at finding himself abruptly charged with a plot to massacre the people. After a short interrogation he was ordered to the abbey prison, but as he descended the stairs he was shot through the head with a pistol, and instantly dispatched with spears and hangers. M. Santerre was appointed by the same authority to the command of the national guard, which however he did not immediately assume.

The king had not closed his eyes during the whole of this eventful night; indeed the only part of the family who retired to rest were the royal infants. At six o'clock it was thought expedient that the king should review the troops. He accordingly proceeded to the courtyards, where he was saluted with the acclamation of *Vive le Roi* from the Swifs, and it was echoed by the national guards. The artillery, however, and the battalion of *croix rouge*, shouted *Vive la Nation!* and some of the more insolent and disaffected, *Vive Petion!*

As the national guards were deprived of their commander, and consequently at that moment were governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery soon became contagious, and their unruly and indecent conduct soon evinced how little dependence was to be placed upon their fidelity.

As soon as the king returned from reviewing the troops, the gentlemen who were in the palace formed

formed themselves into regular companies of life guards, and, as most of them were trained to arms, they formed in an admirable manner for the protection of the interior of the palace, and, animated by enthusiasm and despair, would undoubtedly have made a most gallant defence, had the king remained at their head. The national guards within the palace were addressed in strong and pathetic terms by the king and queen. They were penetrated with the enthusiasm of loyalty; an involuntary tear started into every eye, and in language more expressive than words, every man appeared to profess his intention to die for monarchy and the constitution.

Posterity will perhaps condemn, and the unhappy monarch had soon reason to regret, the sudden resolution into which he was impelled by the timidity or treachery of M. Rœderer. At eight o'clock that officer entered the council chamber where their majesties were, at the head of the department; and his first words were, "No person shall interpose between the king and the department." He requested to speak with the king and queen in private: he proceeded to represent the imminent danger which at this moment impended over the head of their majesties and all that were attached to them; he assured them that very few of the national guard were to be depended upon, and that the majority were totally corrupted. That instead of defending the palace, they would instantly join the assailants; that the number of the insurgents was such that it was insanity to oppose, and intreated that they would repair, as to the only asylum which was open to them, to the national assembly. The queen, whose penetration led her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose force of

mind was generally more disposed to resistance than submission, opposed with vehemence M. Rœderer's proposal, and exclaimed, "that sooner than remove she would be nailed to the walls of the palace." But the habitual gentleness of the king's character induced him to comply. They strictly forbade their aristocratic friends to accompany them; but it was with grief and reluctance that they submitted to the command of their beloved master, to separate themselves from his person in the hour of calamity and danger.

The king met with no interruption in crossing the Tuilleries to the stair-case leading to the terrace of the Feuillans, but there he was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled, with the grossest abuse, the most alarming threats against his royal person. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the most forward of the insurgents snatched the dauphin out of the queen's arms and carried him to the assembly.

The legislative body, at the moment their majesties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall. As soon as he entered, the king placed himself by the side of the president, and addressed the assembly in these words: "I am come hither to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." The king and queen were accompanied by their son and daughter, and the princess Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

A singular debate took place almost immediately on the entrance of the

the royal family. It was observed by a member, that according to the constitution, the deliberative functions of the assembly were suspended by the presence of the king. It became therefore a matter of some embarrassment to know where to dispose of the unfortunate monarch: some were for placing him at the bar, and others in the galleries. The king with his family then placed themselves on the benches destined to the ministry; but this was still objected to: at length it was observed, that they might be accommodated in a small box, about ten feet square, on the right hand of the president, separated by an iron grating, and which had been appropriated to the editors of a newspaper, at that time well known under the title of the *Logographe*, but which has since been suppressed. In this confined situation the royal family spent fourteen hours on a burning hot day, exposed to instant danger, and loaded with indignities.

The reports which had been industriously circulated of a plot formed within the palace for the massacre of the citizens had already caused the savage multitude to thirst for blood. In the course of the night twenty-two persons had been arrested under various suspicions in the section of the *Feuillans*, and confined to the guard-house. Eleven of them, who were confined in a separate apartment, had however the good fortune to save themselves by leaping out of a window into an adjoining garden. For some time the insurgents had been extremely clamorous in the court of the *Feuillans*, demanding the sacrifice of the prisoners, and about half past eight a municipal officer ascended a bench, and exhorted them with great humanity to abstain from violence and cruelty. This respectable magistrate was soon si-

lenced by clamour, and a horrid banditti, headed by a wretch who disgraced the name and form of woman, a prostitute of the name of *Theroigne*, proceeded to the committee, to demand their immediate slaughter. Nine innocent persons were thus inhumanly murdered, some of them by the hands of the infamous *Theroigne*. Among these was a *M. Sulca*, a man of letters, of great merit, whose only crime was being attached to his king, and the abbe *Bouyou*, a dramatic writer. The heads were immediately fixed on pikes, and carried as trophies round the city, to increase (had it been necessary) the cannibalism of the populace, and the fears and the horror of all honest men.

It was a most unfortunate circumstance, that the king, on his departure from the palace, did not leave distinct orders to those who remained, to capitulate. Much bloodshed would probably have been avoided by this means; and there is even some reason to think that the event might have proved more favourable to the king himself than it did. The democratic party charge this neglect to the duplicity of the king, who they alledge wished to secure two chances to himself;—the restoration to his former dignity, should the party within the palace prove victorious, and at the worst he expected to escape with his life by taking shelter in the national assembly. This account of his motives is, however, probably no more than one of those uncharitable insinuations which at such a crisis the malignity of party usually invents; and the conduct of the king is more naturally to be attributed to that confusion and anxiety, which at such a crisis deprives the most collected mind of half its functions. At this distance

we can reason with temperance and judgment: but how should we have acted, if placed in circumstances so extremely difficult and trying to human infirmity?

To complete the public calamity, time was not allowed to remedy the omission; for before orders could be dispatched to this effect, before recollection had perhaps suggested to the king the necessity of forwarding such orders, it was too late. The royal family were scarcely seated in the box of the Logographe, when a dreadful cannonading shook the assembly. Some members rose from their seats, and appeared disposed to seek their personal safety by flight; but the president calling them to order, desired them to recollect that every man was at his post. The king informed the president that he had left strict orders with the Swiss not to fire upon the people.

It has been disputed who were the first aggressors on this unhappy occasion. The point appears difficult to ascertain, and of but little importance when decided. We shall report the progress of this deplorable contest as far as the materials we are in possession of will enable us to proceed.

The number of the insurgents has been stated at about 20,000 effective men. The crowd of idle spectators who followed them, partly from curiosity and partly in hopes of plunder, is not to be estimated. The active rebels, consisted chiefly of the lower class of the inhabitants of the suburbs, distinguished, as we before intimated, by the appellation of *sans culottes*, with some hundreds of the Marseillois, and other federates, who were certainly the most daring, and contributed most to the success of the enterprise. They were marshalled in tolerable order under the command of a Prussian, a soldier of

fortune, of the name of Weisterman, and were armed some with spears, some with muskets, and had with them in the center not less than 30 pieces of cannon.

The retreat of the king was fatal to the defence of the palace. The gentlemen within formed themselves, as well as they could, part with and part without arms, in military array; but as they had it no longer in charge to defend the person of the king, they should have mingled with the national guards, and kept up their spirits by laying aside those distinctions which they knew were become so odious to the people. The most loyal among the national guards were dispirited by the loss of their commander, and disgusted by the flight of the king. Murmurs circulated among them; the purport of which was, that "they were inevitably betrayed, and that with aristocrats on the one hand, and with the Swiss on the other, they were between two fires." Even the Swiss themselves were completely discouraged. Their commander in chief, M. Af-fry, was absent; M. Bachmann, second in command, and his adjutant, had accompanied the king to the national assembly; the captains of the companies were either not at their posts; or those who were, were utterly at a loss what course to pursue.

At about a quarter past nine the gates of the cour royale were forced open, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, whose leader drew them up in two square divisions facing the palace. They brandished their spears, and levelled their pieces with menacing gestures; while the Swiss and national guards from the windows intreated them by signs to keep the peace and withdraw.

A few of the *sans culottes* at length pro-

proceeded to the foot of the first staircase, and seizing the Swiss sentinel, and soon after five other of his countrymen, disarmed them, and the main body then rushing in, cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceless victims. On observing this outrage, the Swiss drew up in order of battle, some on the staircase, others on the steps facing the chapel door, and seeing no alternative but to stand on the defensive, fired upon the murderers. At the same moment a national officer who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his pistol against the walls of the palace, provoked those who were in the windows to return the fire. The assailants then applied their matches to the cannon, and the engagement soon became general.

The contest chiefly lay between the Marseillois and the Swiss. The national guards within the palace seemed at a loss what party to take. Either way a semblance of duty appeared to disarm them, and withhold them from active measures. The gendarmerie were in the same situation, and a party of them who had their station near the coach-houses were at one time raked by two fires from the Swiss and the rebels, and out of 100 men, lost in this inglorious inactivity. After a most gallant resistance of more than an hour, in which the Swiss were frequently victorious in different parts, these brave men, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti, enraged instead of being interested by their gallantry and fidelity, pursued the fugitives with the rancour of savages, and the victory was converted into a massacre. The national guards, either from policy or from that enthusiasm which we

know to be contagious, united with the populace in the extermination of those whom but just before they had regarded as their fellow-soldiers. All the Swiss who were in the palace were murdered; many of them on their knees imploring quarter. A small party of 17 had taken refuge in the vestry room of the chapel, and as they had not been engaged from the first, they imagined that they might secure the clemency of their victors by surrendering at discretion, and shouting *vive la nation!* but they no-sooner laid down their arms than they were put to death. Another party attempted to escape through Marfan court; about eighty were killed, the remainder secreted themselves in hay-lofts, and in other lurking places; some persons lent them cloaths to disguise themselves, and a few of them consequently escaped, but several died with hunger and fatigue.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace saw no alternative at this formidable crisis, but to make their way as well as they could to the national assembly. The only possible road was through the queen's gate; they rallied all the Swiss whom they found dispersed in their way, and as many of the national guard as still retained their fidelity. The number of the fugitives might amount to five hundred; but as only one person could pass through the gate at a time, they were exposed to a continual fire from several battalions stationed at about thirty yards distance: as the red uniform of the Swiss attracted particular notice, these devoted strangers were still the greatest sufferers.

Of the remainder some escaped by the gardens, and others in small parties made good their progress to different parts of the city, whereupon

upon dispersing; they were secreted and saved by the humanity of individuals. It is however with pain that we find ourselves obliged to add, that of this fine and gallant regiment of Swiss, the whole number that survived the massacre did not amount to two hundred. These, by a decree of the assembly, were put under the protection of the state.

The defenceless victims who were found in the palace were all involved in one promiscuous massacre. The gentleman ushers, the pages, those who were in the lowest and most servile offices, were slaughtered without discrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Tuilleries from the roof to the foundations. The shocking barbarities which were practised on the dead bodies of the Swiss it would be offensive to decency to relate. The massacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some chests indeed, containing papers and assignats, and even some of the royal plate, were taken from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the national assembly.

The massacre within the palace was the signal for assassination without. The resentment which the resistance of the Swiss had excited, was directed even to the porters at the coffee-houses and hotels, who go under the general appellation of Swiss, and several of them were murdered. M. Carl, Lieutenant Colonel of the foot gendarmerie was killed in the afternoon on coming out of the Logographic lodge where the royal family were; and M. D'Hermigny, a colonel of the gendarmerie, met his fate in the square before the hotel de ville.

Of all the victims of popular phrenzy on this memorable day, none is more to be deplored than M. Clermont Tonnerre. Our readers must

recollect, that no man had rendered more eminent services to the cause of liberty in the commencement of the revolution than this unfortunate gentleman; and even when he ceased to act with the popular party, his opposition was always respectable and temperate. It would perhaps have been happy for France if the maxims of moderation which this great man inculcated, had been more favourably attended to even in the constituent assembly. He was undoubtedly the friend of liberty, but he thought liberty better secured by not attempting too much. His attachment to limited monarchy had rendered him odious to the populace in the present moment of delusion, and his abilities marked him out to their demagogues for destruction. On the morning of the 10th he found his house surrounded by a mob, under the pretence that arms were secreted there; at the same time he received an order to appear before the committee of his section. While he remained there, his house was searched and his innocence acknowledged. Conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, he had the imprudence to venture to return through the midst of the mob, whose violence he restrained for a considerable time by the charms of his eloquence. A servant whom he had dismissed for some offence is said to have embraced this opportunity to gratify his revenge, by continuing to exasperate the fury of the multitude. It is to be lamented that his efforts were too successful.

While these disgraceful scenes were acting, the national assembly still proceeded, in its own phrase, "to deliberate." But its deliberations were no longer free; they were overawed by a clamorous multitude in the galleries, and by troops of ruffians without, who threatened the

lives of those who dared to think, to speak, or act for themselves. The stoutest hearts were appalled, and in haste and confusion, a series of decrees were drawn up and passed, declaring the executive power suspended; the authority given by the constitution to Louis XVIth from that moment revoked; and inviting the people to meet in primary assemblies, and to form a national convention," which by a subsequent decree was appointed to meet on the 1st of the ensuing month, September. On the following day the ministers appointed by the king were declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was appointed, and consisted of M. Roland for the home department; M. Servan for that of war; and M. Claviere for the finance. M. Le Brun was nominated minister of foreign affairs, M. Danton minister of justice, and M. Monge of the marine.

A decree of accusation was afterwards passed against M. D'Abancourt, the late minister of war, for not having dismissed the Swiss guards; and this was soon after followed by another against M. La Porte, the late intendant of the civil list.

Thus in a single day was destroyed by an armed mob, an edifice which had employed the first abilities of France for three successive years in its erection. The French nation it must be confessed have evinced more prompt abilities for destroying than for building up, and the paradoxical appellation of "architects of ruin" could not have easily found a happier application. This policy (if it can deserve the name) is surely neither happy in its design nor in its effects. It is easier to correct and to amend than to produce a fresh creation, out of chaos to

establish order by a motion of the magic wand. It is extremely unwise totally to annihilate a system, before another is prepared to substitute in its room. The constitution of 1791 certainly abounded with defects, but it would have been safer gradually to rectify these than to deliver over the nation for an indefinite space of time a prey to anarchy, licentiousness, and disorder.

Of the guilt or innocence of the king, posterity will speak in more decisive terms than we are able at present. If he was really a party to the league of despots which was formed for the ruin of his country, the fact will certainly extenuate, if not justify, the violences of the 10th of August; but in the mean time, the evidence which has hitherto come before us, allows us to charge him with no design more criminal than that which reason and candour must approve, and which there is room to believe was that of Rochfaucault, of La Fayette, and the most disinterested patriots of France; that of removing his person, and those of the members of the legislature, from the degrading insults, the pernicious influence, and the alarming outrages of the Lazzaroni of Paris; and till some such measure shall be adopted, whether the *form* of government be republican or aristocratic, it is but too certain that France will not enjoy the benefits of any government at all, but both her executive and legislative powers must languish under the horrid tyranny of a faction, and that faction will be the most profligate and unprincipled that the whole nation can furnish.

From the example of France, free states may in after-ages derive some instructive lessons. Supposing the utmost that the republicans assert to be true; supposing that the treachery

treachery of the king had rendered his deposition necessary, and that the assault on the Tuilleries was the laudable effort of a great nation to liberate itself from impending slavery; still the course which that party afterwards pursued was neither wise, patriotic, nor humane. They established their power not by conciliatory measures, but by persecution; not by justice and wisdom, but by assassination and massacre. The insults offered to the fallen monarch were only calculated to render him a more interesting object; the prosecution and execution of the inferior agents of royalty could be of no use where royalty was no more, and was only calculated to increase the number of the disaffected party. If it was necessary to abolish monarchy, and to summon a convention, past experience should have dictated the necessity of assembling that convention in another part of the kingdom; and a form of a constitution ought to have been ready to present to that body, as soon as it was prepared to receive it.

Other free states instructed by this example, when they find it necessary to reform their government, will beware of employing the ministry of the populace to effect this difficult undertaking. They will study rather to improve than to overturn; and their decisions will be the result of investigation rather than of impulse; they will be voted not by acclamation, but after serious debate and temperate deliberation. They will provide against the audience being more numerous and more powerful than the legislature itself, and will protect it from the degradation of being influenced by clubs. A reform conducted upon these principles will cease to be that object of terror and ab-

horrence which French anarchy has rendered the very word itself, and the selfish or the senseless only will clamour against it.

Another caution will be suggested by these proceedings to those who attempt revolutions by illegitimate means. The most active conspirators of the 10th of August, have, we believe, already heartily repented of the act. Some of them have since been sacrificed to the very means which they employed themselves; the rest behold themselves supplanted in the favour of the populace by a most dastardly and atrocious faction. They have sown and others have reaped; the guillotine and the danger was theirs, but Robespierre and Danton have obtained the reward.

After much deliberation, the hotel of the minister of justice was chosen as the habitation of the fallen monarch and his unfortunate family; but on the representation of M. Manuel, who stated, that, in that situation the municipality could not charge themselves with being responsible for the person of the king, the place of confinement was changed to the Temple.

The phrenzy of the populace did not subside for some days after the storming of the palace. It assumed indeed not the formidable aspect of a general insurrection, but it was no less savage and dreadful in its effects. Several atrocious assassinations were committed, and among others the respectable and virtuous Rochfaucault fell a sacrifice to his attachment to the king and constitution. After having, with the rest of the department, been concerned in the suspension of Pétion and Manuel, he found it no longer safe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own estate, but the blood-hounds carefully tracked his steps, and he

was scarcely arrived before he was assassinated: his own tenants either aiding in the murder, or at least looking on with criminal stupefaction.

The absurd rage of the democratic mob on the days succeeding the 10th of August, was not confined to the living objects of their resentment; but with a barbarity which has rendered proverbial the northern ravagers of Europe, they demolished every vestige of art which had the remotest relation to monarchy or aristocracy: even the statue of Henry IVth, so long the idol of the patriotic party, was broken in pieces, merely because it was the statue of a king. The busts of M. M. Neckar, La Fayette, Mirabeau, and all the leading members of the constitutional party were also fought out with a ridiculous assiduity and demolished.

On the night of the 12th the assembly, apprehensive of a formidable opposition from the army of La Fayette, dispatched three commissioners of their own body to counteract the movements of that general. M. La Fayette, however, by a singular accident, was previously apprised of the events of the 10th. He had sent M. Darblais, one of his staff officers, with dispatches to the war minister. M. Darblais, on the morning of the 11th, had advanced almost within sight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the national guards who apprised him of his danger, and advised him to change horses and return with all possible speed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found M. La Fayette, who, after stating the facts to the magistrates of that town, advised them, in duty to the king and constitution, to arrest the commissioners, who accordingly on their arrival there,

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were seized and detained in prison from the 14th to the 20th.

In the mean time M. La Fayette returned to the camp; and immediately distributed among the battalions the following letter:

"Citizen soldiers,

"It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward; the constitution you swore to maintain is no more; a banditti from Marseilles, and a troop of factious men, besieged the palace of the Tuilleries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

"General d'Affry, his aids-de-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

"The king, queen, and all the royal family escaped to the national assembly; the factious ran thither holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the king, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

"Citizens, you are no longer represented; the national assembly are in a state of slavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representative to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your king."

The general, at the first moments when this communication to the soldiery was made, found their dispositions not unfavourable to the cause of the constitution; but he soon discovered that fidelity was only to be expected from a small circle of friends. Apprehensive

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therefore that in the spirit of revolt which his army manifested, his life would be attempted by some assassin, or that he would certainly be delivered up into the hands of his adversaries; on the 19th of August he left the camp in the night, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. They took the route of Rochefort in Liege, which, being a neutral country, they hoped to pass unmolested; but an Austrian general of the name of Harancourt, being stationed there with an advanced party, arrested the fugitives, contrary to the law of nations, and sent them prisoners to Namur. We are sorry to add, that these unfortunate exiles have ever since been detained the victims of tyranny, and confined in a noisome dungeon, for no other crime, or rather under no other pretext, than that of having been members of the national assembly of France.

The fate of this brave and disinterested patriot is not calculated to exalt our opinions of human nature; on the one hand we behold him abandoned by the people, for whom he had made so many sacrifices; on the other, oppressed by a combination of kings, while his attachment to the cause of monarchy is the source of his calamity. That M. La Fayette is a character without a blemish, would be too bold an assertion to be made of any human being. His error was the error of a young and ingenuous mind, which in its ardent zeal for the liberty and happiness of his fellow creatures, did not permit him to distinguish what was practicable from what was merely speculative and visionary. A more temperate and mature judgment would perhaps have led him to oppose that fatal degradation of the executive power, which proved the ruin of

authority, of government and order, in France; but in this he was no more guilty than the rest of the constituent assembly; and though in his judgment he may have erred, in his principles we must allow him to have been always consistent. Faithful to his oath, to his king, to his engagements, he was among the first to oppose the seditious designs of the Jacobin club, and among the most distinguished of those who contended for the maintenance of order and civil obedience. To have received with cordiality the illustrious confessor of regulated liberty, would have been noble and magnanimous—To imprison and persecute virtue and valour in distress, was mean and dastardly; but, from Tiberius to the present times, cowardice has been the uniform characteristic of tyranny.

General Arthur Dillon influenced by the counsel, and perhaps by the character and example of M. La Fayette, seemed at first inclined to imitate his conduct; and by the orders which he published to his army on the 13th, he excited so strong a suspicion against him, that a decree was actually passed for his suspension. He however was so fortunate as to retract in time, and upon the arrival of the commissioners of the assembly at Valenciennes, he found means so completely to conciliate their esteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinstated in his full authority.

The politic Dumourier, who had assumed the command at Maulde, saw from the first the party which it was necessary to embrace, and anticipated the wishes of the assembly, by applauding the new revolution even before the arrival of their commissioners; by this fortunate

fortunate step he regained the entire confidence of the republicans, which he had lost by his continuance in the ministry, and in consequence was afterwards appointed to succeed M. la Fayette in his command.

Marshal Luckner took the same decided part. In his letter to the assembly, he even insinuated that it was the treachery of the court which had compelled him to retreat in the midst of victory from the Netherlands; and, added "that now the king was deposed, he hoped he would not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Austrian territories."

Generals Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, all submitted to the authority of the assembly, and of the provisional council of state, and took the republican oaths, as well as the soldiers of their respective armies.

Though the force of La Fayette had been trifling in comparison with that of his adversaries, as it did not exceed 20,000 men, still he had contrived to keep the Austrians and Prussians in check, and they had made but little progress towards the subjugation of France. The confusion, however, which the transactions we have just narrated had produced, encouraged the combined armies to advance, and the first conquest they achieved was that of Longwy. On the 21st of August, general Clairfait presented himself with an army of 60,000 men before that fortress. The siege lasted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magistrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had insisted upon a surrender,

and that he had only complied with their requisition; on the other hand it was suspected, and not without some ground, that nothing less than treachery in a commander could compel a garrison of 3,500 men, well appointed, in a place strongly fortified, and defended with seventy-one pieces of cannon, and excellent casemates, to surrender upon so short a siege. Upon further inquiry these suspicions were confirmed. M. Lavergne the governor was ordered to be tried by a court-martial; and a decree of the assembly was passed, that whenever it should be retaken, the houses of the citizens should be razed to the ground, and the magistrates prosecuted for high treason.

The capture of Verdun almost immediately succeeded that of Longwy. It was summoned by the duke of Brunswick on the 31st of August, nor did the example of the punishment to be inflicted on Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehensions. As Longwy, therefore, was lost by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced by the cowardice of the citizens. Distrustful of the incivism of the officers after the affair of Longwy, the assembly, by a decree, vested power in the municipality to controul the deliberations of the council of war. M. Beaurepaire, the governor, was desirous of defending the town to the last moment; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was imminent danger that the soldiers would be attacked by an enemy within as well as without. The governor, therefore, after much opposition, finding himself completely outvoted, drew a pistol, and shot himself dead upon the spot. The consequence

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was that the garrison capitulated, and the Prussian troops entered on the 2d of September.

Immediately on the deposition of the king, the ambassador of Great Britain was recalled, with, however, an assurance of friendship and neutrality on the part of his court.

Nearly about the same period a decree was passed against M. La Fayette, declaring him guilty of high treason. M. Barnave, M. Alexander Lameth, and some others of the constituent assembly, were committed to prison, on the charge of a counter-revolution, which however appeared to be founded merely on a vague mention of their names as friends to the king, in some papers which were said to have been found in ransacking the Tuilleries.

The plea in favour of republican government is, that it is a government which is calculated to afford equal protection to all classes of men; that it admits of no oppression, because all have equal rights, and all are interested in the preservation of them. The practice of republicans in all ages has been very inconsistent with these professions; but in no instance has this inconsistency been more glaring than in the conduct of the republicans of France. Whatever apologies may be urged for the savage fury of an irritated people on such an occasion as the storming of the Bastille or the Tuilleries, there can be none for the blood which streamed from the scaffolds; there can be none for the condemning in a cool and deliberate manner to death, with the forms indeed, but without the substance of justice, upon evidence the most vague and incorrect, honourable men, whose only crime was that of having served the fallen monarch with fidelity. M. Desefart, the friend and confident of

Neckar, was beheaded at Orleans, on a futile charge that he knew of the convention of Pilnitz for a considerable time before he communicated it to the assembly. M. Dange-mont, the late paymaster of the king's guards, suffered at Paris on the 1st of September, on evidence equally frivolous. M. La Porte, intendant of the civil list, was executed at the same time, for no other crime than that of distributing money to certain writers in favour of monarchy. M. Durosoy, and some others of less note, were also evidently sacrificed to the temporary delusion and prejudices of the people.

The assembly lost no time in putting in force with the utmost rigour the projected decrees against the refractory clergy. On the 19th of August, the decree for transporting from the kingdom such of the priests as had not taken the civic oath was revived in the assembly, and passed by acclamation. The distress and misery, which many worthy individuals suffered in consequence of this decree, cannot be sufficiently deplored. Many of these victims of conscience were hurried from their connexions and their friends, and landed almost naked and penniless on a foreign shore; some were committed to prison, there to remain till a mode of conveyance out of the kingdom should be found; some were massacred by the populace soon after they were arrested: and no inconsiderable number were reserved for the melancholy catastrophe, to which we shall have speedily to advert.

It will remain to the latest ages a monument of British hospitality and British liberality, that several thousands of these unhappy fugitives were received in England, and supported for nearly twelve months, by

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voluntary subscription; that all parties joined in the promotion of this truly christian undertaking; that no prejudices, religious or political, could stifle the voice of humanity, or eradicate from the hearts of Britons that generous philanthropy, which has always been characteristic of the nation.

Of the atrocities which we have now to relate, the origin and causes are involved in obscurity. By the one party, they are charged upon a wicked and sanguinary faction; and by the other, that is, the faction to whom they are charged, they are represented as the instantaneous effort of popular resentment. We shall state the facts, as far as they are known, and leave the reader to form his own conclusions.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussians, spread an instantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and even the assembly itself partook of the contagion. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunswick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this disastrous moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man who from a low origin (with only the advantage of a tolerable education, for he was bred a physician) had raised himself by his abilities and his boldness to the situation of minister of justice, and who certainly projected the plan of dismissing the old municipality on the night of the 9th of August, stood forth in the assembly on this memorable emergency. He observed, that there were more than 80,000 stand of fire arms in Paris,

in the hands of private persons: with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who, instead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, should sally forth to meet the danger. Six commissioners from the assembly he proposed to send to the sections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from those horses which were kept for pleasure. The plan was instantly adopted, and a decree was passed, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented by age and infirmities, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by another for the disarming of all suspected persons.

We have had but little occasion, since the termination of the constituent assembly, of which he was a member, to mention M. Robespierre. He had, however, since that period, occupied the station of public accuser, and at the time of which we are now treating, was at the head of the Jacobin fraternity, and had been chosen, as well as Marat (a Prussian, who existed by writing libels on the government, and by publishing a scandalous Journal) a member of the new commune, on the night of the 9th of August. These two men were intimately connected with Danton, the minister of justice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful massacre, which we have now to relate, have been ascribed. Since the affair of the 10th of August, Petion had lost ground with the populace, and Robespierre had proportionably risen in their esteem. His sanguinary and unfeeling temper was more suited to their habitual and savage cruelty, and as he is illiterate himself, his eloquence is of that species

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which is most adapted to vulgar apprehension. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the state prisoners; and by his endeavours to satiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

Whether from a concerted plan to produce a general massacre, in which it is said many of the members of the assembly were to be included; or whether it was simply intended to excite the ardour of the people to the defence of the country, is yet undetermined; but certainly the mode pursued by the commune on the 2d of September was pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the city. Instead of ordering the enrolments of volunteers to be made in their respective sections, with order and quietness, they commanded the alarm-guns to be fired at two o'clock, the tocsin, or alarm-bell, to be sounded, the country to be proclaimed in danger; and they summoned the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence they pretended they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy.

The alarm guns *were* fired, the tocsin *did* sound, but it was not the knell of the Prussians, but of the unhappy prisoners confined in the gaols of Paris. The people did assemble, not to defend, but to exterminate their countrymen. It is a debt due to justice, however, to exonerate the citizens in general from the crimes of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the alarm which was given, repaired not to the Champ de Mars, as these magi-

strates of murder and insurrection had wished, but, as it were by instinct, to their respective sections, and there entered their names as the soldiers of liberty.

A considerable multitude, however, was brought together. It was composed (as the Gironde * assert) partly of hired assassins, and men selected for the purpose of producing a tumult and a massacre, partly of the Marseillois and the remnant of the other fédérates, and partly of an immense multitude attracted to the scene of riot by their curiosity or their fears. It is however uncertain, after all that has been said by both parties, whether the massacre was a preconcerted measure, or the spontaneous impulse of a part of the populace. It is not very improbable that some of those, who had lost friends and relations in the affair of the 10th of August, might be sufficiently exasperated against the state prisoners (whom they considered as the authors of their misfortunes) to make the horrid proposal. Be this as it may, we can only report, that the resolutions of the assembly were scarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, "that they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against their foreign enemies, but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes." Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of the non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cold blood, the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of

* The more moderate party, including Petion, Brissot, Genfonne, Vergniaud, they derive their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which are among the leaders of the party. The opposite faction is called the Mountain, from its occupying the high seats in the hall of the convention.

these defenceless, and probably innocent men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the abbey prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impanelled a jury, nine of whom it is said were Italians, or assassins—from Avignon, and the other three French. Before these self-constituted judges, the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watchword that pronounced the culprit guilty, was "*Il faut le largir*" (He must be set at liberty), when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted, and these were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except their commander M. D'Afry. He had been a democrat from the first of the revolution, and when urged by the queen to assume the command in the Tuilleries on the 10th of August, had voluntarily absented himself. The assassins continued the whole night of the 2d at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined.

In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When summoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, she was in bed, and was informed

by the person who delivered the message, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbey. She begged, in return, to remain undisturbed, since to her one prison was as acceptable as another. Being informed that she must appear immediately before the tribunal, she dressed in haste, and obeyed the summons. In the course of her interrogation, no crimination against the queen or royal family could be extorted from her, and it is said it was the intention of the judges to acquit her. As she was conducted, however, out of the prison, stupefied with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which produced instantly a violent effusion of blood. In this situation she was supported by the arms by two men, who forced her to continue her progress over the dead bodies. As she fainted every moment from loss of blood, like Cæsar, she was solicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at last she became so enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no further, her head was severed from her body. The mangled corpse was exposed to every kind of indignity, and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple and shewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the streets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, probably without much feeling, by her brutal relations: Madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the 2d and 3d of September. At the Abbey prison 159 were massacred, exclusive of M. M.

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D'Angremont, Rosoy, and De la Porte, who had been previously beheaded; at the seminary of St. Firmin, 92 unfortunate victims suffered; at the Carmes * 141; at the Hotel de la Force 168; at the Chaletet 214; at the Conciergerie 85; at the Bicetre 153; at the cloister of the Bernardins 73; in all amounting to the shocking number of 1085 †, including, however, a considerable number of felons, who were imprisoned for forging assignats, and for other crimes. The number of the assassins has been variously reported. They were at first supposed to amount to many thousands; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred. It is evident, however, that the national assembly considered them in a formidable view, or they would have taken some more effective measures than that of sending commissioners, from time to time, to dissuade them from their violence. It is probable that the number would at first be greatly exaggerated by report, and that the multitude who followed, from curiosity or the hope of plunder, greatly exceeded those who were actually engaged in the murders.

The friends of Petion assert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of these misdeeds, but that he spoke in vain, while the minister of justice remained silent. M. Roland wrote repeatedly to M. Santerre; and the national guards were all ready in their sections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to disperse the mob; but there is too much reason to suppose Santerre an accomplice in the plot, if there was one, since

he took no measures whatever to prevent these atrocities.

It was in vain that the deputies dispatched by the assembly exhorted the populace. M. Montmorin, the late mayor of Fontainebleau, though acquitted by a jury, was murdered in the sight of the deputies. During this period of general confusion and horror, several miscreants availed themselves of the circumstance, to gratify their private animosity, and some individuals were assassinated in different parts of the city.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither by the national assembly on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins proceeded from Paris, most of them in post chaises, and as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. The inhabitants of Versailles stood stupefied with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans, stood passive spectators of the massacre. Thus perished the duke of Brissac, the bishop of Mauges, and about thirty others. At Lyons also some prisoners were massacred on the 9th.

The anarchy which succeeded the 10th of August, was not soon composed. On the 17th of September, a band of ruffians broke into the *Garde Meuble*, and robbed it of an immense quantity of jewels, and other valuable effects, which have never yet been recovered.

Before we close our account of the proceedings of the national assembly, it is proper to mention a decree which was proposed by a distinguish-

* The convent of the Carmelites.

† There were also some murders committed at the Salpetriere, and on the Pont-au-Change.

ed member, M. Jean Debry—The substance of this singular proposal was, "To levy immediately a corps of 1200 volunteers, whose particular object should be to attack the commanders of the hostile armies, and the kings who were the authors of the war; that these volunteers should be equipped in a manner the best adapted to the purpose, and that on each a pension for life of 2000 livres (100 l.) per ann. should be settled, with the reversion to their descendants to the third generation."

The motion was opposed by M. Vergniaud and others, and a kind of previous question moved upon the occasion, viz. to refer the matter to the committee of safety.

The discussion was curious and important—It was observed by the opponents of Jean Debry, that the proposal was unworthy a free and enlightened nation; that assassination was an expedient against which all the generous feelings of humanity revolted; that it might be practised as well in a bad as in a virtuous cause; as well by the tyrant as by the most patriotic spirit; that in the present instance it would infallibly produce reprisals; that if a band of tyrannicides should be formed by France, whole brigades would be formed by the enemy, for the purpose of exterminating her commanders.

In reply to these observations it was urged, That of all the calamities that afflict human nature, *war* is most to be deprecated and deplored; that any expedient which could be devised for preventing so great a crime and so dreadful an evil must be laudable. Kings, it was said, are the sole authors of wars; to gratify their caprice, their avarice or ambition, they in cold blood devote millions to misery and to death; unfeeling cowards, they repose at

home in security and luxury, remote from the danger, and feast upon the miseries they have occasioned. Which then is the lesser evil? to devote *one* man to death, or expose whole nations to ruin, to devastation, to wretchedness, to slaughter? The guilt of war lies wholly with the kings; the punishment falls entirely upon their innocent subjects: but let kings once fear for their personal safety, and wars will for ever be at an end.

With respect to reprisals, it was allowed, that such a decree would certainly provoke them; but it was urged on the other hand, that the combined kings could not be more exasperated against France than they were already; that whether the decree was passed or not, every means would be employed for the destruction of those who were invested with any authority or command; and that even the duke of Brunswick's manifesto was in substance a decree to that very effect, and breathed exactly a similar spirit of sanguinary vengeance.

The proposal was virtually rejected by agreeing to refer it to the committee.

The advances of the combined armies since the 10th of August, had been rapid and formidable. On the 30th of that month, general Dumourier called a council at Sedan of all the general officers who were then in that district, M. Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes on purpose to assist at it. He explained the distressed state of the French army, and observed, that after taking possession of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether or not they would undertake the siege of Montmedy. The Prussian army amounted to full 55,000 chosen men; Clairfait with 16,000 had taken post
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at Chiers, to the right of the Prussians; and a second column of Austrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their support, and were followed by the Hessians and emigrants, whose numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable.

In this council it was determined, that the French were by much too weak to attempt to face so immense a force, or to prevent it from passing the Meuse, which was fordable in sixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay. In the mean time general Dumourier had dispatched general Galbaud with two battalions of infantry to support Verdun; but from what has been already related, our readers will have anticipated the event, which was, that the attempt proved entirely fruitless.

On the 31st, the Austrians took possession of Stenay, after a slight skirmish with the vanguard commanded by general Dillon, which consisted only of five battalions of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of light-horse: the national guard of Stenay retreated and joined general Dillon, who took post at Mouzon, close by the army of the commander in chief.

The whole of Dumourier's force at this time, was scarcely equal to the single division commanded by general Clairfait, who must have been ignorant of his weakness, or he would scarcely have neglected to attack him. With this small army, the only resource to the French generals appeared to be, to bury themselves in the thick forest of Argonne. On the 3d of September, Dumourier fell back to Grand Pré; and general Galbaud, not being able to throw himself into Verdun, had taken post on the side of Biesme in a strong position.

In this critical situation the genius of the French commander rose superior to circumstances; and so far from being discouraged by the inferior force of his army, he determined still farther to weaken it. He saw the infinite importance of the pass in the forest of Argonne on the side of Biesme, where general Galbaud was stationed, and on the 4th dispatched general Dillon with a strong detachment to take possession of it. General Galbaud on the moment of Dillon's approach had abandoned the pass in utter despair, but on his arrival immediately resumed it. On this circumstance the whole fate of the campaign afterwards depended, and the pass of Biesme was the Thermopylae of France.

The space which, with a force so inconsiderable, was occupied by the French generals Dumourier and Dillon, is supposed to have extended to thirty miles; their chief hope rested on the reinforcements which they expected to receive, and their object was to maintain their posts till these succours should arrive. On the 14th of September, the pass at Grand Pré was attacked—A panic seized the whole of M. Dumourier's army, and he was obliged to retreat towards St. Menchold: the Austrians however in this action lost prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed with a number of men. On the 17th, general Dillon was attacked in his post at Biesme, but the enemy was repulsed, with little loss on the part of the French. The Prussians next advanced towards Châlons, and encamped on the heights of La Lune; but Dumourier in the mean time had received a reinforcement from Pont sur Sambre. General Bournonville had also raised the camp at Maulde, and joined the

army with 13,000 men, and Kellerman with the southern army soon after arrived.

On the 20th of September, the French were first enabled to arrest the victorious progress of their adversaries. On that day, general Kellerman, whose division consisted of not more than 16,000 men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly superior both in number and in discipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the skill of their adversaries. The duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, attempted repeatedly to surround Kellerman, but Dumourier constantly presented himself and frustrated his manœuvres. Kellerman sustained the attack for fourteen hours, and retained his post till ten o'clock at night, and then took another position to the right of the enemy, who suffered him quietly to make this movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmness and order which was displayed on this occasion by Kellerman's line. The artillery of the enemy made not the smallest impression upon it, while the German soldiers were only kept to their guns by the discipline of the camp.

On the same day general Dillon was again attacked at Biesme, but having posted, under the cover of the wood, a long file of musketeers to gall their flanks on their approach, the enemy after a smart discharge of their howitzers, which however did not wound a single man, precipitately retreated.

The advantages resulting to the French from the events of this day were incredible. It lessened their apprehensions of the enemy, and gave them a confidence in themselves. It proved to them also the

advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place some reliance upon their generals, and to resist those disgraceful panics, with which the armies in the beginning of the campaign had been affected, chiefly by the machinations of traitors.

The French army were, notwithstanding, still in a situation of great delicacy and danger; The Austrians and Prussians were still nearly thrice their number; Clermont and Varennes were both in the hands of the enemy; at Grand Pré the Prussians had established their hospital, and their camp on the heights of La Lune was impregnable. Thus on three sides, to the east, north, and west, the French were completely hemmed in, and to the south the roads were almost impassable. The inclemency of the season and the barrenness of the country saved the army of the republic at this period from the swords of their enemies.

The pass which general Dillon had so fortunately seized, and had occupied ever since, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the duke of Brunswick's penetrating by the nearest route to Paris; and finding it impossible to dislodge the French, he determined to make the circuit of the forest by Varennes and Grand Pré, a circuit of about fifty miles. The length of this march and the great inclemency of the season laid the foundation of that fatal disease, which afterwards proved more destructive than the swords of the French. To complete their misfortune, the rivers were so swollen that their supplies were almost entirely stopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which the soldiers very imprudently endeavoured to supply by the unripe grapes of Champagne.

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Such probably were the circumstances which induced the duke of Brunswick to propose an armistice, and desire a conference with the French general on the 24th. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning both the motives and the object of this convention. We shall not waste time in examining minutely the grounds of these speculations; let it suffice to say, that there is no evidence to induce us to concur in the report, that the mistress or the ministers of the king of Prussia had been bribed by the French; but on the contrary, there is reason to believe that nothing but the duke's conviction of the impossibility of conquering France produced this concession.

It is something singular, that the confederate kings, who professedly made war upon the constitution of 1791, should now (after the loss of so much blood and treasure, after having wantonly disturbed the peace of France, and done irreparable injury to their own subjects), desire only *as their ultimate object the re-establishment of that constitution*. It is a fact scarcely to be credited, that the same duke of Brunswick, who in the month of July prostituted his name by affixing it to the disgraceful manifesto, in which he professed his intention of restoring to the king of France the full exercise of his former functions; in which he pronounced an irrevocable sentence of death upon *all* the members of the national assembly, and other public functionaries acting under the constitution; that in the month of September he should acknowledge the full authority of the French nation to give laws to itself; that he should intreat only for the personal fate of the king; that he should with his own lips request it as a favour, that *any place whatever might be assigned him* (the king) in

the new order of things; and that by his confident Manstein, he should say to Dumourier—"Make him your king under the strictest limits. Do not content yourselves with tying him up like the king of England—Make him a king of Mahoratas—Make him a statholder—Make him the principal *tax gatherer* of the country—Give him only a place—that is all we ask—and then we shall have a pretext for retiring."

While we feel it our duty to expose the inconsistencies of despotism; while we acknowledge that no part of the conduct of Prussia is to be attributed to a virtuous motive, while it is evident that the imprudent and criminal conduct of the combined courts proved the destruction of the unfortunate Louis, and that they would now retract only because they were too late made sensible of their folly; still we cannot help regretting that this moderate language, let it proceed from what motive it would, was not attended to by the legislature of France. They were bound by all the most sacred duties to give peace to their bleeding country, and the boon which was required by the king of Prussia was the most moderate that could be asked; if ever so strongly bent upon a republican government, a splendid title without power or without wealth, conferred upon their former monarch, could not have injured the real interests of the democracy. Such conduct would have been true policy: by forming an alliance with Prussia, France would have cut the very sinews of the confederacy that had been instituted against her. England would have naturally become a partner in the treaty, and the most excellent consequences for the benefit of mankind might have ensued.

It had indeed a shew of ancient spirit and freedom when the legislature

are decreed, that they could not fight with an enemy who appeared with arms, till he had totally evacuated their country. But this was not heroism; it was tinsel and not gold; and these absurd imitations of human sentiments and achievements can easily foresee will prove the shame of France. True heroism is the fruit of wisdom, and consults the happiness of those for whom it is interested. To save the lives of men, and to lessen the sum of human calamity; to divert the attention of the nation from war and contest, to the arts of peace, and the useful occupations of agriculture and commerce, would have conferred substantial glory on the representatives of France.

The conferences therefore between the generals, from which so much was expected, ended only in the retreat of the Prussians, who were soon after followed by the armies of Austria and Hesse Cassel. The first post abandoned by the Prussians was the pass of Grand Pré; this was on the 30th of September. On the 1st of October, Clermont was also evacuated; and the Prussians decamped from their strong and fortified position on the heights of La Lune, where the French found upwards of 300 barrels half eaten. The retreat of the enemy was slow, encumbered as they were with sick, and wasted with want and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun—It has been insinuated, that more than once general Dumourier might have interrupted their progress, and even possibly might have made prisoners of both the king and the general; and it has from this circumstance been surmised, that a secret treaty existed between the generals. It must however be remembered, that the French army was still inferior in

number to the enemy, and the general was perhaps impressed with the consideration of how much he must risk by a defeat at this important crisis.

It does not appear that the Prussians in their retreat made any considerable halt at Verdun; and the garrison which they had stationed there, surrendered on capitulation to general Dillon, on the 12th of October. The Prussian commander at this place had some very free conversation with general Dillon, in which he intimated the strong desire that his master had for peace and amity with the French nation; and in a previous conversation between the duke of Brunswick, general Galbaud, commander of the French artillery, and some other officers, the same sentiments were strongly expressed by the duke, who virtually disavowed the whole substance of his manifestoes.

Nothing can more clearly evince the weakness and folly of the court of Berlin, than this vacillation of sentiment. On his first determination to retreat, the king of Prussia reproached in the severest terms the French princes, and the Austrian general Clairfait—He told them, “they had deceived him grossly, and that he would remember it to them to the end of his existence.” On this variableness and uncertainty of conduct, it is impossible to think with respect. A monarch spontaneously, and without provocation, engaging in a war avowedly on a principle contrary to all that has ever been considered as sacred by the rights of nations—a war on the independence of a neighbouring state; and breathing nothing but denunciations of vengeance and cruelty against that nation; and yet in so short a time avowing sentiments so extremely opposite—Now anxious only

only for war; next soliciting peace; and afterwards engaging in war again. It is impossible to annex sentiments of respect or approbation to such conduct.

Another serious cause of blame which has been laid to the charge of the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick, is the cruel distinction which they made in their cartel for the exchange of prisoners between their native soldiers and the emigrants. By the exception of these brave, though perhaps mistaken men, several of them were actually given up to the slaughter; and whatever right the French might have to consider them as rebels, still the king of Prussia had accepted them as *soldiers*, and they were under his protection.

The re-capture of Longwy followed that of Verdun on the 22d of October, on which day it was taken possession of by general Valence, though in fact the capitulation was signed on the 18th. The Prussian army immediately evacuated the territories of France; and the country was solemnly proclaimed to be no longer in danger. General Dumourier had for some time been absent from the army; his active mind was occupied with still bolder projects, in the execution of which we shall have speedily to follow him.

The conduct of the Prussians and Austrians, during their invasion of France, was not unexceptionable. The rigid discipline of the cane and the scourge served indeed to keep within the boundaries of military obedience the wretched and passive instruments of despotism, the human machines: but the plunder of enemies, even though unarmed and defenceless, is, it seems, no infringement of the articles of war. The contributions levied by the duke of

Brunswick, upon the credit of not payable by the king of France when he should be re-instated in his functions, are sufficiently notorious and have been characterized by a distinguished orator of the British senate as a species of *swindling*. The harsh treatment of M. George who had been a member of the constituent assembly, and afterwards engaged in a respectable civil employment, was a pitiful revenge, and the puerile reproaches made him by the duke of Brunswick were still more contemptible.

But the unfortunate villagers of the Vosges were treated with a severity inconsistent utterly with what has been termed civilized war. Though situated on a mountain, and well calculated to form a post of some strength, still its fortifications were in such a state, that it would have been folly in the inhabitants to have attempted to resist an army. Having however been greatly harassed by detached marauding parties of the enemy, the villagers resolved to defend their property against such parties in future, though not to resist regular summons. The next detachment therefore which came in this irregular manner, was very bravely repulsed; but immediately returning with a strong reinforcement, the peasants, after a gallant effort, were compelled to submit. *As they were not dressed in the uniform of soldiers*, these brave men were judged to be exempt from the laws of war. They were dragged to the head-quarters, tied to the tails of horses; and before they were carried away, were compelled to look fire to their dwellings with their own hands, by which much property and several lives were destroyed. A mother threw herself at the feet of the barbarous conquerors, and implored permission to carry with her

two infants. Her intreaties were disregarded, and the unoffending babes perished in the flames.

Of all these tribes of plunderers, however, none were equal to the Germans in dexterity, adroitness, or the extent of their depredations. These devoted slaves, who are actually sold like the negroes on the coast of Africa to the best bidder by their rapacious chiefs, seemed to carry with them to the war, all the dispositions incident to a state of slavery. Plunder was their sole object, nor could any thing deter them on any occasion from the pursuit of it. Wherever they came, like a swarm of locusts, they left a barren wilderness behind them. Every thing that could be removed, or that was of the least value, was carried away. Not only the money and the plate, but but even the cloaths and furniture of the inhabitants were purloined. They stripped without mercy the miserable emigrants themselves, and plundered the nobility of France, who served in the combined armies, with as little remorse as those whom they denominated rebels. These poor men indeed saw their error too late, and found themselves equally the prey of those who pretended to arm in their defence, and of those from whose atrocities they fled.

The conduct of the French soldiery was in general much more respectable in this instance; they abstained religiously from plunder, and as they endured the want of every necessary with fortitude, were cautious of injuring the rights of others. Their political fanaticism, however, sometimes betrayed them into shocking excesses, the most flagrant instance of which occurred at Rhétel in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being stationed at that place, four de-

serters from the Prussian army came to offer their services, and were received by the officers. In the course of the day, however, some dispute arose between these men and some of the soldiers, when an alarm was instantly spread among the volunteers, that they were not Prussians, but emigrants and spies. With that fatal precipitation which in so many recent instances has characterised the French nation, the rest of the soldiers immediately seized these unhappy men, and in defiance of their officers, in defiance of justice and intreaty, cut them to pieces.

General Demourier on this occasion gave a salutary example of proper severity. He degraded the two battalions, stripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions, with a returning sense of honour, acknowledged the justice of the sentence; but intreated that instead of being broken they might be sent upon some service of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime; and of their own accord delivered up to the sentence of the law ten of their body, who were at once the causes and the agents in this horrid transaction.

The sieges of Thionville and Lille are conspicuous circumstances in the history of this campaign. The former is a small but strong fortress, and was entrusted to the command of general Felix Wimpfen, whose reply to the summons of the Austrian general was, "You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another, but you cannot burn the ramparts." It resisted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was said to amount to 28,000 men; and which in several successful sallies the besieged

sieged frequently, harrassed and distressed. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garrison and commander received all the honours and applause which a grateful country could confer.

The city of Lisle was threatened early in September, and on the 23d the electors of the department of the north who were assembled there, transmitted a public act to the legislative body, in which they swear, that "they would be buried under the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their post." As the possession of this city was considered by the Austrians as of the utmost importance to their views, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. On the 29th the duke of Saxe Teschen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna on this important command, summoned the town to surrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The answer of the council general of the commons was at once modest and spirited: "We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves." On that very day the Austrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed for upwards of a week to that quarter, which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was evidently, that by distressing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and seditious, and induced to rise upon the magistrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was disappointed; for on the contrary, inspired with a degree of uncommon heroism, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried

into the great square and hung upon the tree of liberty; and at the same time passed a resolution, that whoever presumed to remove them from the purpose of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. This spirited resolution the citizens of Lisle supported with (what should always accompany true patriotism) order, and discipline. They formed themselves into seven companies, to each of which was assigned its proper functions and station. Every precaution was taken to prevent mischievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were constantly employed in knocking out the fuses to prevent the explosion. The city, however, was soon reduced to a heap of ruins, and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their residence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars which were formed into a kind of casemates, by the immensity of rubbish heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almost all destroyed; but the valour, patriotism, and virtue of the inhabitants increased with their distress, and as soon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devastations of the artillery, it was hospitably incorporated with another. To the 6th of October at noon, the firing was incessant; shells, red-hot balls, and every instrument of destruction, was showered upon the devoted city. The princess Christina, sister to the duke of Saxe Teschen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant spectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conquest. It is even said, that the princess herself applied the match to some of the engines of destruction. As the garrison was too small to waste its force in sallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its

courage, and indefatigable assiduity are beyond encomiums: and Marshal Rault, the commander, deserves to be recorded with every mark of respect. It is computed that the Austrian batteries fired upwards of 10,000 red-hot balls, and 6000 bombs upon the city, exclusive of the fire of one of the finest battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithstanding this, the loss of lives was not great; so formidable an appearance, and so little destruction in reality, is artillery. The whole loss of both garrison and people did not exceed 500, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Austrians had flattered themselves with being able to maintain this post, should they have succeeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithstanding the retreat of the combined armies: but finding themselves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the 7th and 8th of October they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised.

The arms of France, at this period, were victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hostile to the revolution. He had been among the first to encourage and assist the emigrants; he had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz; he had arrested the French ambassador on the frontiers, on pretences allowed afterwards to be groundless; he had increased his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortresses of Montmélian with troops; and after the affair of the 10th of August he had held a congress of the foreign ministers, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. That plan was, however, deferred. It was upon these reasons that the national assembly, on the 16th of September, declared war against the king of

Sardinia; and about the 20th, general Montesquieu entered the territories of Savoy. He describes his march as "a triumph"—He was every where received with joy, and troops flocked to his standard from every part. A deputation from Chambery waited on him almost as soon as he passed the boundary, and on the 21st he proceeded with a detachment to take possession of that city. The municipality waited for him at the gate in their dress of ceremony to deliver up the keys; and testified, in warm terms, the esteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the Hotel de Ville, he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them all to an entertainment he had prepared for the purpose. As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the custody of their own town guards, a circumstance which was received with every expression of satisfaction by the citizens: the whole country of Savoy submitted without resistance.

With another body of troops general Anselm (who had been bred an ecclesiastic, but quitted the profession for that of arms) crossed the Var, and on the 29th of September, being supported by admiral Truguet with nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, which was evacuated by the Piedmontese garrison on the appearance of the French. With the city of Nice, the fortresses of Montalban, and Villa Franca, and indeed the whole country of Nice, submitted to the conquerors. General Anselme on his first arrival was extremely popular among the Piedmontese, and they appeared disposed in every respect cordially to unite with the French republic.

Whether from the imprudence of the general, or from the want of discipline in the soldiers, it is not easy

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to determine, but the grossest excesses, were soon after committed; the French name was disgraced, and the nation rendered odious in that quarter. The consequence was, that general Anselme was dismissed from his command, and afterwards committed to prison, where, if we are not mistaken, he still remains.

An instance of severity in admiral Truguet, which was indeed justified, in some degree, by the laws of war, and by a gross provocation, contributed also to injure the popularity of the French cause in the territory of Sardinia. On the 23d of October the admiral arrived in the harbour of Onaglia, and having prepared a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to a union with the French nation, he sent it by captain Duchayla under a flag of truce, to be presented to the magistrates. The admiral followed the boat, which proceeded with the flag of truce alone, and ordered the other vessels to keep studiously at a distance from the shore. The people, at first, appeared to receive the boat with demonstrations of friendship, but at the moment captain Duchayla was preparing to address them at a small distance, they assailed it with a shower of musketry, by which the aide camp of marshal Lahouliere, who accompanied captain Duchayla, two midshipmen, and four seamen were killed, and the captain himself, and adjutant general Lacouversiene wounded.

The magistrates affected to excuse themselves; but their apology not proving satisfactory to the admiral, he prepared to take an ample and indeed a cruel revenge. As soon as the boat was out of danger, he ordered his squadron to drop their anchors, and cannonade the town—

At the same time it was attacked by land, by marshal Lahouliere, and being taken by storm, was surrendered to a general plunder, and afterwards set on fire in different places.

To conclude our narrative of the operations of the southern armies it will be necessary to revert to general Montesquieu, and to relate his transactions with the republic of Geneva. The conquest of Savoy by the French spread an instant alarm over the neighbouring states, and the aristocratic faction in Geneva in particular felt no inconsiderable portion of uneasiness. From the other Swiss cantons this party demanded a garrison of 1600 men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears some reason to suspect that the executive council of France were not indisposed to take possession of this flourishing republic; and, with or without reason, for the affair has never been satisfactorily explained, pretended to be offended by the admission of the Swiss garrison. Montesquieu, by their orders, presented himself before the city. The aristocracy became immediately alarmed; they extended the olive branch to the French general, and the dispute was terminated with apparent equity, on the one side, by the dismissal of the Swiss garrison, and on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic.

The democratic party in Paris could not easily forgive this concession in their general. Montesquieu was suspected, and even accused of having received a bribe; and soon after, various charges of peculation being exhibited against him, to save himself

himself from destruction, or at least from the humiliation and risk of a trial, he left the army and escaped into Switzerland.

The conquests of Custine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were not less brilliant than those of his colleagues. It was with considerable difficulty, from the badness of the roads, and the quantity of rain, that he could collect his army at Landau by the 29th of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spire, which he reached on the following day. He found the Austrians drawn up in order of battle before Spire, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms, a ravine before them, and their left extended among some gardens surrounded with thick hedges. In this position the general did not hesitate to attack them, and soon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having tried for a short time to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardour of his troops, general Custine proposed to cut them down with axes, and the proposal was eagerly received by the soldiers. The gates were speedily demolished, and the French rushed into the town with their usual impetuosity; but the enemy, who had taken possession of all the adjacent houses, commenced a heavy and destructive fire upon them, almost as soon as they entered. Fortunately general Custine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the columns some howitzers and eight pounders, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in some degree disordered at first by the violence of the discharge of musquetry, &c. from the houses. The Austrians had, however, apparently no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately retreated,

and left Custine master of the city. The French on this occasion took upwards of 3000 prisoners, besides a great quantity of cannon, howitzers, &c.

The capture of Worms by M. Neuvigner, with a detachment from Custine's army, immediately succeeded that of Spire, and the movements of the French were so rapid, that the enemy had not found it possible to remove their stores; an immense quantity therefore of every kind was found in this place. M. Custine laid the bishop, the chapter, and the magistrates, under a heavy contribution: the loss of the Austrians in men was also considerable.

On the 19th of October, in the midst of heavy rain, general Custine by forced marches arrived before Mentz. The state of the fortresses, he reports, was previously well known to him; and the garrison amounted to about 6,000 men. On the 20th he summoned the governor to surrender, who answered that he meant to defend the town, but requested till the 21st to consider. In the mean time the garrison never ceased their fire; but to end it, M. Custine again wrote to the governor; a capitulation was agreed upon, the chief article of which was, that the garrison should not serve in the war for the space of one year; and on the 21st the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Frankfort fell into the hands of this victorious commander on the 23d of October. In consequence of the protection and assistance which this city had granted to the emigrants, M. Custine thought proper to impose on the magistrates a fine of 1,500,000 florins; but on their representation he was afterwards induced to remit the 500,000.

The successive capture of three
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places, of such considerable strength and importance, in so short a space of time, is almost without example in the history of military affairs. The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblenz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty: in this daring project, he complained that he had been disappointed by the tardiness and inactivity of Kellerman. He wished that general to pass the Sarre and the Moselle, directly to Treves and Coblenz, and to leave a small party to watch the motions of the Prussians in their retreat. Kellerman however vindicated himself by stating, that after Dumourier left him, he had no more than 15,000 men under his command, and Valence not more than 14,000; the Prussians amounted to upwards of 55,000 men, and consequently general Kellerman was neither able to penetrate such a body, nor did he think it safe to leave the French territory again open to their incursions.

The general, disappointed in this favourite measure, still proceeded to extend his conquests in the dominions of the prince of Hesse. By the union of the Prussians with the Hessians and Austrians, however, a check was put upon his career before the termination of the campaign. On the 2d of December the Prussians appeared before Frankfort, the gates of which were treacherously opened to them by some of the populace. Most of the French garrison, to the amount of 1,300, were massacred, and several who had been taken prisoners were sent the next day to Mentz with their hands cut off: this diabolical action was committed by Hessians in the disguise of peasants. After the surrender of the city, a smart action took place between the two armies, in which that of the

Prussians amounted to 50,000, and Custine's to only 23,000. The French however maintained their ground from one o'clock till three, when they retired to a wood, whence they were able to annoy their adversaries, and to keep them in check. It may not be improper to add, that this is the only considerable reverse of fortune general Custine experienced, and that he long maintained his ground at Mentz, which endured a blockade of several months.

Perhaps the whole history of mankind scarcely includes a picture so striking, of the surprising effects resulting from the enthusiasm of liberty, as the state of France at this moment presented. Actuated by this spirit, the hasty levies of undisciplined peasants, were at once converted into regular armies. Battalions, composed chiefly of beardless boys, chaled from the field the disciplined legions of Germany and Prussia; and though checked by no military system, no code of war, no regularly appointed authority, this principle alone was sufficient to retain them in order and subordination. Even the female sex partook in the general patriotism, and many of them proved equal in courage and conduct to the bravest of ours. Not only the sister of general Anselme and the two miss Fernigs, who served as aids de camp to general Dumourier, but many others of the French women distinguished themselves by the most heroic exertions; and even the artillery was frequently served by female patriots, who, regardless of natural or habitual weakness and imbecillity, by their spirit and activity compensated for the want of that force and vigour which has hitherto been exclusively attributed to men.

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings of the French Legislature. Decree concerning Divorces censured. Meeting of the National Convention. Its Character. Abolition of Royalty. Decrees relative to the Establishment of a Republic on the Basis of Equality. Proposal of Manuel for abolishing religious Establishments rejected with Contempt. Abolition of the Titles of Monsieur and Madame. Dissolution of the Tribunals. Incorporation of Savoy with the Republic of France. Ill Treatment of the Generals. Convention divided into Factions. Accusation of Robespierre and Marat. Decree against the Emigrants. Decree of Fraternity. Victorious Career of Dumourier. Action at Bossu. Battle of Gemappe. Capture of Mons. Action at Anderlecht. Triumphant entry of Dumourier into Brussels. Reduction of Tournay, Malines, Ghent, Antwerp, Louvain, and Namur. Invasion of Liege. Action near Tirlemont. Conquest of Liege. Subsequent Distresses of the French Army, and Treachery of the War Minister. Negotiation of Dumourier for an Alliance with England. Rejected. Reflexions on the present State of Europe.

WHILE the French, as patriots and soldiers, must attract the admiration of the historian, their inability and weakness as legislators cannot fail equally to excite his contempt and surprize. One of the last acts of the legislative assembly calls for the reprobation of every man who has a regard to good morals or social order. It was to legalize adultery, to authorize a community of women, by a law which enables the ordinary tribunals to pronounce a sentence of divorce between any married couple, not only on mutual agreement, but on the application of either party, alledging simply as a cause, incompatibility of humour or character. The female children were directed by this decree, to be entirely confided to the care of the mother, as well as the males, to the age of seven years, when they were again to be recommitted to the superintendence of the father: provided only, that by mutual agreement, any other arrangement might take place with respect to the disposal of the children; or arbitrators might be chosen from the nearest of kin to deter-

mine on the subject. The parents were to contribute equally, however, to the maintenance of the children in proportion to their property, whether under the care of the father or mother. Family arbitrators were to be chosen to direct with respect to the partition of the property, or the alimentary pension to be allowed to the party divorced. Neither of the parties could contract a new marriage for the space of one year.

The confusion, the litigation, the domestic contests, and the fatal jealousies, that such an arrangement must produce in families, might have been sufficient to deter men of any information or judgment from so pernicious a measure; but these are small evils in comparison with the perversion of the moral principle, which must necessarily ensue, the effeminate, luxurious and profligate habits, that must follow this unrestrained gratification of the animal propensities. Men conversant in history might have known that the law of polygamy has enervated the whole Mussulman empire; has rendered its subjects incapable of vir-

tue or liberty; and that this very law of divorces was the immediate cause which overthrew the republic of Rome.

We have already intimated how inferior this assembly was in character and ability to that which had preceded. Its characteristic, however, was rather weakness than dishonesty. The majority was undoubtedly composed of men who meant well to their country; but unfortunately, by the intrigues of the Jacobins, the influence of the Paris mob, and the activity of the republicans themselves, a small faction of anarchists and levellers became in the end the ruling party. Had the assembly in time taken the decisive step to decree the removal of the king and the legislature from the factious metropolis, they might still have continued their labours with profit to their country, and honour to themselves. After the fatal 10th of August, the assembly acted entirely under the controul of the populace. The galleries, and not the benches, decided every question. Vaublanc, Dumas, and all those who united integrity with respectability of character and coolness of understanding, were silenced or expelled, and the suspension of the king was followed by a suspension of the whole collective wisdom of the nation.

On the 20th of September, the Convention met; but if there was reason to complain that the legislative assembly was inferior in respectability to their predecessors, it was with grief and apprehension that men of sense and reflexion observed the national convention composed of the refuse of both. Petion, Robespierre, and a few of the most violent and least respectable of the constituent assembly, were rechosen on this occasion; and Danton, Cha-

bot, Merlin, and others equally without property, rank, or character, were selected from the present legislature. Foreigners were invited to become representatives of France, and unfortunately they were invited, not for the extent of their abilities, nor for the reputation of integrity, but because they had been foremost in the career of republicanism, and because they had disclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the science of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited from England to represent one department; and a Prussian of the name of Cloots, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the cells of Bethlehem, was chosen to represent another. The department of Paris was, however, first in infamy upon this as upon every other occasion. There the prostituted Duke of Orleans (now distinguished by the almost ludicrous title of *Égalité*) was united with the infamous incendiary and assassin Marat, with the painter David, and with Legendre, who is literally by profession a butcher. Actors, news-writers, and men from almost the lowest ranks and stations, were mingled with the degraded remnants of the *ci-devant* noblesse, and with such of the clergy as had sufficiently laxity of principle to disavow their engagements with the head of their church. Justice obliges us to confess, that this heterogeneous mass included some men respectable for their talents, and some unimpeached as to their integrity. The brilliancy of Condorcet as a writer, does not however compensate for his evident inexperience and imbecillity as a statesman; nor do the metaphysical talents of the Abbe Sieyes appear

very happily adapted to the practical purposes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected together in a moment of political ferment, but little of wisdom, little of unanimity, little of moderation, could be expected. Their first movements were violent, hasty, and without deliberation; they soon split into factions, and disgraced the very name of a legislature by altercation, abuse, and even manual contest. At their first meeting M. Petion was elected president; M. Condorcet, vice president; and M. M. Camus, Vergniaud, Brissot, Lafource, and Rabaud, secretaries.

In order to preserve government and peace, the convention proceeded to declare, "that those laws which were not abrogated, and those powers which have not been suspended, should be provisionally preserved and supported; and that the taxes should be collected as formerly."

This business was scarcely terminated, when M. Collot d'Herbois, who had been formerly an actor, appeared upon the tribune, and reminded the assembly, "that there was one declaration which could not for a moment be deferred—viz. the eternal abolition of royalty in France." It was in vain that M. Bazire and other members intreated the convention to proceed with more dignity and deliberation in so important a question; it was in vain they urged the necessity of giving it at least the sanction of a discussion.—The abolition of royalty was voted by acclamation, and the house adjourned.

On the following day a series of decrees were passed, confirming this resolution.—All public acts were to be dated "The first year of the French republic." The state seal was to bear the inscription of the

French republic. All citizens were declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among the ordinary citizens. The distinction established by the constituent assembly between active and passive citizens, was abolished.

In the course of the succeeding sittings, the convention resolved "that the French republic no longer acknowledges princes; that therefore the *rentes appanagères* should be also suppressed." The word republic was also ordered to be substituted in the oaths and other public acts, in the place of the word "nation."

On the 27th of September, the pensions granted by the constituent assembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to cease, with an exception in favour of those above fifty years of age, whose pensions however were not to exceed 1000 livres (50*l.*) per ann. On this occasion, M. Manuel rose to propose, that, as royalty was abolished, the order of priests, and all religious establishments, should be abolished along with it. We must report it, to the honour of the convention, that his proposal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with disdain.

The rage of republicanism was however carried at this period to an unexampled excess of folly. With a puerility disgraceful to a great nation, the innocent and indiscriminating titles of Monsieur and Madame were abolished, and the awkward phraseology of citizen substituted in their stead. The crosses of St. Louis, which had been given to the knights of that order, were ordered to be surrendered to the state, not as patriotic donations, but as a restitution. The sudden dissolution of the judicial boards was a more serious measure, and appeared so dan-

gerous and rash to all persons in the least accustomed to order and government, that even Thomas Paine, who by his adversaries has been termed an anarchist in principle, deprecated the hasty adoption of the decree, and intreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, instead of releasing the nation at once, though for a short period, from the salutary restraints of law.

The conquest of Savoy afforded a temptation which the convention was not possessed of wisdom or fortitude to resist. Contrary to all their former professions of a disinterested zeal for the liberties of mankind, this injudicious and feeble assembly converted it into an 84th department, and thus by one false step lost the confidence of Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independence of France. The decree which renounced conquest, and which limited the operations of war to the simple principle of self-defence, was worthy of an enlightened age, and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honour of that body which enacted so just and politic a law. To depart from that principle, degraded a free people to the level of despotic states, and was at once the fullest proof of the dishonesty or the weakness of the national convention.

The incapacity of the convention, even to conduct the common business of a nation, was also soon evinced by their ungrateful and unworthy treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might be fairly said, had forfeited their confidence by adopting and avowing principles diametrically opposite to those on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government. But against Luckner there

was no specific charge. Yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the country; the most atrocious falsehoods were asserted concerning him; and finally, he was dismissed the service. General Dillon had agreed to an armistice with the prince of Hesse, at a crisis when these incompetent legislators (the majority of whom were totally ignorant of the art of war, and could not be acquainted with the particular situation of M. Dillon) chose to suppose that he might have made prisoners of the Hessians: for this he was denounced and accused, though he afterwards had sufficient address to procure a reversal of the decree. General Montesquieu was one day dismissed from his command, and the next day he was reinstated in it. In a word, such has been their absurd conduct, that they have scarcely left the republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer whom they can trust. Great care ought to be observed in investing an individual with the chief command; but when it is entrusted to him, a considerable share of confidence should always accompany it. No man will risk his life, his happiness, his reputation, without the prospect of a brilliant reward—and if, after the most meritorious services, a military character is to experience nothing but ingratitude and detraction, his views will soon be turned in an opposite direction to that of patriotism; they will soon be directed to self-preservation and private emolument, and he will think rather of securing a comfortable retreat than of exposing himself in a conflict where he has every thing to lose and nothing to gain.

The convention was scarcely assembled, when its peace was disturbed by the appearance of factions, the most disastrous to the country. On the

the 26th of September, Lafource denounced Robespierre, and Marat as aspiring to the dictatorship, and they were at the same time charged, and upon apparently good grounds, with being the authors of the horrid massacres on the 2d and 3d of September. It should be mentioned to the honour of the convention, that a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts relative to the massacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Parisian mob deterred them from prosecuting the inquiry, as strict justice demanded.

The minister of justice, Danton, gave in his resignation on being elected a member of the convention. Roland requested permission to do the same, but retained his office for some time longer, at the request of the convention. The statement of the finances by the minister, Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the various departments, and with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries.

The war minister, Servan, soon after resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

It would be an abuse of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to register decrees too insignificant to be remembered. Those which were enacted against the emigrants, are of more importance. On the 9th of October it was decreed, "That all emigrants taken in arms, should be put to death twenty-four hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all foreigners, who, since the 14th of July, 1789, had quitted the service of France, and entered into that of the enemy, should be considered as armed emigrants." The severity of this decree, was however exceeded by

that of the 12th of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed *reputed* emigrants, or those not immediately engaged in hostilities.

By a further decree of the 27th, those unfortunate emigrants, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the bosom of their country, were ordered to depart in 24 hours, and the penalty of death was awarded against such as should fail instantly to obey. Whatever apologies may be urged from the peculiar and critical situation of France, in favour of these decrees, they will scarcely be such as completely to satisfy the friends of freedom. The confessors of liberty, like the martyrs of christianity, should be rather prepared to suffer than to commit injustice. They should never permit a *principle* to be violated; and as their only object, their only plea, is the *happiness* of mankind, that happiness should not be invaded in a single instance, if possible, by themselves. The enemies of Gallic liberty have forced a construction upon this conduct which we should be sorry to admit, and have not scrupled to assert, that the property of the emigrants was the bait that seduced the convention to adopt too extensive a definition of the offence. No—Let us rather hope that the decree is the result of hasty resentment and temporary alarm. That a more enlightened legislature will in a time, when this alarm no longer exists, reduce its rigour, and receive with tenderness those inoffensive exiles, whose apprehensions, or whose principles, removed them from their country, but whose offences are merely of a negative nature.

Another decree it is necessary to notice, as it has excited more attention

tention than almost any other proceeding of the national convention, and has perhaps made them more enemies in foreign countries, than any measure which they could have adopted. We allude to the decree of *fraternity* of the 19th of Nov. The circumstance, in which this imprudent resolution originated, was an insurrection in the bailliwick of Darmstadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with the French nation. The people, headed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district, had declared their wishes to be united to France, and solicited her protection against their former master. To have acceded to the request, would have been acting agreeably to the law and practice of nations; but with their usual enthusiasm, and without deliberation, the convention, or rather the galleries, passed by acclamation a decree in the following terms.

"The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty, and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals, to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering in the cause of liberty."

A hasty error is not easily explained, and it was scarcely possible to maintain a shadow of consistency, and yet to explain this decree in such a manner as not to give offence to the neutral powers. The attempts to explain it, have been, if possible, more awkward and absurd than the decree itself; they serve only to shew that the convention are, in reality, ashamed of their own act, but have not the manliness to extricate themselves

from the difficulty, by a direct repeal.

That almost every government (and despotic governments more particularly) *do actually* take advantage of the disquietudes and insurrections of the people in other states, in plain terms *do fraternize* with them, is a truth that cannot be denied; but it is only the circumstances of the case that can determine a free state in the adoption of such a measure. A general law upon the subject was, therefore, the grossest of absurdities, and was liable to be, as it in fact has been, misconstrued. It was no less than a dereliction of their own principles, a folly of the most enormous kind; while the French people was suffering from the unjust principle of foreign nations presuming to regulate its domestic concerns, to countenance the interference by its own example!

When we censure these proceedings—are we the enemies of liberty or of France?—No! the cause of liberty is sacred in our estimation; but we can make a distinction between the *cause* itself, and the means which have been erroneously employed to promote it: the former is unimpeachable; the latter have been frequently deserving of censure. We wish sincerely, as Britons and as men, to see a *free* government established in France. We execrate the league which has been formed against her independence; in an interested view we regard that independence as essential to the balance of Europe, and as the best barrier to this island against the ambition of continental powers. But we see with regret in this instance, that it is not the heroism of a people that will save the country; but that wisdom in council is even more wanted than valour in the field.

Notwith

Notwithstanding the dissolution of all regular government, since the 10th of August, the country of France was in general more tranquil than could be expected in a season of anarchy. Happily the greatest atrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; we cannot, however, omit mentioning that in some instances the soldiery conducted themselves in a disorderly and ferocious manner. On the 9th of October the first division of the national Gendarmerie arrived at Cambray; and they were scarcely arrived before they proceeded to the prisons, and set at liberty all who were confined, except Canone D'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery; the 2nd division, however, who arrived on the 10th, cut off his head. The officers of the 1st battalion of volunteers, who were in garrison in the citadel, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent a communication with the soldiers of the Gendarmerie, but the 2nd lieutenant, Besambre, who was one of the most active in endeavouring to confine them to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. He was accused by his own soldiers to the Gendarmerie, who dragged him along the esplanade, and after stabbing him in several places, cut off his head, as well as that of a captain Gros, of the 6th Squadron of Cavalry. A general insurrection immediately succeeded, nor was it quelled without the most strenuous exertions, in the course of which the patriotic mayor incurred the most imminent danger.

We turn with satisfaction from the debates of the convention, and the ferocity of the populace, to the brilliant triumphs of Dumourier, and the humiliation of those despotic powers, who were the real authors of the calamities of France. The

historian might indeed, with unalloyed pleasure, record the victories of liberty over the supporters of despotism, did not the melancholy reflexion occur to cast a cloud over his exultation, that in these conflicts, the actual aggressor suffers least; and while the hateful oppressor experiences only the slight mortification of wounded pride, the wretched victims of his power are the real sufferers; the slaughter of thousands, the sighs of the widow, and the unavailing complaints of the orphan, mix with the shouts of triumph, and disturb the sacred festival of liberty.

On the 12th of October, general Dumourier repaired to Paris to concert measures for the winter campaign, and after a stay of only four days, he returned to the army to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Austrian Netherlands. From the period when the siege of Lisle was raised, the Austrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. Within their own territories, however, they determined to make a serious stand, and there they began to collect their scattered forces. The first resistance, which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Bossu, which is situated about a league from the since celebrated post of Gemappe. At this place the general represents the enemy to have taken an excellent position, but they were unable to withstand the excellence of the French artillery, and the ardour of the dragoons. The Austrians were in number from eight to ten thousand; and they had 150 killed and 200 taken prisoners: the French lost only 20. This action took place on the 4th of November, and the Austrians were so little in expectation of an attack, at that time, that the officers had just prepared a very splendid

splendid entertainment, which the French arrived just in time to take possession of.

From Bossu, Dumourier proceeded, early the next morning, toward Mons, and soon came in sight of the enemy, strongly posted on the heights of Gemappe. Their right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river; and their left by thick woods. Three rows of fortifications were observed one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, upon which were mounted nearly 100 pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore trusted to his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the ground was so infinitely in favour of the enemy, that he must probably have been defeated. Here the enthusiasm of the French character proved an excellent auxiliary to the skill of the general. The army, which was principally composed of young men, had been long ambitious of a close engagement. The general secretly favoured the design, but he restrained their ardour only in the hope of increasing it.

The French passed the night within sight of their adversaries. At seven in the morning of the 6th, a very heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, and continued till ten without much effect on the part of the French, which confirmed the general in his sentiments with respect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to pursue. As he went along the bottom of the line, the troops testified the utmost impatience to charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general however contented himself with ordering col. Thuvenot, adjutant general, to attack the village of Carignon (which was necessary, to enable him to assail Gemappe on that side) and at

the same time approaching the batteries, to produce greater effect.

At noon the French general determined on a close attack. The number of the French who formed for this purpose amounted to about 30,000, and the Austrians are computed at the lowest to have been upward of 20,000, three thousand of which were cavalry. The right wing of the French, consisting of the van guard, was commanded by generals Bournonville and Dampierre; and the centre by generals Egalite, Stetenboffe, Despolets, and Drouet. The infantry formed almost instantaneously, and the general presenting himself in the front of the line, the music, by a signal previously appointed, began to play the celebrated *Marfellois* song. The soldiers thus encouraged rushed impetuously on with shouts of "Vive la nation," and joining in the chorus of their favourite tune. The first line of redoubts was instantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy however advancing at this crisis, with a view of flanking the French, the general dispatched young Egalite to repel this attack, and supported him most opportunely by a detachment of chasseurs and hussars. At the same moment some disorder appearing in Bournonville's cavalry, general Dumourier rallied them himself, and in the mean time the left wing, which consisted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained possession of Gemappe, and the centre carried the second line of redoubts.

After a short resistance on the heights, the enemy, at about two o'clock, retreated with the utmost precipitation and disorder to Mons. The French in this engagement experienced the most obstinate resistance from the Hungarians, through whose ranks they could only force their

their way, by cutting down their opponents. The loss of both parties in this action has been differently estimated. It must have been great, for there has seldom been a field more obstinately contested; that of the Austrians must have exceeded the loss of the French, since an enemy who flies in the early part of the day always suffers considerably; but Dumourier probably over-rated their loss in killed and wounded, when he stated it at 4000, as he estimates his own at only 900; and the loss must have been more equal.

The business of this day served to inspire the Austrians with the same respectable opinion of French valour that was entertained previously, and acknowledged by the duke of Brunswick. Some signal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalite acquired much reputation; and such was the enthusiasm of all ranks, that Baptiste, Dumourier's valet de chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national guards, who had been repulsed.

The victory of Gemappe was decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general instantly summoned the city of Mons, which on the succeeding morning surrendered, and was taken possession of by general Bournonville. From Mons Dumourier proceeded to Brussels, which he entered on the 14th of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about 10,000 men, commanded by the prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a stand, but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Brussels. After a contest of six hours, in the course of which, the French general asserts, a number

of the enemy were killed, the Austrians followed their main army, and the general entered Brussels in triumph. The moderation and wisdom of Dumourier was equal in every respect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens that it was his intention carefully to abstain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A provisional legislative assembly was chosen, among whom were the duc d'Ursel, baron Walkiers, and other distinguished patriots. — It would have been happy for France, as well as the Netherlands, if the same system of moderation had continued to prevail.

It is a singular fact that general Dumourier had promised the French ministry that he would keep his Christmas at Brussels. This assertion, which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the state of the enemy, but was at the moment regarded as the extravagant boast of a vain-glorious man, was more than realized, for he anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks.

While these affairs were transacting, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint resistance by the Austrian general Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Ostend was entered by the French fleet, on the 15th of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur resisted for a short time, but the former capitulated on the 28th of November to general Miranda, and the latter on the 2d of December, to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, were subjected to the victorious arms of France before the conclusion of the year.

On

On the 18th of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Tschén, conveying a proposal on the part of general Clairfait for a suspension of arms during the remainder of the winter season. To have acceded to this proposal, and to have disbanded a part of the army, and put the rest into winter quarters, would have been wise conduct in the French, and was that, which there is reason to think the inclinations of the general would have led him to pursue. He however returned a verbal answer, "that he could only send general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and in the mean time should continue the operations of the campaign."

The active genius of Dumourier lost no time in following up his successes, but pursued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the 21st of November he proceeded with an advanced guard of 5000 men to Tirlemont, where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or 4000 men, on the heights of Cumplich. He attacked with his irresistible artillery this advanced guard, which was reinforced by 5000 men, but undertook nothing. At break of day on the 22d, the whole of the Austrians decamped from Tirlemont, after having lost in this action not less than 400 men. General Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont, and on the 27th overtook again, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the Imperialists, amounting to 12,000 men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them successively from six villages, and at last from an entrenchment. The conflict lasted ten hours, in which the Austrians lost their general Sta-

ray, an immense train of artillery, and five or six hundred men killed and wounded, besides innumerable prisoners and deserters. On the following day the French general entered Liege.

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man; a career perhaps unexampled in modern history, and which was only arrested by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. The first victories of this able general and accomplished politician were scarcely announced, before he was publicly slandered and abused in the convention, by the unprincipled faction of Marat and Robespierre. Under the influence of this party, the war minister Pache is supposed to have acted, and every criminal means was put in practice to distress and harass the victorious general and his gallant soldiers. While immense sums were voted by the convention, the army was destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided of mattresses or coverlets, or even of straw to repose on, these brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to sleep upon the wet ground; and some of them, to avoid the evils which must be consequent from such a situation, actually lashed themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept in a standing position. The soldiers were almost literally naked, without coats, without shoes; and their arms were destroyed for want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The consequence was, that numbers of them perished, and still greater numbers deserted, and returned home. The general's own words are strong, but upon the best authority we can warrant the truth of them—"To retard and crush my successes, says he, the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction, to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the

victorious

victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted, through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger!"

From this statement, it will be easy to account for the subsequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders. This however is a portion of history which belongs to our next volume, in the course of which we flatter ourselves we shall be able to present the public with some original information concerning the state of Europe, and particularly concerning the origin of the present war, which will elucidate some of the present political paradoxes, and will expose the motives and conduct of some who are least suspected.

While such was the criminal neglect of the armies of the republic, the infatuated convention was amusing itself with a petty and ignoble triumph over their fallen sovereign; and instead of uniting with firmness and patriotism against that combination of despots which threatened the extinction of their liberties, they were only active to dispute, and persevering to oppress. During the stay of general Dumourier at Brussels, he earnestly, through M. Noëlle, then resident in London, solicited an alliance with Great Britain. On what grounds this proposal was rejected, we have as yet no competent information — But whatever was the motive, it can never be sufficiently lamented, by the friends of liberty and humanity, that so noble an effort to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to insure the peace of Europe, and the liberty and happiness of France,

proved abortive. Had the negotiation of Dumourier been attended with success, the amiable and unfortunate Louis would have now been alive, and his family released from that state of humiliation and captivity in which they support on a miserable existence. Instead of being involved in a war (to say the least of it, unproductive of any good, with no determinate object for the interest of the nation) Great Britain would have continued to enjoy her commerce and prosperity uninterrupted; and would have been in reality the *ARBITRESS OF EUROPE*; a situation which will now be necessarily but unworthily occupied by *RUSSIA*, whose wary and cautious conduct in the war evinces unequivocally a design of profiting by the distresses of those powers who are more forward in this singular crusade.

It is indeed impossible to contemplate the state of the European world at this dangerous crisis, without the deepest anxiety. While we censure, as we have sincerely and severely, the conduct of France; still we cannot but deplore the horrid waste of war; we cannot but dread the successful ambition of those despotic powers, whose aggrandizement must be fatal to the happiness of Europe. Blinded by passion, and the dupes of humanity itself, men will not permit themselves to see the real object of the present contest—they will not see that it can be no other than an accession of territory to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, together with the annihilation of the only power in Europe, capable of opposing their inordinate ambition. However injurious the extension of French principles, and French conquests might be, we can scarcely view with less horror and detestation the increasing power of those states, who cannot,

as the French, *abuse* the name of *liberty*, because the word is eradicated from their vocabulary; whose settled creed is despotism, and the natural operation of whose government is tyranny and oppression. The present anarchy of France is indeed dreadful; but the evils of anarchy are momentary, those of tyranny are permanent. A wicked faction may seize for a while the reins of government, but if the people are animated by a spirit of liberty, it cannot long retain them.—The parties which have been successively predominant in France, have not long retained the power, because they have all been wanting in virtue and integrity. It would be a gross want of candour to suppose that there are no men of honour or ability in France, because the majority of the present convention has been iniquitous or unwise; it would be the extreme of injustice to charge on a whole nation the crimes of a faction. The heroic myriads who have devoted themselves on the frontiers in the cause of liberty and their country, is a sufficient reply to such an imputation; and however we may condemn the barbarity of a mob, or the dark policy of their leaders, it is impossible to peruse the narrative of the last campaign, and not to see that the French are a nation of patriots as well as of soldiers. In the spirit of true humanity we wish them the blessings of a good government, and the annihilation of those pernicious counsels by which the nation has been afflicted and disgraced.

With respect to our own country, whose constitution we venerate, whose welfare, from every motive of

affection and interest, must lie nearest our hearts, we are sincerely satisfied that we cannot more religiously fulfil our duty towards it, than in wishing most fervently the return of peace. Our commerce requires it; our finances require it; the preservation of our constitution, which can only be endangered by public distress, requires it. The soundest politicians that have directed the public affairs of this country, Barleish, Clarendon, Walpole, and Chatham, have all declared against continental wars, and continental connexions or alliances.—These have drained Britain of its wealth, and incessantly involved it in calamity and in blood; while the ungrateful house of Austria, the slave-merchants of Hesse, or the other petty despots of Germany, have been the only gainers. We can no longer consider France as formidable—Should she be able to resist the present attack of Austria and Prussia, it must be the utmost limit of her operations for a century to come; and we cannot on the principles of sound policy wish her totally annihilated in the scale of European politics—For what then is the blood and treasure of Britain lavished? The question, we trust, will be calmly and rationally considered by the people, as well as the ministers; and we are not without hopes that, in the course of our next annual publication, we shall have to congratulate our fellow citizens on the return of that wise and pacific system which has hitherto constituted the wealth, the happiness, the political consequence, and the real dignity of Britain.

P R I N C I P A L
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1792.

(A)

THE NEW YORK

COURT REPORTERS

IN THE YEAR 1892

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PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1792.

JANUARY.

1. **A** Dreadful accident happened lately at Clermont Ferrand, a town in France. A number of young persons were collected together for a private theatrical. They had chosen a large room in a ruinous house, occupied by a peasant. Having distributed a great number of tickets, the room was much crowded. Just at the moment that the representation began, the joists gave way, and the whole company, actors and spectators, fell together, 18 feet, into a cellar. Notwithstanding immediate assistance, 36 of the unfortunate people died on the spot; and of those who escaped alive, 57 had broken limbs, or were badly wounded.

Rome, Dec. 1. Prince Augustus, fifth son of his Britannic majesty, has been received by his holiness with the most distinguished respect. Yesterday, cardinal de Bernis informed his royal highness, that by express desire of the holy father, apartments were ordered to be in readiness for him in the Vatican; and a suite of superb rooms were accordingly prepared. But his royal highness politely refused the hospitable compliment, alleging the necessity he was under of making Rome his residence for a very short duration. He received an address, on Tuesday, from the Dominican friars, congratulating him upon his arrival in Rome. It was accompanied by an

elegant Latin oration, pronounced by father Le Pole, to which his royal highness returned a polite answer in the same language. Several other religious orders have also addressed his royal highness, each of whom, as their several sentiments dictated, added, to their complimentary congratulations, alternate allusions to the political situations of Great Britain and France at this present juncture. His royal highness is the first protestant prince who has been offered, by any pope, apartments in the apostolic palace; or who has received, upon arriving in Rome, public congratulations from the clergy.

Lisbon, Dec. 1. On Sunday night, the 27th ult. we had an extraordinary earthquake. The first shock was felt about twenty minutes after eleven, and consisted of five or six strong vibrations, so closely following each other, that they could scarcely be distinguished. After a pause of near five minutes, one very violent undulatory motion, that shook the whole house, succeeded, attended by a tremendous crash, which, after a rustling noise and several hisses, like those which proceed from a great mass of flaming iron suddenly quenched in cold water, went off with the report of a cannon. Meantime the streets were crowded with the multitudes flying from their houses, whose chimneys were falling about their ears. The bells of St. Roche tumbled in all

directions, and tolled in the most horrible sounds. After the first fright had a little abated, the churches were opened and soon filled with multitudes, to deprecate the mischiefs of 1755, and implore the divine mercy. Between six and seven, her majesty, with her household, set out for Belem, followed by almost every person of quality, who retired to some distance. So lasting was the consternation, that no business was done at the exchange, the custom-house, or quays. The theatres were shut, and all public diversions forbidden till further orders. Prayers were made three times a day in the churches.

2. The following hint, of importance to the owners and occupiers of lands, is given by Mr. Leyburn, jun. of Hunmanby. This gentleman says, that in order to prevent manure sinking too deep in low and springy meadow or pasture land, a sufficient quantity of the strongest lime that can be procured should be laid on it; that he has used Knottingley lime with great success; the quantity not less than six chaldrons to a statute acre, to be laid on the land in the winter season. In 12 or 15 months after, by putting a spade into the ground, it will be found that the lime is formed into a solid body, which will prevent manure sinking any lower than the lime, and consequently the lands will receive benefit so long as the manure will last. The lime should be laid in heaps till it be very wet, before it be put on the land.

4. A donation of 3000l. from an unknown hand is transmitted to the Middlesex hospital, for the purpose of establishing a cancer ward. There is no ward for that particular disorder in any hospital in Europe.

Ten thousand pounds bank stock has lately been presented to the Soci-

ety for promoting Christian Knowledge in the Highlands of Scotland. Isaac Hawkins Browne, esq. M. P. announced the donation; but the name of the donor is to be ever a secret.

5. Yesterday their majesties, the prince of Wales, the duke and duchess of York, the duke of Clarence, and six of the princesses, went to the new theatre in the Haymarket. Such was the curiosity on this occasion, that undescribable confusion and mischief ensued, and Mr. Smith, a gentleman belonging to the India-house, lost his life. The crowd had assembled at an early hour; in consequence of which, the street doors were soon opened to the lobbies. As soon as the lobby leading to the pit was full, by some means or other the door was shut: numbers continuing to assemble, who wished to get to the pit, supposed that the door had not been opened, as it was only five o'clock: when the usual period arrived for opening, finding the door shut, they grew exceedingly tumultuous, calling out, "Open the door! open the door! or down with the house!" The advanced guard arrived about this time, soon followed by the king's guard, who attempted to make way, and drive the people from the doors, but in vain; they were dispersed from their posts; some forced into the highway, and some under carriages; and, in the general confusion, several lost their bayonets and side arms. At six o'clock, the pit door was opened a second time; nor, till this period, would the multitude be convinced that the door had been opened before, much less that the house was full.—The unfortunate Mr. Smith was injured in the first attempt to get in; at the confined entrance he fell down, when the mob closed and trampled upon him.

6. Yesterday morning Mr. Holman, of Covent-garden theatre, ringing for his servant, on his not appearing to the bell, they found the man, on going into his room, dead in his bed. It appeared that he had taken poison, as a phial, with some remaining in it, was found by his bedside. It seems he had been insuring for some time past in the Irish lottery, and had gradually parted with every thing he had, and having nothing farther to hazard, thus, in despair, parted with life.

7. The West India merchants have voted a present of 500l. to captain Bligh, of the navy, as a compliment for services rendered while on the West India station. They have also voted a present of a handsome sword, value 200l. to captain Samuel Hood, of the navy, for saving, at the hazard of his own life, while on the West India station, the lives of three seamen, who were floating at the mercy of the waves, on a raft of timber. The captain himself left his ship in a very high sea, attended in the boat only by his coxswain, after an ineffectual remonstrance with the whole crew (none of whom durst venture), and with the greatest danger and difficulty picked the poor fellows up, and brought them on board.

9. The inhabitants of Hull, with a degree of humanity, which deserves to be recorded to their honour, lately entered into a subscription for the relief of the shipwrecked crew of the Swedish vessel Soldermandland, captain Nielson, which were carried in there by captain Barnes. Fifty-six pounds were collected, and applied to clothing and succouring these distressed foreigners. Near nine pounds were deposited for the support of one of them, whose arm was fractured, and who was removed to the infirmary.

Captain Nielson and his crew, the above man excepted, are returned to their native country, and, during their stay at Hull, expressed their warmest gratitude for the seasonable relief afforded them by their humane benefactors.

10. An enormous stone was last week discovered in the body of a cart mare, belonging to Bezaliel Angier, esq. of Colchester, which had died suddenly; it being two feet in circumference, and as perfectly spherical, as if turned in a lathe; the superficies was smooth and hard, but being penetrated, less hard within; its weight is exactly 14lb. avoirdupois; and these particulars have been sworn to before a magistrate.

14. On Tuesday, James McManus, one of the nightly patrol, was tried, at the Sessions-house, at Clerkenwell, for assaulting Ann Trunkett, and confining her for several hours. On pretence of searching Mrs. Trunkett for base money, he had pulled the clothes off her back, except her shift and under petticoat, and otherwise treated her with great brutality and indecency. The jury found the defendant guilty. And yesterday being again put to the bar, the chairman said: "Prisoner, as a peace officer, you ought to have known that you acted illegally; but, independent of this circumstance, the manner in which it was conducted was cruel in the highest degree. This unprotected woman you forced into a back room, and tore her clothes from her, even to her linen. It is one of the first duties of a peace officer to protect the unoffending subject from violence; but here you were the author of that violence yourself. In order to deter base-minded persons from such shocking enormities, the bench have determined to make you an example; you are therefore to suffer one year's

imprisonment in New-prison, and to pay a fine of 6s. 8d. to the king."

— Mr. Mainwaring then called Mr. Newport, the keeper, and said, "This man is not to be a turnkey, a waiter, or assistant-keeper. He is to be a close prisoner; and to have no other than the gaol allowance; and remember that this order be obeyed."

16. On Saturday morning between one and two, a fire broke out at the Pantheon in Oxford-street; but it was a little after twelve, when Mr. Tempie, the secretary to the opera undertaking, perceived a smell, which induced him to suspect some fire about the premises, and to order the watchman, who was constantly stationed there in the night, to examine the whole. No discovery resulted from this search, which was carried into every apartment of the house, except that occupied by the painters in the day-time, who had taken the key of it with them. Mr. Tempie and his family, the watchman, and a porter, were the only inhabitants of the building. Soon after one, the smell continuing to increase, another survey commenced, and a room adjoining to that allotted to the painters, appeared to be injured by the fire, which had then nearly destroyed the former apartment, and was become so furious, that these persons were only able to give the alarm and make their escape. The flames soon got to a great height, illuminating all the west parts of the metropolis, and were not much checked by what water the engines, when they arrived, between two and three, could throw in upon them. The walls of the building, which, by their thickness, prevented the flames from spreading to the adjoining houses, by their height made it difficult to project water over them. At length, be-

tween four and five, the roof, which was of wood and slate, fell in, and the immense column of flame, rising then to a great height, and continuing for several minutes, was a dreadful and sublime object. The fire continued to rage till between six and seven, and was not entirely extinguished at twelve o'clock on Saturday. The original building cost 60,000*l.* of which only 10,000*l.* was insured, viz. in the Westminster office; and, on the property, 5000*l.* was insured in the Phoenix. Happily no lives were lost, either by the fire, or by the falling of the dome; but the firemen had left the cotillion-room only ten minutes before the falling of the floor.

Plymouth, Jan. 27. Yesterday there was the most tremendous storm experienced at this port for many years. The tide was two feet higher than usual; the lower part of the town was entirely overflowed, and in many houses it was near 18 inches in the ground floors. The sea, which in the Sound was tremendously grand, made a clear breach over St. Nicholas's island, and at Fisher's Nose, over the lower batteries of the citadel, forming an object sublime and awful to a degree. A boat rowed through Tin-street with four oars, took cheese and gin at a public-house called the Noah's ark, and, after giving three cheers, rowed back into the Pool. The most remarkable thing which happened was at the Eddystone light-house, which, on the 28th of January, was visited by the boat belonging to it. The surf continuing very heavy, the boat could not land, and the men in the house threw out a bottle, which the boatmen took up. It contained a letter, and the contents describe the storm as dreadful indeed. For some hours before day break the sea several times made a clear breach of

seve-

several feet higher than the Eddystone light-house; over the lanthorn. At last a most violent sea broke in three panes of the glass of the lanthorn, though it is near half an inch thick. It is supposed to have been as great a storm as that which washed down Winstanley's Eddystone in 1703, which Mr. Pearse, who died here lately, aged 98, perfectly remembered.

F E B R U A R Y.

1. Advices received from earl Cornwallis says that he had defeated Tippoo Sultan on the 15th of May last, near Seringapatam, but that the setting in of the monsoons, &c. had obliged him to return to Bangalore.

2. Last week, the lords of session of Scotland delivered their opinions in the case of lord Daer, eldest son of the earl of Selkirk, against the freeholders of the county of Wigton and stewartry of Kircudbright. Lord Daer had been put upon the roll of freeholders of the stewartry of Kircudbright. The determination of the court was, that he had been improperly admitted there. They therefore ordered him to be struck off the roll, and found him liable in expences. His lordship had not been upon the roll of freeholders of the county of Wigton; and by this decision, cannot now be admitted there.

6. The court of king's bench have determined, that the act of the 32 Geo. II. chap. 28, which enacts, "That no person arrested or in custody, shall be carried to gaol or prison within 24 hours from the time of such arrest," does not extend to the case of a person taken in execution.

10. The increase of the brewery of this kingdom is prodigious. In the year 1790, six or eight barrels of that kind of porter which the London brewers call brown stout, were

sent out as a sample to Petersburg. The liquor proved so well adapted to the taste of the Russians, that last year the orders for that article were nearly 2000 barrels from one brewery alone, and the demand, it is supposed, will increase in a ten-fold degree. Poland also offers another extensive market for our brewery. Attempts are now making to introduce this kind of porter into that kingdom.

Oxford, Feb. 18. By a statement of the earnings and support of the criminals under confinement, and sentenced to hard labour, in our gaol and house of correction at the castle, delivered in by the committee of magistrates, at the last general quarter sessions, and by the bench ordered to be printed, it appears, that their earnings, during the last year, have been as follow:

By labour of different kinds in works carried on within the walls	-	297	10	8
Cash paid into the hands of the treasurer, for labour on the river navigation, and the repair of the Bottley turnpike road	-	91	8	7
		388	18	3
Total expence of clothing and maintenance		273	10	8
Balance		115	7	7

Hence it appears that the above balance has been derived from the labour of the prisoners, the county allowance for whose bread, during the same period, would have amounted to 122l. 16s. 7d. had they remained unemployed.

New York, Jan. 9. Yesterday the following resolution was adopted in the house of representatives of the commonwealth of New York, and

(A 4) sent.

sent to the senate for their concurrence.

"That in commemoration of the important and meritorious services rendered to this country by George Washington, whose character and conduct have triumphed in proportion to the difficulties they have encountered, and have attracted the admiration and respect of all nations where valour and virtue are held in estimation, there be procured, at the public expence, a full length portrait painting and marble bust, expressive of his person, and as far as possible characteristic of his talents.

"Resolved that the said painting and bust be deposited wherever the legislature shall deem expedient."

Philadelphia, Jan. 2. On Friday was presented to the president of the United States, a box, elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated oak tree that sheltered the Washington of Scotland, the brave and patriotic sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, by Edward I. This truly characteristical present is from the earl of Buchan, to whom it was presented by the goldsmiths company at Edinburgh; from which his lordship obtained leave to make it over to a man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and the only man in the world to whom he thought it justly due. Lord Buchan has, by letter, requested of the president, that, on the event of his decease, he will consign the box to that man in this country who shall appear, in his judgment, to merit it best, upon the same consideration that induced him to send it to the present possessor.

25. John Pendred Scot, esq. of Balligannon, in the county of Wicklow, has erected a machine, under the inspection of the inventor, a na-

tive of Scotland, for threshing and winnowing corn, which is so simple, and so excellently contrived, that by one and the same movement it separates completely, and throws into different receivers, the heavy corn and the light, the straw and the chaff, at the expence of less than one tenth part of the time and labour generally employed.

Dublin, Feb. 24. Yesterday Mr. Cuffe stated in the house of commons, that a member, in consequence of some words used by him in the course of debate, had been treated by a person out of doors in a manner highly derogatory to the privileges of that house. He then read some letters addressed by Mr. James Napper Tandy, through the medium of colonel Smith, to Mr. solicitor-general Toler, on account of certain alleged asperities used by him toward Mr. Tandy's name in in the course of the preceding Monday night's debate; which letter went to demand an explanation of such language, whether or not meant as a personal offence. An explanation was refused.

Mr. Cuffe having stated these circumstances, it was ordered, that Tandy and Smith should be taken into custody of the serjeant at arms, and brought to the bar of the house.

The serjeant at arms being called, informed the house, that he had dispatched three of the messengers to execute the order for taking into his custody James Napper Tandy, one of whom being brought to the bar, informed the house, that he went to the house of Tandy, in Chancery-lane, where he arrested the said Tandy, and shewed him the warrant and his authority; that the said Tandy went into a parlour, as if for his hat, but shut the door, and made his escape, as he supposes, through a window.

Re-

Resolved, *nem. con.* That James Napper Tandy having been arrested by a warrant of Mr. Speaker, issued by an order of this house, and having made his escape from the officer who arrested him, has been guilty of a gross violation of the privileges of this house.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That an humble address be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that a proclamation may issue for apprehending James Napper Tandy, with a promise of reward for the same.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That James Napper Tandy, having presumed to demand an explanation from John Toler, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general, a member of this house, of words by him spoken in debate in this house, and thereby, having attempted to violate the freedom of debate in this house, is guilty of a high breach of the privileges of this house.

Ordered, That his Majesty's attorney-general do prosecute the said James Napper Tandy for his said offence.

Dublin, Feb. 25. Colonel Smith, of the independent Dublin volunteers, the gentleman who carried the intemperate message from Mr. Tandy to the solicitor-general, surrendered himself to the serjeant at arms, made the *amende honorable* at the bar of the house of commons, on Thursday last, and was discharged, after a gentle reprimand from the speaker.

Yesterday a proclamation, by the lord lieutenant, was posted up in the city, offering a reward of 50l. for apprehending James Napper Tandy.

Dublin, Feb. 28. At half past five, yesterday evening, as the house of commons were in a committee, they were panic-struck by a voice from one of the ventilators at the top,

communicating the dreadful intelligence, that the roof was in flames, and the dome would fall within five minutes. The speaker instantly resumed the chair, and put the question of adjournment; the deliberative faculty of the house was immediately suspended: and every member escaped as he could with the utmost precipitation.

The fire increased with inconceivable rapidity; and in a few minutes the dome was completely concealed from view by a volume of flame and smoke. At half past six, all the combustible materials round the roof being consumed, and the copper with which the roof of that superb edifice was covered, being in part melted, and the rest reddened to that degree that usually precedes fusion, it fell in.

Every necessary precaution was used by the speaker to preserve the books and papers of the house. The fire-bells instantly rung, on the discovery of the fire, and every exertion was made to prevent its spreading. Happily these exertions were successful in preserving the house of lords. The mischief was confined to the house of commons, which is reduced to a heap of ruins.

Dublin, Feb. 29. Yesterday the members assembled in the coffee-rooms, as the house had been entirely destroyed by the fire of the day before.

The speaker said he was happy in being able to inform the house, that notwithstanding the dreadful accident which had happened, none of the records of the house were destroyed, except the roll which contained the signatures of the members, and which had been burned, with the table upon the floor, in a drawer of which it lay. He bore the most honourable testimony to the spirited and persevering exertions of the

the spirited and persevering exertions of the lord-mayor, alderman Warren, Mr. sheriff Norton, and the gentlemen of the college in particular, and to the military who attended in general. The efforts of the people of all descriptions were anxiously employed for the preservation of the building, and the protection of every article of importance; and their exertions had been crowned with a great degree of success in preventing any farther mischief than had occurred.

The attorney-general moved for a committee of enquiry into the cause of the fire; which was ordered.

[In the sequel it appeared, after a minute enquiry, that the fire was entirely owing to accident.]

M A R C H.

1. A severe shock of an earthquake was felt on Saturday last at Stamford, which lasted for several seconds; it was very sensibly perceived by a tremulous motion of the earth, and shaking of the houses, whereby they were greatly alarmed. The same account of it is given from Biggleswade, with the addition of the falling of some old houses, though no lives were lost. The shock reached as far north as Doncaster, and extended toward the sea coast of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It happened about half an hour after eight in the evening.

3. This day, the remains of the late sir Joshua Reynolds were conveyed, with great funeral pomp, from Somerset Place (where they had lain in state, the preceding night, by the express command of his majesty) to the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were interred in the crypt, close to the tomb of sir Christopher Wren. The pall was supported by the dukes of Dorset, Leeds, and Portland; the marquises

Townshend and of Abercorn; the earls of Carlisle, Inchiquin, and Upper Ossory; viscount Palmerston, and lord Elliot. Robert Lovell Gwatkin, esq. was chief mourner. The numerous company that attended (beside the royal academicians) were of the first distinction, and were conveyed in forty-two mourning coaches. The procession was closed by forty-nine empty carriages of the nobility and gentry.

Whitehaven, March 6. On the evening of Wednesday, the ground, in a meadow, part of the estate of Stanley, the property of the earl of Lonsdale, suddenly sunk to the depth of some feet, making a circular break on the surface. Immediately after, a torrent of water was heard, which appeared to rush out from various parts of the broken soil; and falling, as it was conjectured, into a receptacle which could not at that time be perceived, occasioned a tremendous noise, while the shrinking was evidently increasing upon the surface.

In the morning, the aperture exhibited the appearance of an immense funnel: it was yet enlarging, consequently no admeasurement could be made: but the computation generally agreed to, was from sixty to seventy yards in diameter, and thirty yards in depth to the vortex, the diameter of which appeared to be six or seven yards.

During this time, large heaps of earth were falling from the sides, and water gushing out in amazing abundance; the water also was sometimes forced up a considerable height above the vortex, as if from a *jet d'eau*; the whole presenting to the eye a scene of the most awful grandeur, while the ear was filled with the most terrifying sounds; often resembling distant thunder, as the deluge poured into the subterraneous workings of

of Scalegill colliery. The people employed in this colliery had quit-
ted their work a short time before
the sinking happened.

The aperture kept increasing for
several hours, still preserving its cir-
cular form, till a shoot of earth from
one part of its margin altered the fi-
gure in a small degree. It has re-
mained without any perceptible
change since Saturday, when a rivu-
let, which runs at a small distance,
was let into it by a trench, with a
view to prevent any farther shrink-
ing of the surrounding earth.

The ground, thus almost instan-
taneously lost, is one acre, one rood,
and twenty-four perches.

8. The queen of Portugal being
unhappily in a state of lunacy, the
effect of superstition, the Portuguese
minister has engaged Dr. Willis to at-
tend her majesty; and the doctor is
accordingly gone to Lisbon, attend-
ed by his son, and two experienced
female attendants. With respect to
the terms, the original offer was
20,000*l*. But the doctor conceiving
this offer to implicate a stay longer
than was consistent with his inclina-
tion, has accepted of 10,000*l*. which,
with 1000*l*. per month, forms the
total of his allowance.

Whitehall, March 12. The king
has been pleased to grant unto Philip
d'Auvergne, esq. captain in the roy-
al navy, his royal licence and per-
mission to accept and enjoy, for
himself and the heirs male of his
body, the nomination and succession
to the sovereignty of the duchy of
Bouillon, in case of the death of the
hereditary prince, only son of his
serene highness the reigning duke,
without issue male; to take from
henceforth the title of prince suc-
cessor to the said sovereignty, and
to unite the arms with his own, pur-
suant to a declaration of his said se-
rene highness the reigning duke,

dated June 25, 1791, whereby he
transmits, at the desire, and with
the express and formal consent of
the French nation, the sovereignty of
his said duchy of Bouillon, in case
of the death of the prince his son
without issue male, to the said cap-
tain Philip d'Auvergne (whom he
therein styles "Son Altesse Mon-
seigneur Philippe d'Auvergne, son
fils adopté) and the heirs male of his
body: and his majesty has also been
pleased to order the said declaration
and other relative documents to be
registered, together with his royal
licence and permission, in his college
of arms.—*London Gaz.*

[It is remarkable, that in the next
Gazette it was thought proper to
notice, as an *erratum* in the above,
the word *French* before *nation*; on
which account, the article was re-
printed with the omission of the
word *French*.]

In a New-York paper, an account
is given of the arrival of the snow
Elinora, at the Sandwich Islands.
The natives, according to their usual
custom of depredation, stole away
the cutter one night, murdered the
boat-keeper who was in her, and
afterward burnt him in sacrifice. On
being requested to restore him and
the boat, they brought his two
thigh bones and the keel of the boat.
Captain Metcalfe, the commander
of the Elinora, in revenge for this
treachery, some days after, when a-
bout 200 canoes were assembled
round the vessel, under the supposi-
tion that their villany was passed
over, fired a broadside among them,
which did dreadful execution; eigh-
ty people being killed, and upward
of 100 miserably wounded, who
most of them died. In this pro-
ceeding he was undoubtedly rash
and cruel; and it is probable that
American vessels, and perhaps Eng-
lish ones, touching in future at those
islands,

islands, may rue the effects of his hasty revenge.

14. In November last, an ingenious farmer, in the neighbourhood of Wendover, selected from a field of three acres of turnips, about 20 loads of the largest of them; from which he cut the tops and tails, piled them into a stack, and thatched them. In this state they remained till the frost in February, when they were opened and found perfectly sound and fresh, and afforded an excellent fodder for ewes with lambs, giving abundance of milk; and when thrown on meadow land, the feeding off, which must much benefit it, was without the least waste whatever. The whole expence of this process was not more than twenty shillings.

19. At Worcester affizes, George Payne, for riotously attacking the house of William Russel, esq. and Edward Skeet, alias Skirt, for attacking the house of Mr. Cox, at King's Norton, were capitally convicted. The latter is to be executed on Friday the 23d. At this affizes, the claimants on the Half Shire and Penshore Hundreds in Worcestershire, respecting the Birmingham riots, obtained verdicts as follows:

	Claimed.		Damag. given				
J. Taylor esq.	38	39	4	4	2700	0	0
Tho. Russell	285	11	7	7	160	0	0
Wm. Piddock	556	15	7	7	300	0	0
John Harwood	143	12	6	6	60	0	0
Tho. Hawkes	304	3	8½	8½	90	15	8
Benjamin Cox	336	13	7½	7½	254	0	0
John Wakeman	267	14	11	11	200	0	0
Dollox Chapel	98	9	0	0	139	17	6
W. Russell, esq.	2579	8	0	0	1600	0	0

Total 8511 14 3 5504 13 2

At Stafford affizes, James Astley, aged 51, and Ezekial Astley, aged 14, for feloniously taking from Mr. Grundy, during the riots, a sum of money, were found guilty, but judgment respited until the opinion of the twelve judges is taken.

20. On Tuesday, the 13th instant, the most horrid act of barbarity was perpetrated at the house of Mr. Vasey, called Rushcomb House, in the parish of Exford, near Exeter, that could enter into the mind of the most malignant villain. The wretch (who is a near relation to Mrs. Vasey) went into the stable, and, after mixing a quantity of arsenic among the oats, gave it to a team of fine horses, who all of them died the next day in agonies. Not content with this cruelty, the villain, on Saturday the 17th, at midnight, set fire to the house and stables in four different places; and, had not the cries of an infant awaked Mrs. Vasey, the whole family must have perished in the flames, which were so rapid, that Mr. and Mrs. Vasey, with their children and servants, had but just time to escape. The next morning, sir Thomas Ackland sent for Mr. Vasey and his family, to whom he administered every comfort their melancholy situation would admit of. The house, barns, and stables, are reduced to a heap of ruins. A reward of 100l. is offered for apprehending the offender, who is said to have been possessed formerly of 8000l. a year.

24. On Wednesday was offered at Goldsmiths-hall, to receive the standard or touch marks, an excellent piece of workmanship, to be presented by the Roman Catholics to John Mitford, esq. for his humane exertions to do away the penal statutes. It is a silver gilt cup, of twelve quarts, mounted on a circular base richly adorned with chase work. rising from this is a triangular pillar against which are three beautiful figures with their attributes (Faith, Hope, and Charity) in *alto relievo*. on the cap of the pillar is the body of the cup, on which there is an oval medallion, representing pure Faith.

Faith at her altar, trampling on the instruments of persecution, while the book of penal statutes is consuming in flames in the perspective. The handles are four serpents involved; opposite to the medallion is the inscription. Above is the cover, of the same *gusto*, surmounted with a Fame, in the attitude of proclaiming good actions.

29. This morning some dispatches were received at the secretary of states office, from Mr. Walpole, envoy at Lisbon, which were brought over in the Howe packet. They contain an account of the safe arrival at Lisbon of the Hanover packet, the 16th instant, with Dr. Willis and his son on board, to attend the queen of Portugal, who remained in the same situation as by the last accounts.

31. The following instances of longevity have lately occurred. Helen Gray, died in the parish of Monimail, in the shire of Fife, in the 105th year of her age. She was a little woman, and remarkably cheerful. Some years before her death she had a new set of teeth.

On the 10th ult. died at Auchinleck, Ayrshire, Matthew Taite, aged 123 years: he served as a private soldier at the taking of Gibraltar, by the British, in the year 1704.

A P P R I L.

3. The Thames frigate is arrived off Portsmouth with dispatches from the East Indies. She sailed from Tellicherry the 28th of December, and from the Cape the 2d of February. She brings an account of the Phoenix frigate, captain sir Richard Strachan, having taken, on the 19th of November last, after a well fought action, the *Resolu* French frigate of 32 guns.

Early in November, the *Resolu* arrived in the Mallee roads, and

failed on the 19th with two merchantmen, from the same port, which, it is conjectured, was a scheme to discover whether commodore Cornwallis would board the merchantmen under his protection; an unlucky experiment in the event; for, on seeing them in the offing, he made signals to the *Phoenix* and *Perseverance* to board them. They got under way, and chased to the northward, as far as Mangalore, before they came up with them. An engagement ensued, in which the *Resolu* struck, after having had 25 men killed and 40 wounded. The *Phoenix* had six men killed, and eleven wounded, including lieutenant Finlay of the marines, since dead. Commodore Cornwallis ordered the *Perseverance* to take the French frigate to a French port, and there to leave her, for the French to be at liberty to act as they please; the captain having refused to have any farther concern with his ship, as he said he had struck to the *Phoenix*. The two merchantmen, on being searched, not appearing to carry any stores contrary to treaty, was suffered to proceed.

6. At the assizes at Gloucester, an action was tried before Mr. justice Wilson, against the printer of a country newspaper. The action was brought under the act of Geo. III. chap. 36. to recover the penalty of 50l. for inserting the following advertisement in the paper, dated March 28, 1791: "A bank-note lost, March 24, 1791, near Sandford's mill, in the parish of Stonehouse, No. 4948. value 20l. Whoever will bring it to Mr. Eycott, shall receive five guineas reward, and *no questions shall be asked*. Payment is stopt at the bank." The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff.

Dublin, April 2. The following re-

resolutions were this day unanimously agreed to, at a vestry held in the parish of St. Catherine:

Resolved, "That 60l. per ann. be paid to the present Protestant curates of this parish, and their successors for ever, out of the estates of this parish, to be equally divided between them, as a compensation for the performance of early divine service on Sundays and festivals."

Resolved, "That a similar sum of 60l. per annum be paid to the present Roman Catholic curates of this parish, and their successors for ever, out of the said estates, to be equally divided between them; both payments to commence from the 25th day of March, 1792."

Warwick, April 5. This morning the court was crowded at an early period, to hear the trial of Dr. Priestley's cause. His principal evidences, for his furniture and wearing apparel, were his two sons and daughters; for his philosophical apparatus, the rev. Mr. Johnson, the rev. Mr. Berrington (the catholic), Mr. Galton, and Mr. Nairne, the optician; for his books, Mr. Payne, of the Mews Gate; and for his manuscripts, Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church-yard. The claim for these latter was 420l. 15s. Among them were memoirs of his own life, and diaries regularly kept by him since 1752. In about 9 hours, the jury returned their verdict for 2502l. 18s. being 1619l. 13s. 9d. less than Dr. Priestley's claim (4122l. 11s. 9d.)

The following is a statement of the verdicts obtained by the sufferers at this place:

	Claimed.			Allowed.		
J. Ryland, esq.	3000	0	0	2300	0	0
The old meeting	2177	0	0	1390	7	0
Dr. Priestley	4122	11	9	2502	18	0
J. Taylor, esq.	9831	13	10	7202	2	0
Mr. Humphreys	2195	5	0½	1835	11	0
Mr. Hutton, jun.	625	0	0	625	0	0
Total	21947	10	7½	15855	18	0

7. An instance has lately occurred of a person having been cured of a cancer in the lower lip, by the following application: The patient had undergone the operation of the knife under an eminent surgeon at York; but the complaint returning soon after, a friend advised him to apply leeches, and he followed this advice; and the three first which were applied, after sucking a considerable time, dropped off dead; a few days after, three more were applied. These died like the former, after remaining on some time. In less than a week he applied three more, which, after sucking some time, dropped off alive. This wrought a cure; and the person, who is a farmer near Westbury, in Yorkshire, is now living, and has had no return of the complaint.

Cambridge, April 9. The following extraordinary competition occurred lately at Cambridge: "The candidates for an university scholarship, the qualifications for which consist chiefly in classical learning, were sir Thomas Rivers, Mr. Malby, the nephew of the bishop of Lincoln, and a Mr. Smith. These gentlemen, after having been examined six days successively by the ablest men in the university, were held to be so equally qualified, that no decision could be given between them; and they were ordered to be mentioned with equal honour in the university books. But, though the honour might be thus divided, the scholarship was to be given only to one gentleman; and the want of money was, therefore, properly resorted to as a recommendation, where no other difference could be found. Mr. Smith was supposed to be the least wealthy of the candidates, and the scholarship was offered to him; but unfortunately, with a notice which offended his delicacy, that it

was offered for that reason. He could not be persuaded to accept it upon such terms; and the scholarship was adjudged to Mr. Maltby.

10. On Thursday was tried at York assizes, before sir Francis Bulmer, and a special jury, a cause wherein Mr. Briarly, attorney, of Tickhill, was plaintiff, and R. A. Athorpe, esq. lord of the manor of Dunnington, was defendant. The action was brought in trover, for a pointer-dog, which the defendant took from the plaintiff when not in the act of sporting, but which was kept as a house dog, and for defence, and was accidentally brought within the defendant's manor by the plaintiff, who was not qualified. The defendant justified the taking it, under the act 5th Ann, cap. 14, empowering justices of the peace, and lords within their manors, to take dogs from unqualified persons, to their own use, without being accountable. The jury found for the plaintiff 10l. damages, the value of the dog. By this determination, lords of manors, or their game-keepers, cannot enter houses, and seize dogs and nets from unqualified persons, which has heretofore been so understood, unless it is proved they are kept or used for killing game, previously to such seizure.

Birmingham, April 12. On Friday the inhabitants of Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire, were alarmed and distressed, beyond description, by one of the most sudden and violent inundations ever known. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, during a storm, accompanied with loud and continued claps of thunder, and the most vivid lightning, a water spout fell upon that part of the Lickey which is nearest the town. The pouring down of the cataract was heard at a great distance, and the body of water, taking a direction toward Broms-

grove, soon swept every thing before it, laid down the hedges, washed quantities of grain from barns and malt-houses, destroyed tanyards, and floated through the town a waggon loaded with skins. The inhabitants had no time to take the necessary precautions; almost in an instant the cellars and under kitchens were filled to the top, and every thing in them overturned. In a few minutes the water entered at the parlour windows, covered the counters of shops, and in the principal street it rose and continued upward of five feet perpendicular from the pavement. The horses, in some of the inn stables, stood up to their tails in water. This tremendous fall of water happened near the eleven mile stone, on the edge of the Lickey. It has beat the ground there (which is chiefly gravel) into small pits. At Bromsgrove, and the upper part of the Lickey, nothing more than a common fall of rain was experienced.

Stockholm, March 18. An atrocious attempt was made on the life of his Swedish majesty, on Friday the 16th instant. A person approached the king at the opera-house, and discharged the contents of a pistol into his body, a little above the hip. The charge appears to have penetrated to a considerable depth; and the surgeons have been able to extract but a very small part of it. His majesty slept little during the last night; and the fever, which began yesterday, increased this evening, so that serious apprehensions are entertained for his majesty's life. The assassin was arrested early the next morning.

His majesty yesterday gave orders for the publication of an edict, constituting a regency, which has already begun to act. It consists of the duke of Sudermania, count Wachtmeister

meister (the justice general), count Oxenstierna, baron Taube, and M. d'Armfelt. *Lond. Gaz.*

Stockholm, March 30. His majesty expired yesterday morning. The prince royal was immediately proclaimed king, by the name of Gustavus Adolphus; and the duke of Sudermania, in compliance with his late majesty's will, was declared sole regent, or guardian of the young sovereign, till he retains his majority, which is fixed at the age of eighteen. *Ibid.*

Copenhagen, March 20. The royal ordinance, abolishing the slave trade, is published, and the following are the two principal articles, viz.

1st, In 1803, all trade in negroes, in any shape whatever, is to cease on the part of Danish subjects.

2dly, Until 1803, it shall be permitted for all nations, without distinction, to carry negroes to the West Indies.

The above ordinance does not seem to have caused any stir in Denmark among the West India merchants, and it is thought it will not cause any in the islands.

12. The following extraordinary circumstance is mentioned in one of the country papers: "On the 24th and 25th ult. the lake of Horentoreen, near Killorglin, in the county of Kerry, one mile in circumference, totally disappeared, a cavern having opened and swallowed it in. This body of water has not yet disembogued in that neighbourhood, or any place that we have heard of. The lake was very remarkable for the quantity and goodness of the trout, not one of which remained, having all been precipitated into the earth with their element."

Dublin, April 17. Yesterday James Napper Tandy was arrested, by virtue of a proclamation from the privy-council, and carried before the

lord-mayor of Dublin, and several aldermen. On his being taken, he denied the authority of the proclamation, and when he appeared before the magistrates, they expressed a wish to have nothing to do in the business. The person who apprehended him, answered, that it was sufficient for him that he had done his duty in producing the prisoner; he should concern himself no farther in the affair, than to apply for the offered reward. On the recorder's being consulted, Tandy was informed that he was no longer a prisoner; he then wished to give in his examination against the person who took him, charging him with an assault, and having held him in false imprisonment. This was refused on the part of several aldermen, but at length it was taken by one of them. On Wednesday, however, he was again apprehended by an order from the house of commons, and being brought to their bar, and refusing to answer the speaker's interrogatories, was committed to Newgate; whence, however, he was liberated the same night, in consequence of the prorogation of parliament.

25. Dispatches are received from captain Edwards, of his majesty's ship Pandora, (who was sent out soon after the return of captain Bligh from the South Seas, in search of Christian, and the other mutineers who ran away with the Bounty armed ship), which state, that on the Pandora's appearing off Otaheite, two men swam from the shore, and solicited to be taken on board. They proved to be two of the Bounty's mutineers, and gave intelligence where fourteen of their companions were concealed on the island. A part of the Pandora's crew were dispatched in search of them, and after some resistance they were taken,

taken, and brought prisoners on board. Christian, with the other nine mutineers, had previously sailed in the *Bounty* to some remote island, and every exertion of the *Pandora* to discover their retreat proved ineffectual. On her return home, the *Pandora* struck upon a reef of rocks in Endeavour Straits. Her crew escaped from their perilous situation to an island in the Straits, except thirty-three men, and three of the *Bounty's* people, who perished by the boat oversetting. Captain Edwards was reduced to the necessity of sending one of his officers and some seamen, in a small boat, to Timor, which they were fourteen days in reaching, and where a vessel was procured, which proceeded to the assistance of the remainder of the crew, who were taken on board, and are, in all probability, by this time, safely arrived at the Cape of Good Hope.

So much had the mutineers of the *Bounty* conformed to the customs and manners of Otaheite, that when the two men of Christian's crew swam off to the *Pandora*; they were so tattooed, and exhibited so many other characteristic stains, that on being first received on board, the *Pandora's* people took them for natives of the island. The names of the above metamorphosed mutineers are, Peter Heywood; a midshipman; and Joseph Coleman, the armourer; the latter of whom, captain Bligh observes, "was detained by Christian, contrary to his inclination." See *Vol. XI. Page (10)*.

26. Yesterday morning, about two o'clock, a terrible fire broke out at a house of ill fame, the bottom of Virginia-street; Ratcliffe-highway; which consumed the same, and ten others. Five people are supposed to have perished in the flames. The captain of a coasting vessel, three

women of the town; and another person, are missing; one gentleman; a captain, whose foot slipped off a ladder, fell into the street, and died yesterday morning in consequence; another lies without hopes of recovery.

Savannah-la-Mer, Jamaica, Feb. 8. Yesterday died Flora Gale, a free black woman, aged 120 years. This woman retained her faculties till within three days of her death. There was not a house in that town when she came to the parish; and she had a perfect recollection of the earthquake in 1692, which proved fatal to Port Royal. She had a numerous progeny of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren: It is remarkable that she would never be baptised; and the reason always assigned was, that there might be a play at her burial.

M A Y.

1. Yesterday, in the court of king's-bench, Mr. Fox obtained a verdict for 195l. the amount of damages sustained by him in defending himself against the petition of Mr. John Horne Tooke, complaining of an undue election and return for Westminster; which petition a committee of the house of commons pronounced frivolous and vexatious. See *Vol. XI. Page (97)*.

St. James's, May 2. This day monsieur de Chauvelin, minister plenipotentiary from the court of France, had his first private audience of his majesty to deliver his credentials. *Lond. Gaz.*

5. A late ball given by lord Courteney, cost 6000 guineas. He had, among other rarities, 1000 peaches at a guinea each, 1000 pottles of cherries at five shillings each, 1000 pottles of strawberries at five shillings each, and every other article in the same proportion.

(B)

Dub:

Dublin, May 3. Yesterday bills of indictment were found by the quarter-sessions grand jury of the city, against Joseph Knight, who arrested Mr. Tandy, on Monday the 13th of April, in virtue of a proclamation issued for apprehending that gentleman, by the lord lieutenant. In consequence of this proceeding, the validity of a proclamation, such as the abovementioned, will be tried in a few days.

The same day the attorney-general moved, in the court of king's-bench, on the part of the king, at the prosecution of John Toler, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general, that the clerk of the crown may be at liberty to send up a bill of indictment to the present city grand jury, against James Napper Tandy, esq. for sending a challenge to the said John Toler, esq. when the court ruled it—*be it so.*

Stockholm, April 26. The punishment of Anckerstroem, the assassin of his late majesty, took place on the 19th, in virtue of the sentence pronounced the night before, which declared him deprived of his rights of nobility, and of a citizen, with infamy. He was conducted, on Thursday noon, under the escort of a large detachment of the garrison, to Rittenhaus-market (the market of the equestrian order), and fastened by an iron collar upon a scaffold during two hours, and afterward whipped with a rod of five lashes, at a stake, where, under his name, with the title of *regicide* added, was tied the pistol and the knife, the instruments of his crime. The same punishment was repeated on the 20th, at the hay-market, and the 21st, at the market of Adolphus Frederic. Yesterday terminated his existence, on a scaffold, erected in the great square. His right hand was first chopped off

afterward beheaded him, and then divided his body into four quarters, which are stuck up in different parts of the city. At the commencement of his punishment, he shewed much firmness; but his strength became exhausted from his sufferings; and he was dragged, being incapable of walking, to the places of punishment and execution, amid the hisses and hootings of the attending multitudes, which seemed considerably to affect him.

10. Yesterday an attempt was made to set fire to the house of commons, which was happily rendered abortive by the diligence of the watchman of the house. Between eight and nine in the evening, a considerable quantity of smoke was observed to issue from a privy, on the right hand of the lobby, directly under the offices for the clerks. The watchman communicated his suspicions of fire to Mr. Bellamy, the house-keeper, who immediately proceeded to search, and found, in a small closet, above the privy, made for the purpose of turning water into the closets above stairs, a pair of old breeches, containing combustibles, on fire, and in part consumed; a hole was made in the ceiling above the fire; and had not the discovery been made, a few minutes would have given success to the attempt. Mr. Bellamy, on the discovery, sent word to sir Peter Burrell, and to the serjeant at arms, who immediately ordered a search to be made into the other parts of the house, and into the building in Westminster-hall; but nothing further was discovered. After all, whether this was a real attempt to set fire to the house of commons, or a plan contrived for the opportunity of displaying an extraordinary degree of attention and assiduity, is a question with many; it being impossible to find out any object

object that an incendiary could have in view, by the destruction of this vast and venerable pile.

16. Yesterday, about noon, a dreadful fire broke out at Barton Stacey, near Winchester. Some people being at work in Mr. Moody's shop, smith and edge-tool-maker, a large flake of red-hot iron flew out of the shop window, and falling on some dry litter near a cucumber-bed, set it instantly on fire. This communicating to an adjoining mill-house, covered with thatch, where a horse was at work, the whole in a few minutes was in flames.

Every exertion was used to extricate the horse, but in vain. The poor animal, irritated by flakes of fire falling continually round him, and frightened by the flames, was in so dreadful a state of agitation, that he flew round with such impetuosity, that it was impossible to release him, and he was burnt to ashes.

These premises being situated at the northern extremity of the parish, the wind high, and blowing in a direct line with the street, carried the thatch from one house to another, till the whole village was in flames.

At one instant twenty-seven houses, thirteen barns, ten stables, several granaries, and four ricks of wheat, were in flames. A great number of waggons, carts, threshed and unthreshed corn, twenty-eight pigs, a great quantity of poultry, and all the furniture and property of great numbers of poor people, were burnt.

Happening in the middle of the day, only one life was lost, and that through obstinacy. Farmer Friend, at the age of sixty, perished in going up stairs after his money. He was supposed to have about four hundred guineas in a coffer, which he said he was determined to save, or perish in the attempt, which was unhappily his fate.

Two engines, one from Winchester, and another from Whitchurch, came to the assistance of the sufferers, but not in time to prevent the ravages of the fire, which completed its devastation in little more than two hours. About eight or ten houses remained uninjured, among which are the parsonage house, the farmhouse occupied by Mr. Courtney, and some cottages which stood out of the line of the wind. The principal loss is sustained by Mr. Courtney, and a very small part of the property destroyed was insured.

The dean and chapter of Winchester have generously sent 20*l.* and a quantity of bread, for the present relief of the unfortunate sufferers, who were obliged to take shelter in the church. Joshua Iremonger, esq. of Wherwell, and several other gentlemen, have also humanely extended their assistance toward their immediate necessities.

20. A very singular circumstance occurred at Kilrhys, in Cardiganshire, during the sale of the property of the late Miss Lloyd, who was lately murdered by a villain, who broke into her house. A gentleman became the purchaser of a chest for 20*s.* when, led by curiosity minutely to examine his bargain, he perceived that it had two drawers, behind one of which was secreted a japanned cup, containing 500 guineas, and a purse with eighteen guineas and two crown-pieces.

The whole premises, and all the furniture, had been repeatedly searched previously to the sale, from the knowledge that Miss Lloyd had a considerable sum of money in the house at the time of her death; yet about 200*l.* hid in different corners, was all that could be discovered.

The gentleman, much to his honour, returned the property undiminished, to the administrator; and could not be prevailed upon to ac-

cept the purchase-money of the chest, as a tribute to his inflexible integrity.

21. His majesty's proclamation was issued, this day, against seditious meetings and publications. See *Public Papers*.

22. The fine imposed upon the county of Essex, by lord Loughborough, was lately discharged, by the court of exchequer, in consequence of an affidavit of Richard Muilman Trench Chiswell, esq. stating, "That he is an inhabitant and a considerable freeholder in the county of Essex, and also an acting justice of the peace for that county; and that since the imposing of such fine, two sufficient rooms have been made and set apart in the gaol, one for the male, the other for the female prisoners who are sick, and that such rooms continue set apart for such purposes." Upon the reading of which, and upon the motion of counsel, praying that such fine might be discharged; and Mr. attorney general appearing at the time, and consenting thereto, the court of exchequer, in consideration thereof, ordered the same to be discharged. See *Vol. XII. Page (26)*.

Birmingham, May 23. One of the Oxford blues having died in consequence of wounds he received in a house of ill fame, in this town, the populace swore the destruction of all such houses. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday night, they broke the windows of some of them; and on Monday morning they entered them all in different parties, destroyed every article of furniture, tore down the wainscoting, &c. On Sunday night the magistrates read the riot act, and were, with the troops (the Oxford blues), parading the streets great part of the night. Seven houses of ill fame were completely gutted; and some others had their windows broken, and great part of their furniture destroyed.

The magistrates having been reinforced, on Monday afternoon, by three troops of the Oxford blues, they dispatched them, in every direction, to clear the streets. The mobs had previously been very outrageous, pelting the soldiers, constables, &c. with stones and brickbats. The troops, however, galloped through the streets, in a very formidable manner, pursuing the rioters through all the narrow avenues, and taking many prisoners, whom they lodged in the dungeon, which was guarded by a party of soldiers. This had the desired effect; and all was quiet. Considerable praise is due to the magistrates, soldiers, and peace officers, for their activity.

25. At a court of common-council, held this day at Guildhall, London, an address to his majesty, on account of the late proclamation against seditious meetings and publications, was unanimously agreed to. See *Public Papers*.

J U N E.

7. On Tuesday and yesterday very dangerous riots prevailed in Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, in which the watch-house there, a well constructed and handsome building, has been nearly demolished. The whole originated from the assembling of about forty servants of some neighbouring people of fashion, at a public house, to join in a dance on Monday evening, in honour of his majesty's birth-day. This, to certain over-zealous officers of justice, appeared an infringement of the peace, which they took upon them to put an end to, by proceeding to the house, taking the whole company into custody, and confining them all night in the watch-house. Next day, however, they were all discharged; but a few of the unfortunate people, who had been active in a riotous attempt at their liberation,

tion, supplied their place, and by the exertion of the military all is now quiet, not without some personal injury to a few, who suffered from repeated firings, which were deemed necessary to quell the tumult. No life is lost.

8. Yesterday, the session of the high court of admiralty commenced at the Old Bailey, when John Kimber was tried upon a charge of having murdered a negro girl.

Thomas Dowling, surgeon of the ship, swore minutely to the cruel treatment of the girl, as stated by Mr. Wilberforce, in the house of commons. But, on his cross examination, he admitted, that he did not disclose this circumstance in the West Indies after their arrival, nor at Bristol after their return, except to a few of his private acquaintance; but that he was sent to London to give evidence before the committee, for the abolition of the slave trade; to give an account of the firing from on board slave ships on the town of Calabar; and that he mentioned this murder to Mr. Wilberforce, the day before he made his speech for the abolition of the slave trade. He admitted too, that in the return he made, according to act of parliament, to a public office, there was no mention made of this murder; that that return was required by that act to be upon oath, but that he had not really taken that oath; that he had not kissed the book, but that, after it was presented to him, he returned it to the clerk, and the entry was then made as if every thing was regular. In truth, the return was not his, but captain Kimber's; that no man, he believed, saw the suspending and flogging, except himself, Stephen Devereux, the mate, and two boys he had mentioned in his evidence. This he explained by stating, that the awning on the deck,

when this was done, was barricadoed so as to obstruct the sight of those on the other part of the deck. He denied he had ever said "he would be the ruin of captain Kimber."

The evidence of Devereux was similar to that of Dowling. But he swore, that he did not know he had ever been accused of mutiny on board a former ship, in which he had served, and in consequence of which captain Kimber took him, out of humanity.

Three witnesses contradicted the evidence of Dowling, as to his never having said that he would ruin captain Kimber; positively swearing that he had made use of these expressions frequently.

Three witnesses also contradicted Devereux, on the point of his not knowing that he was charged with mutiny. They positively swore, that he had been charged with mutiny on board the Wasp; that he knew it, was told of it, and confessed he was guilty of it; and that on his change from the Wasp, captain Kimber took him on board the Discovery, at Calabar, out of humanity.

Several witnesses were called, who gave the captain a good character for humanity.

The jury said they were satisfied, and the prisoner was acquitted.

Mr. justice Ashhurst asked, if any undertaking would be given that the two witnesses, Dowling and Devereux, should be prosecuted for perjury, if the court should commit them. Mr. Sylvester answered in the affirmative.

The solicitor-general observed, that though these two witnesses had been materially contradicted, in certain points, yet there was not one witness called, on the part of the defendant, to deny the tying, suspending, and flogging, which was the material charge against captain

Kimber. Mr. Sylvester suggested, that it was probable such evidence would be brought forward at the trials of these persons for perjury.

Mr. Dowling said, very coolly, that notwithstanding what the court had heard against him, he had spoken nothing but the truth. Stephen Devereux, the mate, said, that what had been sworn, in contradiction to his evidence, was as false as God was true.

Mr. justice Ashurst said to them both, that three witnesses had sworn positively that these two persons had sworn falsely, and therefore it was the duty of the court to commit them to take their trial for perjury. They were then both conducted to Newgate.

19. By a late determination of the court of king's-bench, it is finally settled, "That, by law, no corn or grain can be sold in any market, in this country, by any measure but the Winchester bushel."

21. Mr. James Napper Tandy was tried, last week, before the court of king's-bench, in Dublin, for sending a challenge to John Toler, esq. solicitor-general, and acquitted; as the jury were of opinion that the letters to Mr. Toler, did not amount to a challenge.

23. A duel was yesterday morning fought in Hyde-park, between Mr. Frizell, and Mr. Clark, both students of the law. Mr. Montgomery was second to Mr. Frizell, and Mr. Evans to Mr. Clark.

On Thursday night these four gentlemen were in company at the Cecil-street coffee-house, where the deceased lodged. They drank till one in the morning, when Mr. Frizell declaring he could drink no more, Mr. Clark said, with some warmth, it was using his friends very ill, but that it was not the first time he had behaved so; for that at Chatham he had

quarreled with all the officers, and particularly with his friend lieutenant Hixon, of the 14th regiment; and that he had the character of a fighting man. Mr. F. replied, that he did not mean to give offence, but that, if any thing he had said could be so construed, he was ready to give Mr. C. satisfaction, and then went to bed.

Mr. C. insisted, that these words were a direct challenge, and appealed to the other gentlemen, who declared that they did not consider them in that light. Mr. C. however, went up to Mr. F's. room, and insisted on his meeting him in five minutes. Mr. F. immediately dressed himself, and went down stairs, where he said, before all the parties, that if Mr. Evans and Mr. Montgomery were of opinion that he had been guilty of any improper conduct, he would apologize for it to Mr. C.; but that gentleman said, he would accept of no apology, and insisted that he should meet him in Hyde-park in an hour from that time, three o'clock.

It was then settled, that Mr. Evans and Mr. Montgomery should be the seconds; and after these gentlemen had in vain endeavoured to make up the difference, Mr. Clark, accompanied by Mr. Evans, went out for pistols. Mr. C. procured a brace, which he loaded; and observing that Mr. F. had not got pistols, gave him one of his. When they got at the ground, they stood at the distance of ten yards; and tossed up for the first fire, which was won by Mr. C. whose ball penetrated Mr. F's collar-bone; he fell, and, as he was falling, his pistol went off. Mr. Montgomery, not supposing him dead, ran for a coach to convey him to a surgeon's, but, on his return, found that Mr. F. had expired.

Mr. Clark and Mr. Evans were stand-

J U L Y.

standing by the body, and were surrounded by some soldiers, who refused to let them go, until their serjeant came to them. The serjeant (who had previously been to Knightsbridge barracks, to consult his officer, captain Hill, what was to be done), presently appeared, and set them at liberty, when the body was put into a coach, into which they all got, and drove off. In Piccadilly, Mr. Clark and Mr. Evans got out, and have not since been heard of.

Mr. F. and Mr. C. were natives of Ireland, as were the two seconds. They were all young men. The coroner's inquest have since sat on the body of Mr. F. and brought in their verdict, wilful murder.

26. Yesterday came on at Guildhall the annual election for sheriffs and other city officers, for the year ensuing; when Alexander Brander, esq. citizen and wheelwright, and Benjamin Tebbs, esq. citizen and goldsmith, were elected sheriffs. Mr. Arthur Scaife, citizen, armourer and brazier, was declared to have the shew of hands for the office of bridge-master, in the room of Mr. John Burbank, deceased; but a poll was demanded in favour of Mr. John Redhead, which continued till Wednesday, when Mr. Scaife declined the poll.

Dublin, June 28. A court martial, composed of the field officers of the several corps of volunteers, was held, at the request of colonel Tandy, to consider of his late affair with Mr. Toler. The report was, "That colonel Tandy had in every particular, after his taking up the affair, acted with the spirit becoming a gentleman and a volunteer; but that his entering into the affair was imprudent and unadvised."

1. Yesterday Nathaniel Lilley, James Martin, Mary Briant, William Allen, and John Butcher, five convicts, who had made their escape from Botany Bay, were brought before Nicholas Bond, esq. at the public office, in Bow-street. The particulars of this wonderful escape are as follow: A Dutch Schooner, commanded by captain Smyth, took a supply of provisions to the settlement at Sydney Cove. A convict, named Briant, and who was married to the prisoner Mary Briant, persuaded captain Smyth to let him have his six-oared boat, with an old lug-sail, a quadrant and compass, for which he paid him what money he had, and some he collected among those to whom he entrusted his design; for the convicts having little use for the money with which their friends had supplied them, on sailing from this country, had most of it by them. Captain Smyth gave him 100lb. of rice, and 14lb. of pork: they purchased of a convict, who was baker to the colony, 100lb. of flour, at the rate of 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. per pound, which, with ten gallons of water, was all the provisions they took on board; and, at ten at night, on the 28th of March, 1791, William Briant, with his wife and two children, the one three years and the other one year old, the other three prisoners, Samuel Bird, James Cox, and William Martin, embarked in this open boat to sail to the island of Timor, which, by the nearest run, is upward of 1300 mile from the place of their embarkation; but by the course they were forced to take, it was impossible for them to form an idea what distance they might have to run, or what dangers, independent of those of the sea, they might

(B 4) have

have to encounter; added to this, the monsoon had just set in, and the wind was contrary. Under these circumstances they rather chose to risk their lives on the sea, than drag out a miserable existence on an inhospitable shore. They were forced to keep along the coast, as much as they could, for the convenience of procuring supplies of fresh water; and on these occasions, and when the weather was extremely tempestuous, they would sometimes sleep on shore, hauling their boat on the land. The savage natives, wherever they put on shore, came down, in numbers, to murder them. They now found two old muskets, and a small quantity of powder, which captain Smyth had given them, particularly serviceable, by firing over the heads of these multitudes, on which they ran off with great precipitation; but they were always forced to keep a strict watch. In lat. 26. 27. they discovered a small uninhabited island: here was plenty of turtles, that proved a great relief to them; but they were very near being lost in landing. On this island they dried as much turtle as they could carry, which lasted them ten days. During the first five weeks of their voyage they had continual rains; and being obliged to throw overboard all their wearing apparel, &c. were for that time continually wet. They were once eight days out of sight of land, and after surmounting infinite hardships and dangers, they landed, on the 5th of June, 1791, at Cupang, on the island of Timor, where the Dutch have a settlement; having sailed considerably more than 5000 miles, and been ten weeks all but one day in performing this voyage. At Cupang they informed the governor, that they had belonged to an English ship, which was wrecked on her passage to New South Wales.

The governor treated them with great humanity, but at length overheard a conversation among them, by which he discovered that they were convicts, who had escaped from the colony in New South Wales.

On the 29th of August, 1791, the Pandora, of twenty guns, capt. Edwards, was wrecked on a reef of rocks near New South Wales. The captain, and those of the crew who were saved, got to Cupang in their boats, when the governor gave the captain an account of the eleven persons he had there, and of the conversation he had overheard.

The captain took them with him to Batavia, where William Briant and his eldest child died. The rest were put on board a Dutch ship, in which captain Edwards sailed with them, for the Cape of Good Hope. On their passage to the Cape, James Cox fell overboard and was drowned, and Samuel Bird and William Martin died. At the Cape, captain Edwards delivered the survivors to captain Parker, of the Gorgon, and they sailed with him for England. In their passage home, the younger child of Mary Briant died. These convicts declare they would sooner suffer death than return to New South Wales. Being destitute of necessaries, several gentlemen gave them money, and they were committed to prison for further examination.

2. Advices are received from earl Cornwallis of a great victory over Tippoo Sultan, on the 6th of February, and of the consequent overtures for peace made by the latter.

5. Further advices received, communicating the preliminaries of peace, signed Feb. 22, between the allied powers and Tippoo Sultan.

8. This day, James Martin, John Butcher, William Allen, Nathaniel Lilly, and Mary Briant, who escaped

escaped from Botany-bay, were put to the bar, at the Old Bailey, when the court ordered them to remain on their former sentence, until they should be discharged by the course of law. By this lenient sentence, Mary Briant and James Martin will be discharged in six months, William Allen in one year, and Nathaniel Lilley and John Butcher in two years. They all say, they consider the prison they are now in as a paradise, compared with the dreadful sufferings they endured on their voyage. The resolution displayed by the woman is hardly to be paralleled. At one time their anchor broke, and the surf was so great that the men laid down their oars, in a state of despair, and gave themselves up as lost; but this Amazon, taking one of their hats, cried out, "Never fear," and immediately began to exert herself in clearing the boat of water; her example was followed by her companions, and by great labour the boat was prevented from sinking, until they got into a smoother sea.

9. This day came on, in the court of King's-bench, the trial of John Bell, publisher of "The Oracle," for two libels in that paper of the 5th and 7th of January last. Mr. Bearcroft said, that he trusted the jury would feel them to be libels of the most malignant and dangerous tendency. They contained the most illiberal reflections on that part of the military which were placed in the metropolis for the honour, and for the safety, in some degree, of his majesty. He said, *in some degree*, for it was but in a very small degree that their assistance was wanted. The king was safe in every part of this kingdom, from the love his subjects justly bore him. The occasion on which the libel was written, was when the duchess of York went to

the king's theatre in the Haymarket. As it was natural to suppose there was a great crowd on that occasion, who wished to get into the house to see her royal highness, as had often been the case before, a more than usual number of guards that night attended, to preserve peace; and he defied any body to say that they did not act with perfect propriety, and answer the purpose for which they were sent there—to preserve the public peace, and to prevent any mischief which might arise in consequence of the eagerness of the mob. Two days after this, the following paragraph appeared in Mr. Bell's paper: "Certain scoundrels in the uniform of that most execrable of all nuisances, the guards, with the butt end of their fire-locks beat certain persons about the head so effectually as to fell them to the ground, &c."—The jury found the defendant guilty.

Mr. Tattersal, proprietor of "The Morning Post," was next tried for a libel, in that paper, against lady Elizabeth Lambert. Mr. Bearcroft stated, that it was an action brought by the countess of Cavan, in behalf of lady Elizabeth Lambert, her daughter, who was under age. This young lady had the misfortune to lose her father. She was unmarried, and about the age of nineteen. Although this lady had the misfortune to lose her father, yet she was considerably recompensed by the amiable character, the exemplary conduct, and uncommon good sense of a very affectionate mother, under whose protection, at the time of the publication of this scandalous libel, she was at Southampton. Some of the jury might have seen, all of them might have heard, of her uncommon beauty, which was the theme of the public. If the jury knew her, they knew she was entitled

to far greater praise; she was justly the pride of her family, and the joy of her friends and acquaintance: she was in the enjoyment of that calm satisfaction which is the result of a happy station, and of an innocent life. She might have entertained, and probably had, prospects of preferment in marriage, which no young woman in the kingdom, at that time, was better entitled to entertain. What must have been her feelings, how must her mother and her relations have been shocked, when, in a public newspaper, she saw five or six publications at different times for two months together, in which she was charged with being so forgetful of every thing that was due to the pride of her station, to the pride of her sex, that she condescended to have a criminal intercourse with her own servant!

Mr. Erskine made an admirable speech for the defendant, in mitigation of damages. Mr. Tatterfal, the horse-dealer, he said, lived principally in the isle of Ely, and did not know what was going forward in this great city. He hoped that the jury would give a moderate verdict against the defendant, who was as heartily sorry for these paragraphs as the young lady herself, or any of her relations could be: besides, she had sustained no injury by them, as her innocence was manifest to the whole world.

The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 4000l.

10. About a quarter after one o'clock, on Saturday, Mr. Powell arrived at Shoreditch church, having walked 394 miles in five days, thirteen hours, and one quarter, being one hour and three quarters within the time specified. He left York, on his return to London, at thirty-eight minutes past five on Wednesday evening. On his arrival at Shore-

ditch church he appeared to be in perfect health, and not in the least fatigued. Mr. Powell is in the 58th year of his age, and this is the fourth journey he has made between London and York.

Chelmsford, July 16. At the court of quarter sessions held here yesterday, the bench of magistrates resolved unanimously, that the late application, made by R. M. T. Chifwell, esq. to the court of exchequer (in consequence of which the fine, imposed by lord Loughborough on the county of Essex, was discharged) was made against the declared sense of the court, and without a communication with the committee appointed to conduct their defence; that it prevented the fair and honourable decision of a great constitutional question, and the relief from the fine as a *legal right*; and that the conduct of Mr. Chifwell, in that application, could not be founded upon any real regard to the honour, happiness, and prosperity of the county of Essex. *See Page (20).*

17. From a circumstance which happened the other day at Dover, it appears useful that the public, especially travellers, should be informed of the act of parliament which forbids the exportation of specie: A gentleman embarked from Dover last week, on board the *Nymph*, for Calais, totally ignorant of the existence of the above act: when on board, the officers of the customs searched his baggage, and found 91 guineas, which they took from him, allowing him the sum stated by the act, which is five guineas.

18. This day Christopher Atkinson, esq. by his majesty's letters-patent, was honourably restored to all his former franchises. *See Vol. XII. p. (22).*

26. Advices are received from earl Cornwallis, of a cessation of arms between

tween him and Tippoo Sultan on the 24th of Feb. and of the reception of the two sons of that prince as hostages. The sons of Tippoo arrived at Lord Cornwallis's camp the 27th of February. About twelve o'clock, the works of the fort of Seringapatam were crowded with an innumerable multitude of people, and the Sultan was plainly discovered to be amongst them. In a few minutes afterward, the young princes made their appearance; they were then conducted from the island to a large pavilion pitched for their reception, near Sibbald's redoubt, about a mile from the fort, where they were received by Sir John Kennaway, who attended them, accompanied by an escort, to head-quarters. On entering the camp, they were saluted with 19 guns, and the part of the line they passed was under arms, and the officers saluted. Lord Cornwallis received them in his tent; which was guarded by a battalion of Sepoys, and they were then formally delivered to his lordship by Gullum Aly Beg, the Sultan's vackeel, as hostages for the true performance of the treaty. An awful silence for a moment prevailed. At length Gullum Ally, approaching Lord Cornwallis, much agitated, thus emphatically addressed his lordship: "These children," pointing to the young princes, whom he then presented, "were this morning the sons of the Sultan, my master: their situation is changed, and they must now look up to your lordship as their father." The tender and affectionate manner in which his lordship received them, seemed to confirm the truth of the expression. The attendants of the young princes appeared astonished, and their countenances were highly expressive of the satisfaction they felt in the benevolence of his lordship.

Some conversation took place between his lordship and the vackeels of Tippoo, in which the latter declared, that the termination of the war diffused happiness throughout all ranks of people; and after sitting a few minutes, he retired, accompanying the young princes to their tents, under an escort of a part of our troops, which remained with them as their guard. Before they took leave, his lordship presented a gold watch to each of them, as a mark of his regard. They were dressed in white muslin, and round their necks they wore some rows of beautiful pearls, to which were suspended a pastagon, consisting of an emerald and a ruby of considerable size, surrounded with a profusion of brilliants.

This day also advices were received from Fort St. George, that the definitive treaty of peace, between Tippoo and the allied powers, was signed on the 19th of March.

Lanerk, July 27. Mr. David Dale, of this place, in the course of six years has reared a village on the banks of the Clyde, containing 2000 persons, and erected five cotton-mills, each of which contains 6000 spindles. The various provisions which this extraordinary man has made for the health of the children employed by him, is highly praiseworthy. They have, every day, some hours allotted them for exercise in the fields; and their looks bespeak health and vigour. These hours of relaxation the boys enjoy in succession. Their apartments are likewise clean and well aired, and ten school-masters are daily employed in their tuition.

27. A warrant has just received the royal signature, for issuing from the treasury the sum of 2000l. to the trustees of the protestant dissenting meeting-house, at Birmingham, as a full com-

compensation for the losses and damages sustained by the destruction of that edifice during the late riots there.

31. This day Mr. Dudley Adams presented the king with a view of a pair of the most magnificent globes ever executed in this country; on the celestial globe are inserted 5864 stars of seven different magnitudes, on a beautiful enamelled ground; each magnitude is distinguished by gold, silver, and different coloured foils. The terrestrial globe is very accurately laid down, and beautifully illuminated; they were mounted in gold and silver, and are intended as a present from the king to the emperor of China.

AUGUST.

1. The Gazette of last night contains a notice from the secretary of state's office, for the home department, that his majesty has, in pursuance of an act of the last session of parliament, caused to be established seven different public offices, and at each of them hath appointed three fit and able persons, being justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex and county of Surry respectively, to execute the office of a justice of the peace in the said offices, together with such other justices, for the said counties respectively, as may think proper to attend: that is to say,

In Queen's-square, Westminster:—Cranley Thomas Kerby, esq. serjeant at law: Henry James Pye, and James Petit Andrews, esqrs.

Great Marlborough-street:—Nathaniel Conant, John Scott, and Philip Neave, esqrs.

Hatton-garden:—Richard Clark, alderman of London; William Blamire, and Aaron Graham, esqrs.

Worship-street, Shoreditch:—John Floud, Patrick Colquhoun, and William Gascoigne, esqrs.

Lambeth-street, Whitechapel:—William Wickham, and Rice Davies, esqrs. and the Rev. Henry Reynett.

High-street, Shadwell:—George Story, Richard Ford, and John Staples, esqrs.

Union-street, Southwark:—Gideon Fournier, Benjamin Robertson, and Jonathan Stonard, esqrs.

The above act to take place on the 21st instant.

2. The farmers of Wiltshire, who attend the markets of Devizes, Warminster, and Salisbury, have had several public meetings, at those places, to take into consideration the statutes of the 22d and 23d of Charles II, for ascertaining the measures of corn; and have, in consequence, entered into a subscription for the prosecution of all persons who shall in future buy or sell corn, in those markets, by any other measure than the Winchester bushel, to the constant use of which the subscribers bound themselves from and after the 1st instant.

Sheffield, August 2. A dreadful accident happened, on Friday, at the steam-wheel, in Green-lane; John Smith, an iron-founder, imprudently ventured too near the interior works to examine them, when the cogs of one of the wheels caught hold of him, and a shocking, though happily for the sufferer, an instantaneous death was the consequence. A coroner's inquest was taken, and the jury brought in their verdict accidental death; they also levied a fine of 5l. upon the proprietors, intended to operate as a caution to owners of such works how they admit persons to inspect them without a guide.

3. Serjeant Grant (who had lately been sentenced by a court-martial to receive one thousand lashes, and who successively, but ineffectually,

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appealed to the courts of common-pleas and king's-bench, on the plea that he was not a foldier, and consequently not amenable to a court-martial) has had his sentence mitigated: instead of receiving one thousand lashes, he received fifty on the parade at St. James' yesterday. He is to be reduced to the ranks, and to be sent to his regiment now on foreign service.

4. According to the report of the committee of the house of commons, the total number of debtors now or lately in the different gaols of the kingdom, appear to be 1957.—1251 are on mesne process, (viz. no judgment obtained), and about 100 more for crown debts.—326 on demands under 20l.—392 ditto from 20l. to 50l.—215 ditto from 50l. to 100l.—Many of them have large families, some five, others six, and others ten children. Of 570 in the King's-bench, 340 have wives and children. The committee state, that as far as the numbers, from the returns, could be ascertained, those prisoners have 1300 wives and 4088 children; and by much the greater part of them are stated to be manufacturers, labourers, seamen, dealers, &c. One man has been confined in the Fleet, from the year 1783, for 4l. 10s.—another in Newgate for 6l. 12s.—a woman for 7l. 19s. 11d. and a man for 8l. 7s. 1d.—a woman in the Marshalsea for 9l. 6s.—and one Gaskin, a leather-dresser, in the county gaol at Worcester, for 5s.

5. Within these forty years past the population of Scotland has considerably increased. It appears from sir John Sinclair's statistical account of that country, that in fifty parishes, taken indiscriminately from one end of the kingdom to the other, there is an increase, since 1755 (at which time the late rev. Dr. Webster calculated the whole inhabitants at

1,265,380) of 10,517 souls; which is at the rate of 210 to a parish, or 189,000 in the 900 country parishes of North Britain; and as the great towns (Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.) have probably increased to the amount of 210,000, the total increase in Scotland, in less than forty years, will be about 400,000, and the total population about 1,700,000 souls.

Antigua, May 21. A dreadful fire happened at the Carenage in Grenada a few days ago, by which one third of the town, and by far the most valuable, is destroyed. This accident was occasioned by a quantity of rum having taken fire.

Barbadoes, June 17. The King George, Howard, of Bristol, was lost about the middle of April, to windward of this island. She had on board, when she went ashore, 283 men slaves, 281 of whom were drowned in the 'tween-decks, they being in irons, and the gratings locked down. One old man and a boy, not being well, and upon deck, swam to shore, as did many of the women, 87 of whom were sold here. Many of the bodies of the men were thrown on shore, mangled by the sharks in a shocking manner. The captain and all the crew got ashore.

6. At the stand on the race ground at Brighthelmstone, on Friday last, immediately after the 50l. plate was won by lord Egremont's horse Felix, his lordship asked some gentlemen who stood near him, "whether there was a Sunday school at Brighton?" The answer he received was, that there were two. His lordship then desired that the plate won by his horse might be equally divided for the benefit of those laudable institutions.

Dublin, August 5. A spectacle truly melancholy occurred, last week, at our quarter sessions; a father

ther prosecuting his own son, on the vagrant act, in order to have him transported out of the country. The poor man came forward, in the face of the court, blending his accusations with bitter tears. He declared that the conduct of his son had, for years past, almost broken his heart; for that he had no other mode of livelihood but vagrancy and plunder, that he was lately tried for a robbery but acquitted, through the lenity of the prosecutor; and that he prosecuted him now, to save his aged eyes the miserable spectacle of seeing his own son hanged. The unfeeling wretch in the dock shewed not the least sorrow for his conduct, nor made the slightest promise of amendment.

7. Of the two greatest prizes allotted by the national assembly of France, to important discoveries in natural philosophy, that of 1200 livres has just been assigned to Dr. Herschel, for his astronomical discoveries, by the academy of sciences at Paris.

Windsor, August 17. This morning, soon after five o'clock, their majesties and the princesses set out for Weymouth.

Weymouth, August 17. Their majesties and the princesses arrived here, in perfect health, a little before six o'clock in the afternoon.

Birmingham, August 17. This morning, at two o'clock, a fire broke out in our theatre, which, in three hours, reduced that elegant structure to a mere shell. The Shakespeare tavern adjoining is materially injured, but the fire did not extend farther than the theatre.

Dublin, August 15. Mr. Knight, who apprehended James Napper Tandy, esq. by virtue of the lord lieutenant's proclamation, offering a reward of 50l. applied lately for the reward, and was refused. He has

since been tried, before the recorder, for the assault on Mr. Tandy; when he threw himself on the mercy of the court; and Mr. Tandy and his council recommending a lenient punishment, he was fined sixpence, and ordered to be imprisoned three days.

22. The definitive treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan was published in the London Gazette of last night; by which it appears, that the sundry districts ceded by Tippoo, to the three confederate powers, are productive of a revenue in pagodas, as follows, viz. To the East India company, ps. 13,16,765 5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; to the Nawaub Asfoph Jah Behauder, ps. 13,16,666 6 11; to Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, ps. 13,16,666. Total ps. 39,50,908 8 9 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Sierra Leone-house, Aug. 23. On the 17th instant arrived the Sierra Leone packet, bringing dispatches dated the 1st of July.

It appears that the rain began to set in about the end of May, and that a considerable degree of sickness and mortality had prevailed from that time, chiefly occasioned by the insufficiency of the temporary houses, which could not be completed before the rains set in. The soldiers, and the lower order of white people, suffered more particularly, partly through irregularity, and the want of fresh provisions, the sailors excepted, who, by being accommodated on shipboard, were in general in good health. In all, about thirty-five white persons have died, of whom fourteen were soldiers. The whole number of white persons who have gone to the colony (sailors included) are upward of two hundred.

Of the blacks from Nova Scotia a considerable number have fallen sick, and many had died; but no regular returns of the mortality among

among them could be furnished at the time of the sailing of the Sierra Leone packet. It was thought, however, that the number of sick was decreased.

The colony were in anxious expectation of the arrival of the company's ship York (which was unfortunately driven back to Plymouth by a storm), as many of the deaths appeared to be owing to the want of good accommodations on shore.

The natives appeared to be extremely friendly, and a few had come to work for the company. The colony were still in want of fresh provisions; but fish, vegetables, and fruit, were in tolerable plenty, and the settlers had begun to sow a variety of seeds for their own sustenance, which appeared to thrive very well.

The company's manager had collected a few sugar-canes together, with a view of beginning a plantation, which were thriving extremely well.

25. Yesterday arrived the mail from Lisbon, brought by the Expedition packet, in sixteen days, in which the rev. Dr. Willis, captain Willis, and several others, came passengers. Dr. Willis's visit to the queen of Portugal had not been attended with the desired success. *See Page (11), (13).*

25. This day the sum of 2000l. was paid at the exchequer to William Russell, esq. on behalf of the new meeting society in Birmingham, as a recompence for the destruction of the new meeting-house in the late riots, and also for the furniture it contained, belonging to the rev. Dr. Priestley, and the members of the congregation.

SEPTEMBER.

4. Two important philosophical

discoveries have been lately made; the one by a Frenchman, and the other by an Italian, at Bologna. The first is, the power of light to render the vitriolic acid altogether harmless to the human body; inso-much that a man may wash his hands in a substance that would otherwise reduce them to a cinder, with this sole precaution, of setting the bason in the rays of the sun. The Italian's discovery consists in proving, experimentally, that animal motion depends on electric fire. His experiments are of that cruel nature, which can only be repeated by the hardened anatomist. They are brought to what lord Bacon calls the *experimentum crucis*; for a muscle being cut, and the parts separated, the motion of the one part produces a correspondent motion in the other, when a substance that is a conductor of the electric fluid is interposed between them; but no such motion is produced when a non-conductor is interposed.

10. By the Scorpion sloop of war, captain Hollowell, arrived at Portsmouth, there is intelligence that a dreadful hurricane happened at Antigua on the first of August. Several plantations were entirely destroyed, and a great number of negroes, with their huts, &c. washed away. Several merchant vessels in English Harbour were greatly damaged. The hurricane, it is said, was nearly general throughout the West India islands.

Lewes, Sept. 11. On Wednesday and Thursday 170 French emigrants, mostly priests, were landed from the packets and an open boat at Brighton. More are daily arriving, and many of them are observed to labour under very distressed circumstances. On Friday and Saturday, near 300 unfortunate Frenchmen of the above description were put

put on shore at East-Bourne, many of whom were very hospitably received by lord George Cavendish, lord Bayham, A. Pigott, esq. and many other of the nobility and gentry of that place. They afterward took different routes for the metropolis. Many from the above place and Brighton came to this town, and such as could not get places on the stage coach, hired carts for their conveyance.

[Great numbers of emigrants (of whom the major part were priests) were landed, in the sequel, at different ports, and proceeded to London in coaches, waggons, &c. Subscriptions, for the support of these unfortunate people, were soon set on foot, and amounted, in a few weeks, to upwards of 20,000l.]

A court martial commenced on board the Duke, in Portsmouth harbour, on Wednesday the 12th inst. on a charge of mutiny on the 28th of April, 1787, on board his majesty's armed ship Bounty, for running away with the ship, and deserting his majesty's service, against Joseph Coleman, Charles Norman, Thomas Mackintosh, Peter Haywood, Isaac Morris, John Milward, William Muspratt, Thomas Birkett, Thomas Ellison, and Michael Byrn. The evidence for the prosecution closed on Friday night, and the court indulged the prisoners till Monday to give in their defence, and on Tuesday took the whole into their consideration, when they passed sentence of death on Haywood, Morris, Milward, Muspratt, Birkett, and Ellison, the two first of whom they recommended to mercy. Coleman, Norman, Mackintosh, and Byrn, were acquitted and discharged. Mr. Haywood is an accomplished young gentleman, genteelly connected, with a fortune of 30000l.

fallen to him since he has been in confinement.

Thurso, Caithnessshire, Sept. 18. Mr. Richardson and Mr. Ker, sent by the British wool society to examine the progress made in the North in the improvement of wool, accompanied by several gentlemen of the county, and several experienced shepherds, have lately inspected the experimental stock of the Cheviot breed, sent by sir John Sinclair to Lanwell, in this county; when they had the satisfaction of finding the stock thriving beyond the most sanguine expectations. The ewes were in the highest order, and the lambs were acknowledged to be equal to any breed in the neighbourhood of the Cheviot. Indeed the latter were in so high a condition, as to be reckoned worth a guinea a head, and the best tup lambs worth more. It is a good sign of the thriving state of the flock, when the Cheviot shepherds, who would not come north but for wages in money, are now anxious to take their wages in sheep, (that is to say, in the right of pasturing a certain number, on their own account, with the rest of the flock) as is the practice on the borders. The success of this experiment is of the greatest consequence. In the first place, it ascertains this important fact, that the Cheviot breed will thrive as well in the most northerly parts of Scotland as on their native hills. In the second place, their superiority over the black-faced breed appeared perfectly evident, upon comparing the lambs of the one sort and of the other, which the gentlemen sent by the society had an opportunity of doing. And, in the third place, it proves that the plan adopted on the present occasion, that of purchasing the best draught ewes that could be got,

O C T O B E R.

instead of young ones only, may be safely followed: a point of infinite importance for speedily propagating this excellent breed; for if young ewes only were to be bought, they cannot be had in great quantities, the price is necessarily high, and the best ones cannot be purchased almost on any terms; whereas draught ewes must be sold by the breeder, in order to bring forward his young store; and, though commonly supposed only fit for feeding, yet they are in some respects better calculated for rearing lambs than even young ewes, having more experience, and in good pasture more milk. If the draught ewes are purchased at four years old, they may give lambs for at least two seasons; and, by purchasing a considerable number, the farmer will soon get into a stock breed on his own farm; a point of peculiar improvement.

We understand that sir John Sinclair is breeding up some of his tenants' sons in that neighbourhood to be shepherds; and that his plan is, gradually to convert the stock, on the estate of Langwell, from cattle into sheep, as soon as the people have been taught the proper management of them; a plan which, at the lowest calculation, will raise the value of that property from 300l. to 1500l. per annum, without depopulating the country, or losing a single man. The tenants are now so convinced of the advantage of the measure, that many of them have applied for assistance to their landlord, to convert their cattle stock into sheep, and to get their children educated as shepherds. Some villages are planned out for the residence of those who prefer being employed in the fishing or manufacturing line.

29. At a common-hall this day, sir James Sanderson, knt. was elected lord mayor, for the year ensuing.

1792.

1. At a court of common-council, it was moved, that an address be presented to his majesty on the successful termination of the war against Tippoo Sultan, which was agreed to; the freedom of the city was voted to marquis Cornwallis in a gold box value one hundred guineas, and to general Medows in a gold box value eighty guineas; and the thanks of the city were voted to the officers and soldiers of the army.

5. Earl Stanhope's experiments for navigating vessels by the steam engine, without masts or sails, have succeeded so much to his satisfaction on a small scale, that a vessel of 200 tons burthen, on this principle, is now building under his direction.

The expence of this vessel is to be paid by the navy board in the first instance, on condition that if she do not answer, after a fair trial, she shall be returned to earl Stanhope, and all the expence incurred made good by him.

This is undoubtedly a noble experiment, and highly honourable to his lordship, whatever may be its success. If it answer, the advantage to the public, particularly in inland navigation, will be immense. If it fail, he will be entitled to the praise of having bestowed much study and a large sum of money on an object of national utility.

16. Lord Falmouth, sir W. Moleworth, Mr. Gregor, and other leading gentlemen resident on the coast of Cornwall, are laudably exerting themselves to prevent the plundering of wrecked vessels by the country people; for this purpose, a plan, drawn up by Mr. Knill, was submitted to the grand jury at the summer assizes, and referred to a committee, who have lately held a meet-

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ing at Bodmin, and resolved to adopt the same.

19. On Saturday one M'Gregor, a painter in Kelfo, undertook, for a trifling wager, to fell a bullock with his fist at three blows, which he performed at the second. What makes it the more extraordinary, he is a very slender man, and not above five feet seven inches high.

Derby, October 23. This borough has followed the laudable example of many other boroughs, in taking off the tolls on grain, &c. coming into or passing through the said town.

24. William Baker, and Thomas Phebe, two gentlemen's servants, were tried at the quarter sessions, Westminster, for being concerned with divers other persons unknown, in making a riot on the 5th of June last, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, and pulling down the watch-house in Mount-street.

Mr. Sylvester, the common-serjeant, opened the case on the part of the crown: he requested the jury to separate from their consideration the imprisonment of the servants, which happened on the 4th of June, the anniversary of the king's birthday. Whether those servants, who had assembled at a public house to dance and make merry, were taken into custody legally, or illegally, it had nothing to do with the present cause, since no transaction of that evening could justify a riot on the subsequent day.

Richard Hunt, the watch-house keeper, said, that on the morning of the 5th of June, a great number of persons assembled before the watch-house in Mount-street, whose behaviour was very outrageous; they threw stones, &c. at the watch-house windows, and continued so to do till they were dispersed by the arrival of the military. The two defendants were apprehended and

secured in the watch-house, upon a charge of being two active persons in the riot; the windows of the watch-house were broke, but the material damage was not done till the next day. Two watchmen, and another witness, swore positively that the defendants were particularly active in the riot; on the other hand, a great many witnesses as positively contradicted this testimony, and swore that the two defendants were merely inactive spectators, and took no part whatever in the riot. Some of these witnesses were respectable tradesmen.

After Mr. Mainwaring, the chairman, had summed up the evidence, the jury found the defendants—Not guilty; to the satisfaction of a crowded court.

25. The Union packet of Dover was this day lost off Calais. The time of high tide had been suffered to pass, through some unexpected delay, and the vessel struck in coming out of the port. In endeavouring to turn to windward, she missed stays, and a fresh gale blowing at the moment, she was driven back, and dashed with great violence against the extremity of the southern pier. This accident was perceived from the vessels in the harbour; but the sea ran too high to send any boats to her assistance. The people on board were more than 40 minutes in a fearful situation, as they could not be drawn ashore without running the hazard of being crushed between the vessel and the pier. At length, from the repeated shocks, her broadside gave way, and she instantly filled and sunk. The crew and passengers, amongst whom were four English gentlemen and several ladies, were all saved. It is 105 years since a similar circumstance has occurred. The same company embarked next morning at Calais, on

on board the Pitt, captain Sharp, and underwent a second shipwreck, being driven on shore at the North-head, in a violent gale, but no person was lost.

Portsmouth, October 29. This day, Thomas Burkett, John Milward, and Thomas Ellifon, three of the seamen who had mutinied on board the Bounty armed ship, in the South Sea, were executed on board the Brunswick man of war. Peter Heywood, midshipman, and James Morrison, boatswain's-mate, had been pardoned, and liberated on the 27th, in pursuance of the earnest request of the court-martial that tried them; and William Musprat was respited during pleasure.

Yarmouth, October 29. A number of persons assembled in our market, with the intention of producing a riot upon the dearness of provisions. When the tumult commenced, plunder was not so much the object as the desire of destroying what was exposed to sale. No sooner were measures employed for preventing the outrage, than the rioters discovered a determination to support their design by violence. A blow, aimed at the mayor's head, was warded off by the spirited interference of Mr. J. Young, captain of the Walsingham East Indiaman, who afterwards seized and secured another rioter in the act of collar-ing the chief magistrate. By the spirited exertions of a party of gentlemen, who had assembled at the town-hall, at the request of the mayor, the prisoners were not only detained, but a number of the most active in this atrocious attempt were also seized. A party of horse were called forth; who, with the gentlemen of the town, continued upon guard during the night and the following day. Three of the

rioters were committed to take their trials for capital offences.

We are happy to relate, that insurrections which had taken place among the sailors employed in the coal trade at Shields, and those at Ipswich, have been settled by the temperate interference of the respective magistrates.

Philadelphia, Aug. 2. Our merchants are now setting up manufactories after the European manner. A subscription was lately opened for half a million of dollars, which was filled up in a few days, to begin manufactories in the Jerseys.

Several spinning jennies have been set up in this city, and a cordoroy and fustian manufactory begun here: a cotton mill, to go by water, is building within a few miles of this city. A large carpet manufactory has been erected here, and succeeds amazingly well; yet, from our increasing numbers, the importations from Britain and Ireland, of every species of manufactures, will continue for twenty or thirty years to increase.

N O V E M B E R.

8. Accounts from Sierra Leone of the most flattering nature, were yesterday received at the company's house in Lawrence Pountney-lane. They were brought by the Duke of Savoy, a ship chartered to carry out stores to the settlement. The sickness, which had been fatal to so many at the commencement of the rains, had entirely ceased, and trade and plantation were making rapid progress. Those, on the contrary, who are interested in the result of the enterprise to Bulam, will be concerned to hear that that plan is entirely defeated. The principal part of the colonists have been massacred by the natives; and those

who remained alive, took refuge among their countrymen at Sierra Leone. Mr. Dalrymple, their governor, is returned to England by the vessel which brought this intelligence. The government at Sierra Leone received the unfortunate adventurers with much humanity, and a vessel is fitting out there to bring them back to this country.

Bulam is an island at the mouth of the Gambia, upon which the natives of the opposite shore have, from time immemorial, made their annual plantations of rice. Considering, therefore, the arrival of the new settlers as an unjust intrusion upon their natural rights, a dispute arose, which has exhibited the above melancholy issue.

10. Some excellent regulations have been adopted by the court of aldermen, to keep the drovers of cattle in order, and to prevent the many cruelties daily practised. Every drover now wears a numbered badge, on the penalty of 20s. to which also every person not licensed as a drover is liable, on driving or assisting in driving cattle, if ten or more are in the flock. No goads are to be used of more than a quarter of an inch long, nor are the cattle to be struck on or below the hock, on the like penalty.

21. On Saturday, in the court of king's bench, lord Kenyon observed, that frivolous motions for new trials increased at least threefold. His lordship strongly reprobated these proceedings, and recommended to the counsel not to make motions in direct opposition to their own judgment, upon the law of the case, merely because they were instructed by certain attorneys, whose object it was to keep up the ball as long as possible, in order to enhance the costs. And, on Monday, at Guildhall, his lordship observed, that if

some of the creditors of a trader suspected his situation, and exerted activity to procure their money, that was legal, up to the moment of the bankruptcy, and the other creditors of the bankrupt would not be permitted to deprive them of the fruits of their diligence. But, on the other hand, if a trader, in contemplation of bankruptcy, should obtrude a security on one creditor, or one set of creditors, to the prejudice of the rest, that act would be null and void.

20. Many respectable farmers in Northamptonshire and Essex, have come to the resolution of advancing the wages of their labourers twopence a day from the 1st. of January next; and it is in agitation among the farmers of the former county to sell wheat to their labourers at 5s. a bushel during the winter.—It is hoped the above laudable example will be adopted by the kingdom at large.

Macclesfield, Nov. 23. This day, about five minutes before twelve o'clock, a dreadful accident happened at a cotton manufactory belonging to Mess. Clayton and Gaskell, in this town. A great part of the roof of that extensive building fell in, while all the hands were at work, owing to the timber's drawing from the walls. A great number of persons are buried in the ruins. Several persons have been taken out dead, and many alive, but greatly bruised. It is supposed that about 50 or 60 men, women, and children, were under the roof at the instant when it fell in. Only 16 are found. The cries of those buried are exceedingly distressing. All possible means are using to liberate the living, and to dig out the dead. One part of the front wall was apparently falling every moment; which prevented the populace from giving any assistance

assistance for upward of two hours. The wind being extremely high, threatened every moment to blow down an adjacent part of the building. Several thousands of people were assembled on the alarm. A brave Irishman, at the hazard of his life, was determined to liberate two men whom he perceived crying out for help, which was soon afforded them. The populace, animated by his example, lent their assistance. Every surgeon in town cheerfully rendered his best services. One man and one child were found with their heads severed from their bodies, and bruised in a shocking manner.

27. The following proceeding took place this evening, with respect to a debating society, at the house formerly the King's Arms tavern, in Cornhill. A question had been proposed for discussion, which related to the enmity shewn by some princes to the French constitution, and to that which others were said, in the terms of the question, to feel, though they did not discover it. The topic had been debated once before; and this evening, agreeably to certain printed invitations, three or four hundred persons assembled to the adjourned discussion of it. They found, however, the stairs of the apartment occupied by constables, who denied them admission. This was not done without some tumult, and though the company were prevented from passing though one passage of the tavern which leads into Cornhill, a considerable crowd collected in several parts of Change Alley. At length, about nine o'clock, the lord mayor, attended by the city marshals, arrived, and admonished the crowd to depart. This advice was obeyed peaceably, though slowly, and about ten, the street was cleared.

29. The attorney-general moved the court for a writ of Habeas Corpus, to be directed to the warden of the Fleet-prison, commanding him to bring into court the bodies of Patrick William Duffin, and Thomas Lloyd. In support of his motion, he stated, that the charge against these two persons was, that they had stuck upon the door of the Fleet-prison, the following inflammatory hand-bill, viz. "This house to let. Peaceable possession will be given by the present tenants on or before the 1st. of January 1793, being the commencement of the first year of liberty in this country. The republic of France having rooted out tyranny, Bastiles are no longer necessary in Europe."—It was granted.

Dublin, Nov. 29. The court of exchequer has given its final determination in the cause of Mr. Tandy against the lord-lieutenant, and ordered the proceedings to be quashed.

The same day, the court of common-pleas heard counsel in reply to the motion of the attorney-general to quash the process issued against lord Fitzgibbon, as one of his majesty's privy-council, signing a proclamation issued against Mr. Tandy, on an address of the house of commons for a breach of privilege. After the most strict and legal investigation, the court ordered the proceedings to be quashed.

30. Yesterday, a full court of common council was held at Guild-hall. The lord-mayor, as usual (it being the first court in his mayoralty) addressed the court in a very able speech, which was well received. Mr. Box moved the thanks of the court to the late lord mayor, which were agreed to. Mr. Powell moved a vote of thanks to the present lord mayor, for his caution in preventing a breach of the peace being committed by persons meet-

ing under the pretence of debating on political questions, and to assure him of their ready assistance in supporting his lordship in carrying into effect his majesty's late proclamation. This was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published in all the papers. Mr. Birch moved a number of resolutions, declaratory of the opinion of the court on the present alarming crisis, which were unanimously agreed to, ordered to be signed by the town clerk, and published in every newspaper throughout the united kingdoms.

DECEMBER.

4. A court of lieutenancy of the London militia was held at Guildhall; present the lord-mayor, aldermen Sainsbury, Crosby, Newnham, Picket, Curtis, Macaulay, Sir Watkin Lewes, colonel; aldermen Anderson; the two sheriffs: the court came to a determination, that one company shall be constantly kept on duty at the Artillery-house, night and day, to be ready at a moment's notice, in case any disturbance should happen in the city; they likewise came to a resolution to swear in forty of their men as extra constables.

5. Yesterday there was a very numerous and respectable meeting of the merchants, bankers, traders, and others, of London, at Merchant-Taylor's Hall; when a declaration expressive of their determination to support our present happy constitution was unanimously agreed to; and ordered to be left for signature. *See Public Papers.* [In a few days this was signed by upward of 8000 persons.]

6. Several hundreds of men are employed about the walls of the Tower. The stones, which were upon sundry parts of Tower-

hill, have been collected, together with quantities of earth, into old puncheons, used in forming barricadoes. The gates are shut at nine o'clock, two hours sooner than usual. A stranger is with difficulty admitted in the day time, and no persons but officers and sentinels are suffered to appear upon the ramparts.

10. On Saturday, an information was tried in the court of King's-bench, against Mr. Sampson Perry, printer of a late morning paper, called 'The Argus,' for a libel, insinuating, that the house of commons were not the real representatives of the people, and that therefore the laws were not enacted by their own consent.—The necessary evidence being adduced, lord Kenyon declared it to be a very flagitious libel; and the jury brought in their verdict guilty. In the London Gazette preceding this trial, a reward of 100 pounds was offered, for the apprehending of Mr. Perry.

Manchester, Dec. 10. In consequence of an association set on foot in this town, in imitation of one lately established at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, for defending property against republicans and levellers, a tumult took place, which, however, has been happily terminated with little mischief. A great crowd assembled around the Herald-office, some of the windows of which they broke, and dispersed. The next night they met stronger, and paraded the streets, singing and shouting *God save the King!* They then proceeded to the object of their late resentment, and again broke the windows. They afterwards went to the house of Mr. Walker, where they also demolished some of the windows. Here, however, they were resisted by Mr.

Mr. Walker, who firing upon them, they dispersed. The next day, some friends of Mr. Walker waited upon the committee of the association, who sent a deputation to promise him support, if he desisted from the use of fire arms; advising him, at the same time, as the most prudent step, to leave town, for a few days, as the mob were seriously clamorous for his person. No other outrages, however, than the breaking of the windows of the houses of Mess. Falkner and Walker have been committed.

15. A memoir, on the important subject of preserving water in long voyages, was lately read before the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. It appears from experiments made by Dr. Trotter, who served under admiral Rôddam, and Mr. Raikes, master cooper, on the victualling premises at Portsmouth, that casks fired in the making, till a thin crust of charry matter is formed over the whole internal surface of the staves, will preserve the water put into them perfectly sweet for years. The heads of the casks must also be charred, and great care is to be taken, in fitting the heads, that as few chips may be made as possible, for every fresh spot is liable to taint the water. The casks finished in this way are equally useful for spirits of all kinds, wines, and malt liquors; and, what has been long a desideratum in the arts, the casks, when emptied, not become musty.

19. Yesterday came on before lord Kenyon and a special jury, at Guildhall, the trial of Thomas Paine, for writing and publishing a certain seditious pamphlet, under the title of 'The Second Part of the Rights of Man.' The information, which was opened by Mr. Perci-

val, stated, that Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious, seditious, and ill-disposed person, and disaffected to the king and government, had traduced the happy revolution effected by the prince of Orange, afterward king William III.—the acceptance of the crown by the said prince and queen Mary—the convention parliament, which had conferred the crown on their said majesties—and the bill of rights, including the settlement of the succession: that he had endeavoured to represent, that these were respectively contrary to the rights and interest of the people; that our hereditary regal government was a tyranny; that our parliament was a wicked, corrupt, and unnecessary establishment; that the king, lords, and commons tyrannized over the people; and that thus he had endeavoured to infuse groundless discontents against the king and parliament, as well as against our constitution, laws, and government.

The Attorney General then rose, and in the course of a long and able speech, read several passages from the work in support of the information, and contended that the whole was throughout malignant in the intention of the writer, and extremely mischievous in its tendency. The publication, &c. being proved, Mr. Erskine entered into a very long defence of the author, on the general grounds of the freedom of the press; contending, that his client had not gone beyond the bounds of fair and allowable discussion; that the topics on which he had animadverted, had been treated with still greater force of expression by the duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, &c. illustrating his observations by various quotations from Locke, Hume, Milton, Paley, and

and others; and deprecating the spirit of prejudice that had gone forth against his client. When he had finished, the Attorney General rose immediately to reply; but the foreman of the jury said,—My lord, I am authorized by the jury here, to inform the Attorney General, that a reply is not necessary for them, unless the Attorney General wishes to make it, or your lordship. The Attorney General sat down, and the jury gave in their verdict—*Guilty*.

The Jury, which was special, were John Campbell, John Lightfoot, Christopher Taddy, Robert Oliphant, Cornelius Donovan, Robert Rolleston, John Lubbock, Richard Tuckwell, William Porter, Thomas Druce, Isaac Railton, Henry Evans.

Counsel for the Crown.—The Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Wood, Mr. Percival.

Solicitors.—Messrs. Chamberlayne and White.

Counsel for the Defendant.—The Hon. Thomas Erskine, Mr. Piggot, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. F. Vaughan.

Solicitor.—Mr. Bonney.

24. Beside the declaration of the merchants, &c. at Merchant Taylors Hall, the delegates from the Protestant Dissenters, assembled at the King's-arms in the Poultry, and the Protestant dissenting ministers, at their library in Red-cross-street, have made similar declarations. The different wards and parishes

of the metropolis, and cities and towns in the kingdom, have also entered into associations to suppress all seditious meetings, publications, &c. On the other hand, a society, called 'Friends of the Freedom of the Press,' met on Saturday at the Free-mason's tavern, whose object is to inculcate the necessity of adhering, in the midst of all the effusions of loyalty, to the great constitutional principles which our ancestors have handed down to us, respecting that important object.

31. Lately died, at Kirkcudbright, in Scotland, aged 120, Wm. Marshall, tinker. He was a native of the parish of Kirkmichael, in the shire of Ayr. He retained his senses almost to the last hour of his life; and remembered distinctly to have seen king William's fleet, when on their way to Ireland, riding at anchor in the Solway frith, close by the bay of Kirkcudbright, and the transports lying in the harbour. He was present at the siege of Derry, where having lost his uncle, who commanded a king's frigate, he returned home, enlisted into the Dutch service, went to Holland, and soon after came back to his native country. He was buried in the church-yard of Kirkcudbright. A great concourse of people of all ranks attended his funeral, and paid due respect to his astonishing age. The countess of Selkirk, who, for a course of years, had liberally contributed to his support, on this occasion, discharged the expence of his funeral.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 13, 1791, to December 11, 1792.

Christened {		Males 9934	} 19348.	Buried {		Males 10276	} 20213	Increased in the Burials this Year 1453.	
		Females 9414				Females 9937			
Died under 2 Years		6542	20 and 30		- 1384		60 and 70		- 1434
Between 2 and 5		2161	30 and 40		- 1807		70 and 80		- 1104
5 and 10		753	40 and 50		- 2102		80 and 90		- 380
10 and 20		664	50 and 60		- 1830		90 and 100		- 49
									100 -- 1
									102 -- 1
									104 -- 1

BIRTHS

BIRTHS in the Year 1792.

Jan. 4. Lady Strathaven, a son and heir.

— Countess of Winterton, a son.

6. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq. M.P. a daughter.

11. Countess of Hillsborough, a son.

16. At Paris, Countess of Cholmondeley, a son and heir.

Feb. 4. Marchioness of Worcester, a son and heir.

9. Lady Caroline Campbell, a son.

14. Lady Eleonora Dundas, a son.

— Marchioness of Tweedale, a daughter.

17. Lady of the hon. John Thomas Townshend, a daughter.

— Lady Augusta Lowther, a daughter.

25. Countess of Aylesford, a son.

March 3. Lady of the hon. William Elphinstone, a daughter.

14. Lady George Augusta Henry Cavendish, a daughter.

15. Lady of the hon. and rev. Jacob Marsham, a daughter.

16. Lady of the hon. G. H. Neville, a son.

16. Hon. Mrs. Pole, a daughter.

18. Lady of fir Stafford Northcote, bart. a son and heir.

28. Her Catholic majesty, a prince.

31. Countess of Caithness, a daughter.

April 2. Lady of fir Alexander Monro, a daughter.

— Queen of Naples, a prince, baptised Alberto Gaetano, &c.

12. Lady Anne Lambton, a son and heir.

13. Lady Anne Wombwell, a son.

May 1. Lady Forbes, a daughter.

19. Lady of fir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.

22. Lady of the Hon. Lewis Watson, a son.

June 3. Countess of Sutherland, a son, at Paris.

Lately, lady North, a son.

10. Lady of Lord Fitzgibbon, a son and heir.

18. Countess of Darnley, a daughter.

July 6. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a daughter.

12. Lady Porchester, a son.

13. Lady of fir William Conyngnam, bart. a son.

— Lady Elizabeth Douglas, a son and heir.

18. Lady of fir George Douglas, bart. a son and heir.

22. Lady of colonel fir Hugh Dalrymple, bart. a daughter.

30. Duchess of Dorset, a daughter.

Aug. 9. Lady of N. W. Wraxall, esq. M. P. a son.

Lately, lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

18. Lady John Russell, a son.

19. Lady of Sir George Collier, a son.

20. Countess of Mountcashell, a son and heir.

Sept. 30. Duchess of Montrose, a daughter.

— Lady of fir Henry Harpur, bart. a son and heir.

Oct. 2. Lady Boston, a daughter.

4. Lady Anne Fitzroy, a daughter.

5. Lady Frances Leslie, a son.

7. Lady Mary Anne Sturt, a daughter.

8. Lady of William Baker, esq. M. P. a son.

13. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, esq. a daughter.

21. Lady Valletort, a daughter.

29. Lady of fir William Foulis, bart. a daughter.

Nov. 3.

Nov. 3. Lady of Thomas Wyndham, esq. M. P. a son.

8. Lady Charlotte Curzon, a son.

24. Princess Frederica, consort of Prince Frederic, hereditary Prince of Denmark, a son.

— Lady of sir John Ingelby, bart. a son.

26. Marchioness of Blandford, a daughter.

Dec. 5. Hereditary princess of Orange, a son.

8. Lady of sir Richard Pepper Arden, knt. master of the rolls, a son.

12. Lady of Sir William Miller, bart. a son.

15. Duchess of Northumberland, a son.

— Lady of George Summer, esq. M. P. a son.

— Lady Elizabeth Fane, a daughter.

27. Marchioness of Worcester, a son.

31. Viscountess Molyneux, a daughter.

11. Viscount Killmorey, to miss Cotton, daughter of sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, bart.

Lately, H. C. Gumbleton, esq. captain in the 13th regiment of dragoons, to the hon. miss Sarah Massey.

Lately, hon. George Massey, to miss Elizabeth Scanlan, daughter of Michael Scanlan, esq. of Ballinahana, in the county of Limerick.

18. George Gipps, esq. M. P. for Canterbury, to miss Lawrence, daughter of the late Dr. Lawrence.

21. Richard Walpole, esq. son of the hon. Richard Walpole, to miss Eliza Hammet, daughter of sir Benjamin Hammet, knt.

27. George Fludyer, esq. M. P. to lady Mary Fane.

Feb. 4. Sir Henry Harpur, bart. to miss Hawkins.

23. Sir John Rous, bart. to miss Whitaker.

March 2. James Crawford, esq. eldest son of sir Alexander Crawford, bart. to miss Gage, sister of viscount Gage.

4. Marquis of Abercorn, to lady Cecilia Hamilton.

8. Hon. Augustus Butler, to miss Danvers, sole daughter and heiress of sir John Danvers, bart.

9. Richard Johnson, esq. M. P. to miss Courtenay, daughter of John Courtenay, esq. M. P.

11. Lord Massey, to miss Margaret Barton, daughter of William Barton, esq. of the Grove, in the county of Tipperary.

— Viscount Clifden, to lady Caroline Spencer, daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

— Viscount Perceval, to miss Wynn, daughter of the late colonel Wynn.

13. Hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, to the hon. miss Flower, sister of viscount Ashbrook.

April 9. Edward Coke, esq. M. P. to

MARRIAGES in the Year 1792.

Jan. 1. Viscount Molyneux, to the hon. miss Elizabeth Craven.

3. George Frederick Ryves, esq. of the royal navy, to miss Catharine Elizabeth Arundel, daughter of the hon. James Everard Arundel.

7. Hon. William Hay, brother to the earl of Errol, to miss Jane Bell, daughter of the late Matthew Bell, esq. colonel of the Northumberland militia.

Lately, right hon. Robert Hobart, to Mrs. Adderley, relict of the late Thomas Adderley, esq.

9. Robert Heron, esq. to Miss Amelia Mann, daughter of sir Horace Mann, bart.

10. Sir Frederick Eden, bart. to miss Smith, of Bond-street.

to miss Colhoun, daughter of William Colhoun, esq of Wrotham, Norfolk.

— Earl of Albemarle to the hon. miss Sophia Southwell.

— John King, esq. one of the under secretaries of state, to miss Moiss, daughter of the bishop of Bath and Wells.

17. John Edward Madocks, esq. of Vale Mascall, Kent, to the hon. miss Craven.

— The hon. F. West, to miss Michell, daughter of the late Richard Michell, esq. of Culhamcourt, Berks.

— Sir James Suttie, bart. to miss Catharine Isabella Hamilton, daughter of James Hamilton, esq.

21. Thomas Swymmers Champneys, esq. only son of sir Thomas Champneys, bart. to miss C. Mostyn, daughter of sir Roger Mostyn, bart. M. P.

20. Samuel Brown, jun. esq. to Miss Thurlow.

May 2. Lord Audley, to Mrs. Moorhouse.

5. Rev. sir William Henry Clarke, bart. to miss Cartwright, daughter of the late Thomas Cartwright, esq. of Aynho, in Northamptonshire.

11. Hon. Thomas Capel, to lady Carolina Paget.

— George Smith, esq. M. P. to miss Frances Mary Mosley, daughter of sir John Parker Mosley, bart.

14. Lawrence Palk, esq. to lady Elizabeth Vaughan.

Lately, William Weldon, esq. to miss Lucy Cusse, niece to viscount Defart.

June 3. James Nicholas Duntze, esq. son of sir John Duntze, bart. to miss Jane Harriet Cockburn, daughter of sir James Cockburn, bart.

4. Hon. William Asheton Harbord, to lady Caroline Hobart.

5. Richard Dobbs, esq. of Castle

Dobbs, in the county of Antrim, to miss Nichola Obins, daughter of Michael Obins, esq. and niece to viscount Gosford.

12. Francis Ferrand Foljambe, esq. to lady Mary Arabella Lumley.

14. Henry Harford, esq. to miss Pigou, daughter of Frederick Pigou, esq.

— Rev. Roger Frankland, son of the late admiral sir Thomas Frankland, to the hon. miss Catherine Colvill, daughter of John lord Colvill, of Culros.

23. Henry William Martin, esq. eldest son of sir Henry Martin, bart. to miss Powell, only daughter of Thomas Powell, esq. of Tottenham.

July 4. John Coher, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Marsham.

6. Lady Ramsay, relict of sir George Ramsay, bart. (killed about three years ago, in a duel) to lieutenant Duncan Campbell of the guards.

10. Sir John Scott, bart. to miss Harriet Graham, daughter of William Graham, jun. esq. of Garthmore.

18. Lord Grenville to the Hon. Miss Pitt, daughter of Lord Camelford.

21. Earl of Inchiquin to Miss Palmer, niece to the late sir Joshua Reynolds.

22. Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald to miss Fielding, daughter of Charles Fielding, esq. and niece of the Earl of Winchelsea.

26. Joseph Foster Barham, esq. to lady Caroline Tufton.

28. Rev. Geo. Bridgman to lady Louisa Isabella Boyle.

Aug. 4. Henry Coulson, esq. to Elizabeth lady dowager Tracton.

13. Lord Carberry to miss Hannah Watson.

14. Hon. Augustus Phipps to miss

miss Maria Thelluffon, daughter of Peter Thelluffon, esq.

22. Cullen Smith, esq. to the hon. miss Caroline Eardley.

Sept. 23. Earl of Shrewsbury to Miss Hoey, of Dublin.

Oct. 12. Viscount Mountstuart, to lady Elizabeth Crichton.

15. Lord Glentworth, bishop of Limerick, to the widow of the late general Crump.

22. Lord Cranston, to miss Montolieu.

30. Hon. Vesey Knox, to miss Gilborne, daughter of the late general Gilborne.

Nov. 2. Captain James Millard, of the 56th regiment, to lady Riverdale.

28. Sir Walter Blount, Bart. to miss Anne Riddell, daughter of the late Thomas Riddell, esq. of Swinburne Castle, Northumberland.

29. Captain Parflow, of the king's own regiment of dragoons, to miss Wolff, daughter of sir Jacob Wolff, bart.

30. Hon. John Rawdon, to Miss F. Hall, sister to John Wharton, esq. M. P.

Dec. 6. Sir Robert Humphrey Mackworth, bart. to miss Miers, of Richmond.

11. James Bell, esq. of Bromf-grove, to the hon. Louisa Fitzroy.

13. Hon. George Pelham, to miss Mary Rycroft, daughter of the late sir Richard Rycroft, bart.

— Charles Wolfeley, esq. eldest son of sir William Wolfeley, bart. to miss Mary Clifford, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Clifford.

24. Hon. Christopher Hely Hutchinson, brother to lord Donoughmore, to miss Bond, daughter of James Bond, esq. of Dublin.

DEATHS in the Year 1792.

Jan. 2. Dowager viscountess Galway.

— Edward duke of Somerset.
15. Sir Thomas Cave, bart. M. P. for Leicestershire.

16. Rear admiral John Hale.

17. Dr. George Horne, bishop of Norwich.

Lately, lady Jane Gordon, great aunt to the duke of Gordon.

22. George earl of Northesk, admiral of the white.

28. Miss Penelope Cheshyre, sister to the countess of Fauconberg.

31. Sir Alexander Hay, bart. knight of the order of St. George, and colonel in the Russian service.

— Sir Norton Robinson, bart.

Feb. 1. Hon. lieutenant William Forbes, of the navy, youngest son of lord Forbes.

Lately, Frederick George Byron, esq. nephew to lord Byron.

5. Right hon. sir John Eardley Wilmot, formerly chief justice of the common pleas.

6. Major-general sir Henry Calder, bart. lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, and colonel of the 30th regiment of foot.

7. Frances Maria countess Taaffe, lady of Francis count Taaffe, second son of Nicholas viscount Taaffe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and daughter of the late John lord Bellew.

22. Hon. George Hewitt, son of the late lord Lifford.

23. Sir Joshua Reynolds, knight, president of the Royal Academy.

26. Rear admiral sir Richard Bickerton, bart.

March 1. Leopold II. emperor of Germany.

3. Robert Adam, esq. the celebrated architect.

— Hon. John Foster, eldest son of the speaker of the Irish house of commons.

10. John earl of Bute.

11. Sir William Codrington, bart.

14. Right. hon. Alexander Gordon,

don, of Rockville, brother to the earl of Aberdeen, and one of the lords of session in Scotland.

Lately, hon. Sophia Wykham, relict of Humphrey Wykham, esq. and sister of viscount Wykham.

18. Viscountess Farrington.

31. Herbert Martin Phillips, esq. M.P.

April 3. Sir George Pocock, K. B.

4. Alexander Callandar, esq. M.P.

10. Sufannah viscountess dowager Fane.

— William Gomm, esq. late secretary of the embassy at the Hague.

11. Sir Abraham Pitches, knt. father-in-law of viscount Deerpur.

12. Rev. sir James Stonehouse, bart.

13. Lieutenant-general Lancelot Baugh.

— Hon. general George Cary.

16. George marquis of Annandale.

Lately, general David Græme.

21. John earl of Mayo.

Lately, Dr. Christopher Wilton, bishop of Bristol.

23. Lady Isabella Keith, daughter of the earl of Kintore.

28. William Weddell, esq. M.P.

29. Gustavus III. king of Sweden.

30. John Earl of Sandwich.

May 15. Mary Louisa, empress of Germany.

17. Sir Noah Thomas, knight, F.R.S. physician in ordinary to his majesty.

— Hon. and rev. Gerald de Courcy, brother to lord Kinsale.

Lately, hon. Richard Gore, brother to the earl of Arran.

21. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, bart.

25. George Brydges lord Rodney, admiral of the white, and vice admiral of Great Britain.

29. Sir William Stanley, bart.

30. Hon. Mrs. Cartwright.

June 4. Cæsar Constantine François, prince bishop of Liege.

Lately, countess dowager of Mount-Cashell.

6. Edward Michael lord Longford.

10. Countess dowager of Clanbrassil.

18. Countess of Winterton.

20. Lady Glentworth.

26. Hon. Mrs. Graham, sister of lord Cathcart.

27. John Morgan, esq. M. P. for Monmouthshire.

28. Mrs. Sheridan, wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. M. P.

30. Countess Dowager of Berkeley.

July 3. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the celebrated general.

5. Sir Robert Strange, knt. the celebrated engraver.

10. Sir Thomas Blackett, bart.

11. Lady of sir Edward Astley, bart.

17. Lady of sir John Henniker, bart.

19. Rev. sir Charles Mill, bart.

24. Lady of sir Hanson Berney, bart.

27. Hon. Lucy Howe, daughter of the late John viscount Chedworth.

30. Lady of the hon. William Henry Irby.

Aug. 2. Mrs. Mary Poyntz, cousin to countess dowager Spencer.

3. Sir Richard Arkwright, knt.

4. Lieutenant-general John Burgoyne.

5. Frederick earl of Guilford.

— Edward Phelps, esq. M. P.

10. Thomas Charles Leigh, viscount Tracey.

14. Dr. John Ross, bishop of Exeter.

16. Rear admiral John Leveson Gower.

17. Lieu-

17. Lieutenant-general Richard Burton Phillipson, M. P.

Sept. 6. Lady Caroline Egerton.

7. Thomas earl of Westmeath.

8. Henry earl of Darlington.

20. Sir John Davie, bart.

23. John Manners, esq. eldest son of the late lord William Manners.

24. Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, bart.

Oct. 1. Hon. lieutenant-colonel William Cuffe.

3. Lady Abdy, relict of sir Anthony Thomas Abdy, bart.

10. Princess Maria Clotilda, daughter of his Sicilian majesty.

— Lady of sir Charles Middleton, bart.

— Constantine John Lord Mulgrave.

— Sir Robert Edward Vaughan, bart.

13. Hon. George Byng, only son of viscount Torrington.

14. Lady of sir Roger Mostyn, bart.

15. Lady Frances Leslie.

19. Sir Robert Preston, bart.

23. Lady George Beauclerk.

24. Lady of sir Arthur Clarke, bart.

28. John Smeaton, F.R.S. the celebrated engineer.

Nov. 13. George Onslow, esq. ranger of Windsor Forest.

14. Sir Sydney Medows, knight-marshal of England.

15. Countess dowager of Ilchester.

16. Sir Edward James, bart.

28. Philip Thicknesse, esq. father of lord Audley.

Dec. 2. Joseph lord Dover.

4. Sir William Fordyce, knight. M. D.

6. William Daniel Master, esq. uncle to viscount Torrington.

— Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes,

bart. lord Hailes, one of the lords of session in Scotland.

11. Sir Archer Croft, bart.

14. Lady Anne Mackworth, aunt to the marquis of Abercorn.

15. Admiral Hugh Pigot.

17. The infant son of the marquis of Blandford.

27. Lady of John Trevanion, esq. M. P.

28. Hon. Frederick Robinson, uncle to lord Grantham.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1792.

January 7. Hon. Henry Wesley—secretary of legation to the court of Sweden.

23. John Wentworth, esq.—lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia.

30. Hon. Henry Skeffington—governor of Cork.

Feb. 11. Lieutenant-general Thomas Clarke—colonel of the 30th regiment of foot.

— Major-general James Stuart—colonel of the 31st regiment of foot.

15. Marquis Townshend—lord lieutenant of Norfolk.

25. Earl of Morton—chamberlain to the queen's household.

— Earl of Ailesbury—treasurer to the same.

March 3. Rev. Dr. Charles Manners Sutton—bishop of Norwich.

Thomas Lawrence, esq.—principal painter in ordinary to his majesty.

12. Lord Charles Fitzgerald—muster-master-general in Ireland.

31. Rev. doctor Archibald Davidson—dean of the order of the thistle, and of the chapel royal, in Scotland.

April 10. Rev. Peter Peckard, D. D.—dean of Peterborough.

28. Major-general Ralph Abercrombie.

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 crombie—colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

— Major-general O'Hara—lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar.

May 1. Rev. Thomas Jackson, D.D.—canon residentiary of St. Paul's.

2. Lord Macartney—a privy-counsellor.

3. Rev. Dr. Spencer Madan—bishop of Bristol.

12. Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald—minister-plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons.

15. Joseph lord Milton—viscount Milton and earl of Dorchester.

22. Lord Macartney—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China.

— Sir George Leonard Staunton, bart.—Secretary of embassy to the emperor of China.

26. Sir Luke Pepys, bart.—physician in ordinary to the king.

June 1. William Lindfay, esq.—Secretary of the embassy to the most Christian king.

9. Earl Howe—Vice admiral of Great Britain.

12. Edward lord Thurlow—baron Thurlow of Thurlow, in Suffolk, with remainder to Edward and Thomas Thurlow, esqrs. sons of the late bishop of Durham, and to the Rev. Edward South Thurlow, one of the prebendaries of Norwich.

15. Lord chief baron Eyre—a privy-counsellor.

— Lord chief baron Eyre, Mr. justice Ashhurst, and Mr. justice Wilson—lords commissioners of the great seal.

20. Miss Mary Verney, daughter and heiress of John Verney, son of Ralph Verney, baron Verney and viscount Fermanagh (afterward earl Verney)—baroness Fermanagh of Ireland.

20. Dame Mary Cavendish, wife of the right hon. sir Henry Caven-

dish, bart.—baroness Waterpark, of Ireland.

July 7. Admiral sir Richard King, knt.—a baronet.

— Hon. Augustus Phipps—a commissioner of excise.

— Right hon. James Stirling, lord provost of Edinburgh—a baronet.

21. Henrietta Laura Pulteney, daughter of William Pulteney, esq.—baroness Bath.

26. William earl of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham—Earl of Mansfield in the county of Middlesex, with remainder to David viscount Stormont.

Aug. 1. Captain Erasmus Gower—a knight.

8. George lord Macartney—viscount Macartney of Ireland.

11. Lieutenant-General George Morrison—colonel of the 4th regiment of foot.

— Major-general George Garth—colonel of the 17th regiment of foot.

15. Earl Cornwallis—marquis Cornwallis.

— Lieutenant-general William Augustus Pitt, lieutenant-general John Vaughan, major-general William Medows, major-general Robert Abercromby—knights of the Bath.

18. Earl of Elgin—envoy extraordinary at Brussels.

— Right hon. William Pitt—constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports.

24. Lieutenant-general Fawcitt—colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon-guards.

25. Major-general Hamilton—colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.

— George Naylor, esq.—genealogist and blanc courier herald of the most hon. order of the Bath.

Sept. 11. Rev. Dr. William Butler—bishop of Exeter.

Duke

11. Duke of Portland—chancellor of the university of Oxford.

25. Lawrence Harman Harman, esq.—baron Oxmantown in Ireland.

Oct. 2. John Shore, esq. the successor to marquis Cornwallis in the government of Bengal—a baronet.

— John Hopkins, esq. lord-mayor of London, and Benjamin Tebbs, esq.—knights.

6. Earl Fortescue—colonel of the North Devon militia.

26. John earl Poulett—lord lieutenant of the county of Somerset.

36. Sir Charles Gould, knt.—a baronet.

Nov. 17. Ninian Hume, esq.—lieutenant-governor of Grenada.

27. Sir Hercules Langrish, bart.—a privy counsellor of Ireland.

Dec. 8. Earl of Harrington—colonel of the 1st. regiment of life-guards.

— Lord Cathcart—colonel of the 29th regiment of foot.

S H E R I F F S appointed for the Year 1792.

Berkshire, John Blagrave, of Calcot-place, esq.

Bedfordshire, sir John Buchanan Riddell, of Sunden, bart.

Bucks, William Pigott, of Dodershall.

Cumberland, Edward Hasell, of Dalemmain.

Cheshire, Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale-royal.

Cambrid. and Hunting. Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulburne.

Cornwall, David Giddy, of Tredea.

Devonshire, Edward Colsford, of Clyst St. Mary.

Dorsetshire, Mark Davis, of Holneft.

Derbyshire, Hugh Bateman, of Hartington-hall.

Essex, Zachar. Button, of Stifford. Gloucestershire, John Embury, of Twining.

Hertfordshire, James Bouchier, of Little Berkhamstead.

Herefordshire, Richard Chambers, of Whitburne.

Kent, Henry Streatfield, of Chiddingstone.

Leicestershire, Richard Spooner Jaques, of Burbage.

Lincolnshire, Christopher Neville, of Wellingore.

Monmouthshire, David Tanner, of Monmouth.

Northumberland, Ralph William Grey, of Backworth.

Northamptonsh. Samuel Rudge, of Tanfor.

Norfolk, Anthony Hamond, of West Acre.

Nottinghamsh. Edward Thornton Gould, of Mansfield Woodhouse.

Oxfordshire, Thomas Willets, of Caversham.

Rutlandshire, James Tiptaft, of Braunston.

Shropshire, Thomas Compson, of Hopton Wafers.

Somersetshire, Thomas Samuel Jolliffe, of Kilmerdon.

Staffordshire, Simon Debank, of Leek.

Suffolk, Alexander Adair, of Flixton.

County of Southampton, Thomas Robins, of Pilewell.

Surrey, William Woodroffe, of Poylepark.

Sussex, Edmund Woods, of Shopwick.

Warwickshire, Joseph Oughton, of Sutton Coldfield.

Worcestershire, Fleetwood Packhurst, of Ripple.

Wiltshire, Mathew Humphreys, of Chippenham, esqrs.

Yorkshire, sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, bart.

SOUTH.

SOUTH-WALES.

Brecon, William Morgan James,
of Poolhall.

Caermarthen, George Morgan,
of Abercothy.

Cardigan, W. Lewis, of Llart-
percheiron.

Glamorgan, John Lewellyn, of
Ynifygergwn.

Pembroke, John Matthias, of
Llangwarren.

Radnor, John Lewis, of Harpton,
esqrs.

NORTH-WALES.

Anglesea, Hugh Price, of Wern.
Caernarvon, Edward Floyd, of

Ty mawr.

Denbigh, Thomas Jones, of Llan-
tifillio.

Flint, Edw. Morgan, of Golden
Grove.

Merioneth, Edward Corbet, of
Unysmaen Gwyn.

Montgomery, Robert Clifton, of
Aberbechan, esqrs.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, January 31, 1792.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE many proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to my person and family, leave me no doubt of your participating in the satisfaction which I derive from the happy event of the marriage which has been celebrated between my son the duke of York, and the eldest daughter of my good brother and ally the king of Prussia: and I am persuaded that I may expect your chearful concurrence in enabling me to make a suitable provision for their establishment.

Since I last met you in parliament, a definitive treaty has been concluded under my mediation and that of my allies, the king of Prussia and the states-general of the United Provinces, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, on principles which appear the best calculated to prevent future disputes between those powers.

Our intervention has also been employed, with a view to promote a pacification between the empress of Russia and the Porte; and conditions have been agreed upon be-

tween us and the former of those powers, which we undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-establishment of peace on such terms, appeared to be, under all the existing circumstances, a desirable event for the general interests of Europe. I am in expectation of speedily receiving the account of the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, preliminaries having been some time since agreed upon between those powers.

I have directed copies of the definitive treaty, between the emperor and the Porte, to be laid before you, as well as such papers as are necessary to shew the terms of peace, which have been under discussion during the negotiation with the court of Petersburg.

I regret that I am not yet enabled to inform you of the termination of the war in India: but the success which has already attended the distinguished bravery and exertions of the officers and troops under the able conduct of lord Cornwallis, affords reasonable grounds to hope, that the war may speedily be brought to an honourable conclusion.

The friendly assurances which I receive from foreign powers, and the general state of affairs in Europe,

Europe, appear to promise to my subjects the continuance of their present tranquillity. Under these circumstances I am induced to think, that some immediate reduction may safely be made in our naval and military establishments; and my regard for the interests of my subjects renders me at all times desirous of availing myself of any favourable opportunity to diminish the public expences.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

It will, I am persuaded, give you great satisfaction to learn, that the extraordinary expences incurred in the course of the last year, have, in a great measure, been already defrayed by the grants of the session. The state of our resources will, I trust, be found more than sufficient to provide for the remaining part of these expences, as well as for the current service of the year, the estimates for which I have directed to be laid before you.

I entertain the pleasing hope, that the reductions which may be found practicable in the establishments, and the continued increase of the revenue, will enable you, after making due provision for the several branches of the public service, to enter upon a system of gradually relieving my subjects from some part of the existing taxes, at the same time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the success of which our future ease and security essentially depend.

With a view to this important object, let me also recommend it to you, to turn your attention to the consideration of such measures as the state of the funds and of public credit may render practicable and expedient towards a reduction in the rate of interest of any of the

annuities which are now redeemable.

My lords and gentlemen,

The continued and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country will, I am confident, animate you in the pursuit of every measure which may be conducive to the public interest. It must, at the same time, operate as the strongest encouragement to a spirit of useful industry among all classes of my subjects; and above all, must confirm and increase their steady and zealous attachment to that constitution which we have found by long experience to unite the inestimable blessings of liberty and order, and to which, under the favour of Providence, all our other advantages are principally to be ascribed.

Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, April 5, 1792, on presenting to his Majesty the Bill providing for the Establishment of the Duke and Duchesses of York and Albany, and the Bill granting four hundred thousand Pounds toward the Reduction of the National Debt.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

It is my duty to tender to your majesty two bills, in the name, and on the behalf of, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled.

In pursuance of your majesty's recommendation, your commons cheerfully proceeded to make a provision for the establishment of their royal highnesses the duke and duchesses of York; and they trust that the bill, which they have passed for this purpose, will fully manifest their just sense of what is due to the rank and dignity of their royal highnesses, as well as the

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satisfaction they derive from an event which, whilst it promotes the comfort and happiness of your majesty and your illustrious family, is also materially conducive to the interests and honour of your people.

Other objects, no less interesting to your majesty's mind, constantly directed as it is to the welfare of your subjects, have also engaged the attention of your commons. The prosperous and improving condition of the public revenue, and the reductions which have been found practicable in the naval and military establishments, afforded the means, of which your commons thought it their duty to avail themselves, of making a large addition to the fund, to be applied in the course of the present year, to the reduction of the public debt. Their conduct upon this, as upon other occasions, was governed by the conviction, that the efficiency and success of the plan, which has been established by parliament for this important purpose, must essentially tend to the future ease, and permanent security of these kingdoms. In the adoption of these measures, your commons have felt peculiar satisfaction by finding themselves enabled, at the same time, to give some immediate relief to your majesty's subjects, whose firmness in sustaining the burthens, rendered necessary by a due regard to the maintenance of public credit, and whose spirit of enterprise, and useful industry, have so effectually contributed to advance to the pre-eminence they have attained, the general interests and prosperity of the empire.

Your commons, sire, contemplate with just satisfaction the continued and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country: to preserve, augment,

and diffuse the blessings, of which we are in possession, they consider as the most important of their duties; and, actuated by this principle, which comprehends a zealous and firm attachment to the form of government under which we live, and a faithful and vigilant attention to the interests and happiness of all classes of their fellow subjects, they are persuaded that those measures, which are the result of it, cannot fail to receive your majesty's most gracious approbation.

The bills, which I have in my hand, are severally intituled, &c.

To which your commons, with all humility, intreat your majesty's royal assent.

Proclamation for the preventing of tumultuous Meetings and seditious Writings, May 21.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavouring to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects, respecting the laws and happy constitution of government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom; and endeavouring to vilify and bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of the glorious Revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws, for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects; and whereas divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending

recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas we have also reason to believe that correspondences have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes above-mentioned: and whereas the wealth, happiness, and prosperity of this kingdom do, under divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and constitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothing which we so earnestly desire, as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: We therefore being resolved, as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and seditious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, solemnly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happiness, and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society; and earnestly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid and discourage all proceedings tending to produce riots and tumults: And we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that

they do make diligent enquiry in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid; and all others who shall disperse the same: and we do further charge and command all our sheriffs, justices of the peace, chief magistrates in our cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other our officers and magistrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their several and respective stations, take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults, and other disorders, which may be attempted to be raised or made by any person or persons, which, on whatever pretext they may be grounded, are not only contrary to the law, but dangerous to the most important interests of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magistrates aforesaid, that they do from time to time, transmit to one of our principal secretaries of state, due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination, for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our faithful and loving subjects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid.

Given at our court at the Queen's House, the 21st day of May, 1792, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, on the preceding Proclamation, June 1.

Most gracious sovereign,
The lords spiritual and temporal,
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and commons, of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, have come to the following resolution and address :

Resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty, that we have taken into our most serious consideration his majesty's royal proclamation, which has, by his majesty's command, been laid before us; and we beg leave to testify to his majesty our warm and grateful sense of this fresh proof of his majesty's constant solicitude for the welfare and happiness of his people.

That we cannot see without indignation the attempts which have been made to weaken, in the minds of his majesty's subjects, the sentiments of obedience to the laws, and of attachment to the form of government, civil and religious, so happily established within this realm.

That the advantages which, under the government of his majesty and his illustrious ancestors, have been derived from legal and well-regulated freedom, and the unexampled blessings which we actually enjoy, afford to his majesty's subjects peculiar motives to reflect with gratitude on their present situation, and to beware of those delusive theories which are inconsistent with the relations and duties of all civil society; and we deem it, under the present circumstances, the peculiar duty of every good citizen to discourage and counteract every attempt, direct and indirect, against public order and tranquillity.

That we are confident that the sentiments which we now express to his majesty, are the general sentiments of the nation; that they

must feel with us, that real liberty can only exist under the protection of law, and the authority of efficient and regular government: they have seen, by happy experience, that the mixed form of our legislature comprehends and provides for the various interests of the community through all its several descriptions, and maintains and preserves those gradations of property and condition which furnish the great incentives to useful industry, and are equally essential to the vigour and exertion of every part, and to the stability and welfare of the whole; that they therefore know that the collective strength and prosperity of the empire, its wealth, its credit, and its commerce, as well as the only security for the persons, the property, and the liberties, of each individual, are essentially connected with the preservation of the established constitution.

That, impressed with these opinions, we think it our duty to assure his majesty of our firm determination to support his majesty, in the resolution which his majesty has adopted; and that we are fully persuaded, that every exertion which may be necessary will be seconded by the zeal and gratitude of a free and loyal people.

His Majesty's Answer.

My lords and gentlemen,

I thank you very warmly for this loyal, dutiful, and seasonable address.

My utmost endeavours shall never be wanting to maintain among my people a just sense of the advantages of our present constitution, the source of legal and well-regulated freedom; and at the same time to secure to them, by a due exertion

exertion of the laws, a continuance of all the unexampled blessings which they now enjoy. It is the greatest satisfaction to me to reflect, that in these endeavours I shall receive the firm and united assistance of my parliament; and I feel the same conviction and confidence which is expressed by you, that all our exertions for this purpose will be seconded by the zeal and public spirit of my people, whose happiness forms the first object of all my wishes.

Protest against the Address of the House of Lords to his Majesty, on the Proclamation, May 31:

DISSENTIENT,

Because I think the honour and dignity of parliament trifled with, by a solemn call, without any adequate cause, and upon slight pretences, to make unnecessary professions of attachment to the constitution, and of zeal for his majesty's government, and to concur in applauding his majesty's ministers for advising this extraordinary measure of a Royal Proclamation, and a recurrence to the authority of parliament; a measure not called for, and which appears to me much more calculated to awake causeless apprehensions, and excite unnecessary alarm among a people affectionate to the king, and obedient to the laws, than to answer any of those salutary purposes for which alone ministers should presume to use the royal name and authority.

Because those writings which his majesty's ministers now consider as likely to disturb the public peace, and excite dangerous tumults, and of which the prosecution is, on a sudden, deemed by them indispensable to the preservation of order, and the security of government,

have been permitted for a considerable time past to be openly, and, as is asserted, industriously disseminated through every part of the kingdom; and, therefore, if the principles thus propagated be so subversive of all order, and destructive of all government, and are at the same time so unfortunately calculated to make a rapid, alarming, and fatal progress in the minds of a peaceable and enlightened people, as ministers have, in debate, maintained, it would well become the care and wisdom of parliament, instead of committing its authority in the measures of executive government, and taking part in the ordinary execution of the laws, to enquire why so important a discovery was not made at an earlier period, and why the ministers have so long permitted the salutary terrors of the law to sleep over offences, the prosecution of which so highly imported the public safety.

Because, if it be expedient to punish the authors and publishers of seditious writings, I think it the province of the executive government to determine upon that expediency, and to put the law in motion; and I cannot but consider as pernicious in its example, and unconstitutional in its principle, the present attempt made by the ministers to shelter themselves, justify their conduct, and cover what, according to their argument, has been their criminal negligence, by a measure of parliament. I believe the laws to be sufficiently efficacious for the punishment of such offenders as are described in the royal proclamation, and I see no reason why parliament should take from his majesty's ministers any part of the responsibility which appertains to their stations, of advising the crown, and directing its law officers as to the

the fit seasons and proper occasions on which any of the laws for preserving the public peace should be enforced; nor can I observe, without expressing my marked disapprobation, that the confidence which the public still place in the wisdom and integrity of parliament, notwithstanding all attempts made by the present ministers to destroy it, is insidiously laid hold of by them to create public prejudice, and excite public indignation against those who are represented as obnoxious to the laws, and objects of prosecution. A sense of justice might have taught the ministers, that to fair and impartial trials, uninfluenced by any previous declaration, unprejudiced by any previous interference of parliament, even the authors and publishers of those writings that have at last awakened the attention of ministers, are entitled: and a sense of decorum should have restrained them from lessening the dignity, and committing the honour of parliament, by making it, indirectly indeed, but, to the common sense of mankind obviously, a party in public prosecutions, which parliament is thus made to sanction and direct, and on which this house, in the highest and last resort may have to sit, in the impartial and uninterested, but awful character of judges.

Because, in this measure, by which ministers in effect confess and record their past inattention to the dangers which they now deprecate, and their present inability to discharge the ordinary duties of their station without the extraordinary aid of parliament, the public cannot fail to perceive that weakness and inefficiency in his majesty's councils, which are more hurtful to the true interests, and more derogatory from the just authority of

government, than any imaginary progress which, with great injustice to a loyal people, ministers attribute to the principles asserted in the writings of which they complain.

Because, when I consider how long the ministers have viewed with unconcern the circulation of those opinions, at the consequence of which they now affect to be alarmed; and when I recollect that of all those societies for the purpose of obtaining a reform in the representation of the people, and mentioned in the debate, one only is of recent origin; I have but too much reason to believe, that under whatever form they have disguised their design, the real object of ministers has been to subject to suspicion and distrust the principles, misrepresent the views, and calumniate the intentions of that association of respectable persons lately formed for purposes the most virtuous and constitutional, upon principles the most pure and disinterested, to be pursued by means the most legal and peaceful; wielding no weapons but those of truth and reason; using no efforts but those of argument, unsupported by party; appealing only to the sense and judgment of a public deeply interested in the objects of their pursuit; and not presuming to demand any personal credit but what may be derived from their steadiness, consistency, and integrity. This society appears to be the only one which has excited the jealousy of those ministers from whom justice has extorted an admission in debate, that nothing offensive, or even improper, has proceeded from it. Of those ministers, some of whom have themselves engaged, but to a much greater extent, and upon much broader principles in the prosecution of the same general objects,

objects, the attainment of which they declared not only indispensable, but alone capable of preserving the liberties of the people, and perpetuating the blessings of the constitution; but which objects, with the peaceful possession of power and emolument, they have long neglected and lost sight of, and now, at last, in the face of the public, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, unblushingly abandon. Such are the ministers who have presumed to use the royal name and authority to a proclamation by which, insinuating the existence of dangers, of which even some of their most confidential friends have declared their disbelief, they vainly hope to divert the attention of a discerning public from their apostasy from principles, and their dereliction of opinions which paved their way to power, and for which they stood deliberately and repeatedly pledged to a generous, considering, and, at last, deluded people.

Because, if the objects of that association, thus particularly aimed at by his majesty's ministers, were not expressly justified by their former principles and professions, as the act itself of associating to pursue those objects is sanctioned by their former conduct and example, I should still see nothing in it to discommend but much to applaud. A moderate and temperate reform of the abuses of the constitution is due to the people, who being, on their part, just to the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the constitution; who commit no invasion of the rights, and seek no abridgement of the powers of either, are entitled to have their own share in the legislation of their country, freed from the unjust usurpation of others, and to possess

uninvaded, and to exercise uncontested, by the other branches of the government, those rights, which this happy constitution, in the matchless excellence of its principles, has solely and exclusively allotted to the people. A reform of such a character and description may lessen the means and diminish the opportunities of corrupting the legislation, both in its source and in its progress; it may reduce the influence by which unconstitutional ministers preserve their power, but it will save the nation from their profusion, and perpetuate that constitution which all equally profess to venerate. Such a reform, I believe, cannot with perfect safety be long delayed. The more readily and cheerfully those rights, which belong only to the people, are restored by those who at present in too many instances possess and exercise them, the more firm and established will be the present happy form of our government, the more safe from risk and danger will be the just prerogatives of the crown, and the peculiar acknowledged hereditary privileges of this house.

LAUDERDALE.

Protest against the Bill "To remove Doubts respecting the Functions of Juries in Cases of Libels."

DISSENTIENT,

Ist, Because the rule laid down by the bill, contrary to the determination of the judges, and the unvaried practice of ages, subverts a fundamental and important principle of English jurisprudence, which, leaving to the jury the trial of the fact, reserves to the court the decision of the law. It was truly said by Lord Hardwicke, in the court of King's-bench, that if ever these

these came to be confounded, it would prove the confusion and destruction of the law of England.

2dly, Because juries can in no case decide whether a matter of record be sufficient upon which to found judgment. The bill admits the criminality of the writing set forth in the indictment, or information, to be matter of law, whereupon judgment may be arrested, notwithstanding the jury had found the defendant guilty. This shows that the question is upon the record, and distinctly separated from the province of the jury, which is only to try facts.

3dly, Because by confining the rule to an indictment, or information, for a libel, it is admitted, that it does not apply to the trial of a general issue, in an action for the same libel, or any sort of action, or any other sort of indictment or information; but as the same principle, and the same rule, must apply to all general issues, or to none, the rule, as declared by the bill, is absolutely erroneous.

THURLOW, C.
BATHURST.
KENYON.
ABINGDON.
WALSINGHAM.
JOHN BANGOR.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 15.

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot close the present session of parliament, without returning you my particular thanks for the attention and diligence with which you have applied yourselves to the dispatch of public business, and especially to the important objects which I recommended to your consideration.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The readiness with which you have granted the necessary supplies, and the fresh proof which you have given of your constant affection for my person and family, in enabling me to provide for the establishment of my son the duke of York, call for my warmest acknowledgments. I have also observed with the utmost satisfaction the measures which you have adopted for the diminution of the public burthens, while you have, at the same time, made additional provision for the reduction of the present national debt, and established a permanent system for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have seen with great concern the commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe. In the present situation of affairs, it will be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good understanding which subsists between me and the several belligerent powers, and to preserve to my people the uninterrupted blessings of peace. And the assurances which I receive from all quarters of a friendly disposition towards this country, afford me the pleasing hope of succeeding in these endeavours.

The recent expressions of your uniform and zealous attachment to the established government and constitution, leave me no room to doubt, that you will, in your several counties, be active and vigilant to maintain those sentiments in the minds of my faithful people; and I have the happiness of receiving continued and additional proofs of their just sense of the numerous and increasing advantages which

they now enjoy under the protection and distinguished favour of Providence.

Proclamation for calling out the Militia, Dec. 1.

By the KING, A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

Whereas by an act, passed in the 26th year of our reign, intituled, "An Act for amending and reducing into one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Militia in that Part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for us, in the cases and in manner therein mentioned, the occasion being first declared in council and notified by proclamation, if no parliament shall be then sitting, to order and direct the drawing-out and embodying of our militia forces, or any part thereof: And whereas we have received information, that in breach of our laws, and notwithstanding our royal proclamation of the 21st day of May last, the utmost industry is still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established constitution of this realm, and to destroy all order and government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, has lately shown itself in acts of riot and insurrection: And whereas, under the present circumstances, it is more particularly necessary, that, for the immediate suppression of such attempts, some addition should be made, as the exigency of the case may require, to the force which may be in readiness to act for the support of the civil magistrate; we therefore, being determined to exert the powers

vested in us by law for the protection of the persons, liberties, and properties of our faithful subjects, and fully relying on their zeal and attachment to our person and government, and to the happy constitution established in these kingdoms, have thought fit to declare in our council, our royal intention, for the causes and on the occasion aforesaid, to draw out and embody such part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the said important objects. And we do hereby, in pursuance of the said recited act, notify to all our loving subjects our said intention, and the causes and occasion thereof.

Given at our court at Windsor, the 1st day of December, 1792, and in the 33d year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Proclamation for the Meeting of Parliament, Dec. 1.

By the KING, A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE R.

Whereas by an act, passed in the 26th year of our reign, intituled, "An act for amending and reducing into one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Militia in that Part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted, That whenever we shall cause the militia to be drawn out and embodied, on the occasion and in the manner therein mentioned, if the parliament shall then be separated by such adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within 14 days, we may and shall issue our proclamation for the meeting of the parliament within 14 days; and the parliament shall accordingly meet and

and sit upon such day as shall be appointed by such proclamation, and continue to sit and act in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same day: and whereas we have thought fit, in pursuance of the said act, this day to declare in our council, certain causes and occasions moving us to order and direct, that such part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the important objects therein mentioned, should be drawn out and embodied: and whereas, in pursuance of the said recited act, we have thought fit on this day to issue our royal proclamation, notifying the causes and occasions so declared in council as aforesaid: and whereas our parliament now stands prorogued to Thursday the 3d day of January next; we therefore, by the advice of our privy council, do hereby publish and declare our royal will and pleasure, that our said parliament shall, on Thursday the 13th day of this instant December, be held for the dispatch of divers weighty and important affairs. And the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs of the house of commons, are hereby required to give attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said 13th day of December.

Given at our court at Windsor,
the 1st day of December,
1792, and in the 33d year of
our reign.

GOD save the KING.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of
Parliament, Dec. 13.*

My lords and gentlemen,
Having judged it necessary to

embody a part of the militia of this kingdom, I have, in pursuance of the provisions of the law, called you together within the time limited for that purpose, and it is, on every account, a great satisfaction to me to meet you in parliament at this conjuncture.

I should have been happy if I could have announced to you the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which my subjects have derived from a state of tranquillity; but events have recently occurred which require our united vigilance and exertion, in order to preserve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

The seditious practices which had been in a great measure checked by your firm and explicit declaration in the last session, and by the general concurrence of my people in the same sentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and this design has evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious

uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the *states-general* (who have observed the same neutrality with myself) measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, I have felt it my indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which I am entrusted by law; and I have also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of my naval and military force, being persuaded that these exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object consistently with the security of my kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by interest and honour to fulfil.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I have no doubt that you will be ready to make a due provision for the several branches of the public service.

You will certainly join with me in lamenting any necessity for extraordinary expences, which may for a time prevent the application of additional sums beyond those which are already annually appropriated to

the reduction of the public debt, or retard the relief which my subjects might have derived from a further diminution of taxes: but I am confident you will feel that those great ends will ultimately be best promoted by such exertions as are necessary for our present and future safety and tranquillity; and it is a great consolation to me to reflect, that you will find ample resources for effectually defraying the expence of vigorous preparations, from the excess of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the *marquis Cornwallis*, have led to the termination of the war by an advantageous and honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly satisfactory to me, from their tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in that part of the world.

Your attention will now naturally be directed to such measures, for the future government of those valuable possessions, as shall appear, from experience and full consideration, most likely to provide for their internal prosperity, and to secure the important advantages which may be derived from thence, to the commerce and revenue of this country.

I am persuaded that it will be the object of your immediate consideration to adopt such measures as may be necessary under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms.

You will be sensible how much de-

depends on the result of your deliberations; and your uniform conduct is the best pledge that nothing will be wanting on your part which can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the country.

I retain a deep and unalterable sense of the repeated proofs which I have received of your cordial and affectionate attachment to me; and I place an entire reliance on the continuance of those sentiments, as well as on your firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution which has so long protected the liberties and promoted the happiness of every class of my subjects.

In endeavouring to preserve and to transmit to posterity the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourselves experienced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and our joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual, by the decided support of a free and loyal people.

*Speech of the Earl of Westmorland,
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both
Houses of Parliament, January
19, 1792.*

My lords and gentlemen,

I have it in command from his majesty to acquaint you, that since the close of the last session, preliminaries of peace have been signed between Russia and the Porte, and those powers are now engaged in negotiation for a definitive treaty, which his majesty trusts will complete the restoration of tranquillity among the different powers of Europe.

His majesty, convinced of the interest you take in whatever concerns his domestic happiness, commands me to acquaint you of the

marriage of his royal highness the duke of York and the princess royal of Prussia.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the national accounts; and I trust you will make such provisions as are necessary for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My lords and gentlemen,

The constant attention you have shewn to the interests of Ireland makes it unnecessary to recommend to you a continuance of that wise system of policy, from which your country has received such inestimable advantages, in the increase of her trade, her credit, and manufactures. It is equally unnecessary for me particularly to point out the encouragement of your agriculture and attention to your linen manufacture. The protestant charter-schools and other charitable institutions will receive your accustomed consideration.

You may be assured of my zealous co-operation to forward every measure that may contribute to the public welfare. I shall pay unremitting attention to the due execution of the law, and the maintenance of good order and government, so essential to the continuance of that freedom, prosperity, and happiness, which Ireland enjoys under his majesty's auspicious reign, and under our excellent constitution.

*Speech of the Speaker of the House of
Commons of Ireland, on presenting
the Bills of Supply, April 18, 1792.*

May it please your Excellency;

The commons of Ireland attend with the supplies.

While they may look back with a conscious pride to their spirited and successful measures for preventing an increase of national debt, as one great cause of the extension of trade, agriculture, and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progress raised this kingdom to a state of prosperity and wealth never before experienced in it, they know that the continuance of that prosperity would soon cease if it were not cherished and maintained by our most excellent constitution; a constitution in which liberty and order are so happily blended, that every subject equally enjoys their influence, and feels his person, his industry, and property, equally and effectually protected by it.

Its preservation therefore must ever be the great object of their care; and there is no principle on which it is founded so essential to its preservation, nor more justly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has settled the throne of these realms on his majesty's illustrious house; on it, and on the provisions for securing a protestant parliament, depends a protestant ascendancy, and with it the continuance of the many blessings we now enjoy.

The bills which I hold contain the usual grants, and I have the most sincere happiness in presenting them to your excellency, whose knowledge of the true interests of Ireland, and whose anxiety to promote its welfare, has been proved to us by the firmest vigilance and prudence of your administration.

These supplies are contained in the bills which I have the honour of presenting to your excellency for the royal assent.

land to both Houses of Parliament, April 18, 1792.

My lords and gentlemen,

The dispatch you have given to the national business, enables me to close the session, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty commands me to thank you for the supplies you have voted for the public service; you may depend upon their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that has guided your proceedings during the present session, especially in the liberal indulgences you have afforded to your Roman catholic brethren, by establishing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profession of the law and the benefits of education, and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures.

Your knowledge of the true interests of your country is plainly marked in the measure you have adopted for carrying into effect a reciprocal preference in the corn trade with Great Britain; a system beneficial to both countries, and peculiarly advantageous to the agriculture of Ireland, that source of your wealth and prosperity. The further steps you have taken to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and your wise regulations for the charitable institutions, prove your attention to the interests of the lower orders of the people.

I shall firmly rely on your cordial co-operation for the support of public

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

lic order, and the enforcing obedience to the laws, by which alone the fruits of national industry can be secured; and when you reflect upon the flourishing resources, the increasing wealth, and unexampled prosperity of the country, you will not fail to impress upon the minds of the people, that the maintenance of our free and happy constitution will ensure the continuance of these invaluable blessings.

majesty's mild and auspicious government, will also with us duly estimate the value of those blessings, and unite in the firmest support of your majesty's endeavours to continue them, by preserving our excellent constitution from the dangers of speculative and impracticable theory.

Signed by order of court,
WILLIAM RIX.

ANSWER.

I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, this mark of your attachment to me, and to the government and constitution of the kingdom, as by law established; and my loyal city of London may always be assured of receiving from me every mark of attention and regard.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, to his Majesty, on the late Proclamation, June 1, 1792.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly beseech your Majesty to accept our grateful thanks for the wisdom and benevolence evinced by your royal proclamation for suppressing those seditious publications and criminal correspondencies, which may be productive of the most alarming and dangerous consequences.

Your faithful citizens venerate the constitution of this kingdom, as established by the glorious Revolution, and improved on subsequent occasions, because it connects the honour of the sovereign with the liberty and happiness of the subject; and their attachment is increased, from the consideration, that it contains the natural and regular means of advancing those objects with the change of times and improvement of circumstances.

We trust that the rest of your majesty's subjects, enjoying with us the most abundant national happiness and prosperity under your

Address of the Clergy of the Diocese of Worcester, on the same Occasion.

We, the bishop, dean and chapter, archdeacon, and clergy, of the church and diocese of Worcester, humbly beg leave to return our warmest thanks to your majesty for your majesty's late wise and provident proclamation. In our present circumstances, sire, nothing but experience could make it conceivable that any of your majesty's subjects, in the full enjoyment of every blessing which the best government can bestow, should be so weak or wicked as to endeavour to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of your people, and to disseminate such principles and writings among them as tend to destroy, under pretence of reforming, our excellent constitution, in church and state. One reformation, indeed, can never be unseasonable, which is, that of our hearts and lives, when-

ever

ever they become disorderly and licentious; and this reformation, sir, we your faithful clergy shall labour to effect; in ourselves first, and then in those committed to our charge. In performing, or even attempting, this service, we shall do our duty to God, to your majesty, and to the public. For the rest, we implore the divine blessing on the wise and salutary measures your majesty has taken to preserve the unequalled form of government under which we live, from all bold and hazardous innovations, and to prevent the wantonness of prosperity (the too common disease of happy states) from disturbing the public order and tranquility.

Address of the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, on the same occasion.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, the bishop, archdeacon and chapter, and the clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, humbly tender to your majesty our strongest assurances of loyalty to your majesty's person, of attachment to your family, of zeal for the principles of the revolution; and of our utter abhorrence of every attempt to subvert the constitution in church and state, then established, and since then improved. The improvements which the constitution has received in the judges being rendered more independent, in the mode of determining contested elections, in the repeal of certain penal statutes respecting protestant and catholic dissenters, in ascertaining the rights of juries, and in other ways, have been more numerous and important during your majesty's reign than during the reigns of all your predecessors since the Revolution. We are thankful for what has been done; and without encouraging improper

modes of innovation in other matters, still, perhaps, requiring an amendment, we trust, that what is wanting to render our constitution perfect and permanent, will be accomplished by the deliberate wisdom of the legislature, rather than by the rash violence of democratic faction. When we compare our situations, as citizens of a free state, with that of those who are either struggling for that liberty which we enjoy, or groaning under that slavery which we are in no danger of, we cannot but set the highest value on that form of civil government from which our happiness is derived; and we beg leave, in the most sincere and solemn manner, to declare to your majesty, that in proportion to this our estimation of its worth, will be our zeal for the preservation of the constitution.

Resolutions of the Society of the Friends of the People, at the Freemasons Tavern, June 2.

At a general meeting of the society of the friends of the people associated for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, held this day,

Sir John Throckmorton, bart.
chairman.

John Wharton, esq. M. P. deputy
chairman.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this society be given to Charles Grey, esq. for his able and manly defence of this institution, in the house of commons, on the 25th of May, and for the just severity with which he exposed the dereliction of the cause of the people, by those who have heretofore professed themselves advocates for parliamentary reform.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this society

(E)

be given to the right hon. Charles James Fox, for his steady adherence to the cause of the people, and for his able and eloquent support of the amendment moved by Charles Grey, esq. to the address of the house of commons, on the 25th of May; an amendment which teaches magistrates to afford an equal protection to the civil rights of men of all denominations, and combines the peace and order of society with the liberty and happiness of the people.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this society be given to those members of the house of commons, who upon the same occasion joined their efforts and so ably and eloquently supported Mr. Grey's amendment.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this society be given to the right hon. the earl of Lauderdale, for his able and manly defence of this institution in the house of lords, on the 31st of May; and for the just severity with which he exposed the dereliction of the cause of the people, by those who heretofore professed themselves advocates for parliamentary reform.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this society be given to the most noble the marquis of Lansdown, for his consistent conduct in the cause of parliamentary reform, and for the support which, with so much ability and eloquence, he gave to the amendment proposed by the earl of Lauderdale.

Resolved unanimously,

That a copy of the second resolution be transmitted by the chairman of this meeting, to the right hon. Charles James Fox; and that a copy of the fifth resolution be also sent by him to the marquis of Lansdown.

Resolved unanimously,

That a proclamation of the crown cannot refrain or impeach that freedom in the discussion of political subjects, which is essential to the preservation of public liberty, congenial to the spirit of the British constitution, and the birthright of Britons established by their laws.

Resolved unanimously,

That the late proclamation appears to this society unnecessary; because those who, under pretence of exercising this right of political discussion, intentionally vilify the government, and create disaffection in the minds of people, are liable to prosecution, and may be punished in the courts of law; but that all measures which have a tendency to prejudice the cause even of these offenders, before trial, are highly improper.

Resolved unanimously,

That a proclamation, professing to be directed against the authors and publishers of such writings, but so indefinitely expressed as to leave a doubt whether other persons, whose principles and proceedings even malice itself cannot find a ground to attack, were the real object, is of dangerous example in the government of a free people.

Resolved unanimously,

That this society, conscious of the integrity of their motives, are determined to persevere in proposing to parliament, and to the country, by the same temperate and legal means which they have hitherto used, a reform in the representation of the people, the necessity of which, late events have only tended to confirm.

Resolved unanimously,

That these resolutions be printed and published in the morning and evening newspapers.

In

In name, and by order of the meeting.

(Signed) JOHN THROCKMORTON,
chairman.

Declaration of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of the City of London, at Merchant Taylors Hall, Dec. 6.

December 5, 1792.

At a very numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders held this day, in consequence of public advertisement,

SAMUEL BOSANQUET, Esq. in the chair;

The chairman having read the advertisement by which this meeting was called,

Resolved,

That it is expedient, at this time, for the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, to make a public declaration of their attachment to the constitution, and of their resolution to support the same.

Then the following declaration was read, viz.

DECLARATION in support of the
CONSTITUTION of GREAT BRITAIN.

We, the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, perceiving, with the deepest concern, that attempts are made to circulate opinions contrary to the dearest interests of Britons, and subversive of those principles which have produced and preserved our most valuable privileges, feel it a duty we owe to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, to invite all our fellow-subjects to join with us in the expression of a sincere and firm attachment to the constitution of these kingdoms, formed in remote, and improved

in succeeding ages, and under which the glorious Revolution in 1688 was effected; a constitution wisely framed for the diffusion of happiness and true liberty, and which possesses the distinguished merit, that it has on former occasions been, and we trust in future will be found, competent to correct its errors, and reform its abuses: our experience of the improvements in agriculture and manufactures, of the flourishing state of navigation and commerce, and of increased population, still further impels us to make this public declaration of our determined resolution to support, by every means in our power, the ancient and most excellent constitution of Great Britain, and a government by King, Lords, and Commons; and to exert our best endeavours to impress on the minds of those connected with us a reverence for and a due submission to the laws of their country, which have hitherto preserved the liberty, protected the property, and increased the enjoyments of a free and prosperous people.

And the same having been read a second time,

Resolved unanimously,

That this declaration be approved, and be subscribed by all such merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, as may approve thereof, and that it do lie at this hall until Saturday next inclusive, for signature.

Resolved unanimously, That

Sam. Bosanquet,	Theo. Pritzer,
T. Boddington,	Richard M. T.
Ab. Bracebridge,	Chifwell,
John Brickwood,	John Mellish,
Joseph Cotton,	Rich. Neave,
Edw. Forster,	Edw. Payne,
Geo. Griffin,	Benj. Winthorp,
Tho. Hankey,	John Read,

(E 2) John

John Harman, Tho. Parry,
 Rob. Hunter, Dan. Giles,
 James Langston, Tho. Raikes,
 Wm. Manning, And
 Sam. Smith, J. Cotton, esqrs.
 be a committee to attend the signing of this declaration; and they are hereby requested to cause the same to be published in the newspapers, and in any other manner they may think most advisable.

The Definitive Treaty with Tippoo Sultaun.

Definitive Treaty of perpetual friendship, for the adjustment of affairs between the honourable English East India Company, the Nawaub Assoph Jah Behauder, and Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, and Tippoo Sultaun; in virtue of the authority of the right hon. Charles, earl Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, governor general, &c. &c. invested with full powers to direct and controul all the affairs of the said company in the East Indies, dependent on the several Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and of the Nawaub Azien ul Omrah Behauder, possessing full powers on the part of the Nawaub Assoph Jah Behauder, and Hurry Ram Pundit Tantia Behauder; possessing equal powers on the part of Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, settled the 17th day of March, 1792, of the Christian æra, answering to the 23d day of the month of Rejeb, 1206 of the Hejeree, by sir John Kenneway, baronet, on the part of the right honourable Charles, earl Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, &c. and Meer Aalum Behauder, on the part of the Nawaub Azien ul Omrah Behauder, and Buchajee Pundit on the part of Hurry Ram Pundit Tantia Behauder, on one part, and by Golam Ally

Khan Behauder, and Ally Reza Khan on the behalf of Tippoo Sultaun, according to the under-mentioned articles, which, by the blessing of God, shall be binding on their heirs and successors as long as the sun and moon endure, and the conditions of them be invariably observed by the contracting parties.

ART. I. The friendship subsisting between the honourable company and the Sircar of Tippoo Sultaun, agreeably to former treaties, the first with the late Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan, bearing date the 8th day of August, 1770, and the other with Tippoo Sultaun of the 11th day of March, 1784, is hereby confirmed and increased, and the articles of the two former treaties are to remain in full force, excepting such of them as by the present engagement are otherwise adjusted, and the 8th article of the second above-mentioned treaty, dated the 11th day of March, 1784, corresponding with the 18th of the month Rubbic ul Saany 1198 Hejeree, confirming all the privileges and immunities of trade which the Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan granted to the said company, by the treaty entered into in the year 1770, is also, by virtue of the present treaty, renewed and confirmed.

ART. II. In the fourth article of the preliminary treaty, entered into between the allied powers and the said Tippoo Sultaun, dated the 22d of February, 1792, corresponding with the 28th of the month Jemadic ul Saani 1206 Hejeree, it is written, "until the due performance of the three foregoing articles," (the first article stipulating the cession of half the country, the second the immediate payment of half of the sum of money agreed to be paid, and the remainder in specie, only at three instalments, not exceeding four months each instalment, and the third

third engaging for the release of prisoners) "two of the sons of the said Tippoo Sultaun shall be detained as hostages;" which articles are confirmed by the present instrument: accordingly the said Tippoo Sultaun shall divide the sum, agreed to be paid at three instalments above-mentioned, into three equal parts, and shall pay to the said three powers their respective shares, at the exchange affixed for the amount, to be paid immediately at such places, on the boundaries of the allies, as shall be determined on by them; and, after the performance of the remaining two articles above-mentioned, that is to say, the cession of one half the country, and the release of the prisoners, in case the amount of the three instalments be paid by Tippoo Sultaun to the three powers prior to the expira-

tion of the period stipulated for it, the said sons of Tippoo Sultaun shall be immediately dismissed, and all pecuniary demands between the contracting parties shall cease and be at an end.

ART. III. By the first article of the preliminary treaty it is agreed, that one half of the dominions, which were in the possession of the said Tippoo Sultaun at the commencement of the war, shall be ceded to the allies, adjacent to the respective boundaries, and subject to their selection. Accordingly, the general abstract of the countries composing half the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, to be ceded to the allies agreeably to their respective shares, is hereunto subjoined, and the detail of them is inserted in a separate schedule, bearing the seal and signature of Tippoo Sultaun.

Districts ceded to the Honourable English Company.

Calicut 63 Talooks	—	8,48,765 5 4½
Palgautcherry	—	88,000 0 0
Dindigul and Pulnaveerpachry,		
2 Talooks		90,000 0 0
Saleni	—	24,000 0 0
Koosh	—	8,000 0 0
Namkool		16,000 0 0
Sunkagherry		40,000 0 0

Barah Mohul, 9 Talooks, viz.

Barah Mohul		64,000 0 0
Coveripultun	—	10,000 0 0
Verbudderdroog		8,000 0 0
Paycottah	—	8,000 0 0
Kangoondie		6,000 0 0
Darampoury	—	8,000 0 0
Pennagur		10,000 0 0
Tengrycottah	—	12,000 0 0
Coverypoor		8,000 0 0
	—	1,34,000 0 0
Ahtoor Arruntgurry		18,000 0 0
Permuttee	—	14,000 0 0
Shadmungul	—	20,000 0 0
Vamloor		16,000 0 0
	—	Ps. 13,16,765 5 4½

(70) P U B L I C P A P E R S.

Districts ceded to the Nawaub Afaph Jah Babauder,

Jalook Herpah, 61 Talooks		8,33,649 3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Doab, 15 Talooks	16,48,099 0 0	
Deduct as follows,		
In the Peshwa's Share	13,06,666 6 10	
Remains with Tippoo		
Sultaun, Anagooudy	61,101 0 0	

 13,66,767 6 10

Remains to the Nawaub Afaph Jah	2,81,331 6 8
Bangaupilly and Chinchunmulla, 2 Talooks	41,804 9 8
Singputtum and Chilwara	20,000 0 0
Oak	20,000 0 0
Hanwantgooud	15,000 0 0
Winipilly vemla	12,565 0 0
Moaka	12,162 6 14

In Gooty, 4 Talooks, viz.

Tarpatry	19,055 0 4
Tamurry	13,072 8 0
Velanoor	8,800 0 0
Singunmully	10,855 0 0

 51,782 8 4

Biswapoor		5,000 0 0
Buthary, Koorkoor, &c. 2 Talooks	35,000 0 0	
Deduct		
Remains with Tippoo, 2 Talooks, Koorkoor		
and Dummoor	12,000 0 0	23,000 0 0
In Koorkoor		370 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
		13,16,666 6 0

Districts ceded to Row Pundit Purdbaun Behauder,

The Doab 15 Talooks	16,48,099 3 2
Deduct remains with Tippoo Sultaun,	
Anagoudy 1 Talook	60,101 0 0
In the Share of the Naw-	
aub Afaph Jah	
Kopul 8 Ta-	
looks	1,06,137 3 9
Kaneckgurry	
ditto	79,100 0 0
In Gujonder-	
ghur	96,094 2 55
	2,81,301 6 8
	3,41,432 6 8

Remains

Remains to Row Pandit Purdhaun, viz.

Dawar, 8 Talooks	1,38,536	8	5½
Hawanoor, 2 ditto	30,604	2	5
Dummoor	15,394	6	6½
Bankapoor, 16 Talooks	2,50,426	6	7½
Sirkully, 4 ditto	64,843	7	10
Keloor, 11 ditto	1,43,397	4	3
Gudduck, 4 ditto	45,297	1	9½
Jaliekul, 5 ditto	73,185	0	14
Dummal, 4 ditto	49,196	5	12
Shanore, 26 ditto	3,40,946	7	13
Lanlgurry Soudunhy	1,48,953	8	0

In Gujender-
ghur 8 Ta-
looks 1,01,977 9 6½

Deduct in the
share of the
Nawaub A-
soph Jah 96,094 2 5

5,883 6 7½

13,06,666 6 10

From Gooty

Sundoor

10,000 0 0

Pagodas - 13,16,666 6 0
Grand Total 39,50,098 8 9½

ART. IV. Whatever part of Namkul Sunkaghurry, Salem Ourupoor, Attoor and Permutty, which is above stated, are comprised within the division ceded to the aforesaid company, shall be situated to the northward and eastward of the river Caveri, or if there should be any other talook, or villages of talooks, situated as above described, they shall belong to the said company, and others of equal value shall be relinquished by the said company to Tippoo Sultaun in exchange for them; and if, of the above districts there shall be any talooks, or villages of talooks, situated to the westward and southward of the said river, they shall be relinquished to Tippoo Sultaun, in exchange for others of equal value to the said company.

ART. V. On the ratification and mutual exchange of this definitive treaty, such districts and forts as are to be ceded by Tippoo Sultaun, shall be delivered up without any cavil or demand for outstanding balances; and such talooks and forts as are to be relinquished by the three powers to Tippoo Sultaun, shall in the same manner be delivered up; and orders to this effect, addressed to the Aumils and commanders of forts, shall be immediately prepared and delivered to each respectively of the contracting parties; on the receipt of which orders, the discharge of the money stipulated to be paid immediately, and the release of prisoners on all sides, of which the contracting parties, considering God as present and a witness, shall release,

(E 4)

without

without cavil, all that are in existence, and shall not detain a single person. The armies of the allied powers shall march from Seringapatam; such forts and places, nevertheless, as shall be in the possession of the said company, and on the road by which the said armies are to march, shall not be given up, until the said armies shall have moved the stores, grain, &c. and sick which are in them, and shall have passed them on their return: as far as possible no delay shall be allowed to occur in the said stores, &c. being removed.

ART. VI. Whatever guns and shot shall be left by Tippoo Sultaun in the forts which the said Tippoo Sultaun has agreed to cede to the allied powers, an equal number of guns and shot shall be left in the forts which the allied powers have agreed to restore to Tippoo Sultaun.

ART. VII. The contracting parties agree that Zemindars and Aumildars being in balance to either party, and repairing to the country of either party, protection shall not be given them, and they shall be restored. If hereafter it should happen that any disputes arise on the boundaries of the allies and the said Tippoo Sultaun, such disputes shall be adjusted with the knowledge and approbation of all parties.

ART. VIII. The Polygars and Zemindars of this country, who, in the course of the present war have attached themselves and been serviceable to the allies, shall not, on that account, in any shape or manner, be injured or molested by Tippoo Sultaun.

Whenever three copies of this treaty, consisting of eight articles, shall be delivered by Tippoo Sultaun, bearing his seal and signature, accompanied by three schedules, also under the seal and signature of the

said Tippoo Sultaun, specifying the detail of the countries ceded to the three powers, one to the said company with the schedule, one to the said Nawaub Asoph Jah Behauder with the schedule, and one to the said Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder with the schedule, three counterparts thereof, and of the schedule, shall be delivered to the said Tippoo Sultaun by the allies, that is to say, one counterpart with the schedule on the part of the company, bearing the seal and signature of the said Nawaub Asoph Jah Behauder, bearing the seal and signature of the said Nawaub, and of Azeem ul Omrah Behauder, and one with the schedule on the part of the said Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, bearing the seal of the said Row Pundit Purdhaun Behauder, and the signature of the said Hurry Ram Pundit Tania Behauder.

Signed and sealed in camp, near Seringapatam, this 18th day of March, 1792.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

A true copy,

(Signed) G. F. CHERRY.

Perf. transf. to the gov. gen.

True copies, A true copy,

(Signed) JOHN MORRIS, sec.

(Signed) S. AUCHMUTY, military sec.

Resolves of the Convention of Burgesses relative to the Scottish Royal Burghs in Convention, Edinburgh, July 26, 1792.

Mr. GRAHAME, of Gartmore, in the Chair,

Resolved unanimously,

That the convention of burgesses, met for the purpose of obtaining from

from the wisdom and justice of the British legislature, a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland, think it their duty, at this time, to declare, that they entertain the most loyal attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and his illustrious family, the deepest sense of the superior excellence of the British constitution, and the most firm and inflexible determination, to maintain for ever the principles on which it is established, and to defend it from every innovation by which it may, in the slightest degree, be hurt or injured.

That, in planning and promoting a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland, the burghesses consider themselves as having acted in strict conformity to the principles they have thus avowed. Every system of political government, supreme or subordinate, is liable to decay and abuse, and can only be effectually preserved by a wise and temperate correction of those defects which time, corruption, or improper deviations from original principles, have introduced. The constitution has wisely placed the power of remedying these evils in the hands of the legislature, and the burghesses consider those as the best friends of the constitution, who, in a temperate and respectful manner, lay before parliament the abuses which prevail in the department to which they belong, and humbly suggest the constitutional means that occur to them, as the most likely to remedy the existing grievances, to restore such part of our happy constitution to its original purity and vigour, and to prevent the destructive consequences that most infallibly result from the corruption or failure even of the smallest member of the great machine of

government. That although, from the misrepresentations of the enemies of reform, the applications already made to parliament have not met with the success that was expected; yet the burghesses of Scotland are fully persuaded, that when the nature of the grievances of which they complain shall be completely and fully understood, the wisdom and justice of the parliament of Great Britain will not hesitate to afford them redress.

Therefore, resolved unanimously, to pursue, with inflexible perseverance, the most legal and constitutional measures for regulating the internal government of the boroughs, by destroying the present pernicious systems, and never to abandon these salutary measures originating in constitutional right, prompted by the deepest sense of abuse, and directed to objects of the highest public advantage to the national spirit, industry, and prosperity of Scotland.

While, from the great political events of the present times, the public mind appears to be agitated, and even withheld, by a fear of consequences, from expressing their sense of known existing abuses, the burghesses of Scotland feel the greatest satisfaction in reflecting, that the object at which they aim, in correcting the abuses in the internal administration of the royal boroughs, by restoring their ancient governments, has not the remotest tendency to alter or infringe in any respect the political constitution of their country, which they hold in the highest veneration, and are determined to support, convinced that its errors and defects admit of an easy remedy in the most perfect consistency with its fundamental principles, which, by the security it affords to private pro-

property, and the protection it extends to personal liberty, and to every essential right of the subject, appears to be in the highest degree calculated to preserve the public tranquillity, and, at the same time, to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people, the ultimate end of all government.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Pref.
JOHN EWEN, Sec.

*Scots Borough Reform, in Convention,
Edinburgh, July 27, 1792.*

MR. GRAHAME, of Gartmore, in
the Chair.

The convention having read, and deliberately considered the bill prepared, and brought into the house of commons by the right honourable the lord advocate, "for better regulating the mode of accounting for the common good, and revenues of the royal boroughs."

Resolved unanimously,

First, That without destroying the self-elections of the town-councils, it is utterly impossible ever to establish an effectual method for bringing the magistrates to an account in a proper manner.

2ndly. That even although this object were attainable, without the destruction of the self-election, yet the bill proposed by the lord advocate is not only totally inadequate to its professed purpose, of better regulating the mode of accounting for the common good of boroughs, but is in effect, though certainly not in the intention of its honourable author, a deception on the burgesses and the legislature, holding out in appearance a complete remedy for the abuses in the administration of the revenues of the burghs, when

in reality the enactments of the bill, if passed as it now stands, omitting many necessary limitations on the power and management of magistrates; and containing among many exceptionable regulations a provision, that the auditors of the accounts of magistrates self-elected shall be nominated by the magistrates themselves, would tend to rivet, if not even to extend the abuses which it professes to correct.

3dly. That the committee of convention and the committee of reform at London, be specially instructed to authorise Mr. Sheridan to communicate these resolutions to the honourable house of commons, as containing the fixed and decided sentiments of the burgesses of Scotland, associated to obtain a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs in that part of the united kingdom.

Mr. Meliss of Perth moved a resolution, in addition to those reported by the committee, which was seconded by Mr. Bisset of Dunder, and after being considered by the convention, was adopted, with some variations, and is as follows:

Resolved,

That this convention cannot, however, omit to express their satisfaction, that this delusive and efficient plan of reform has been submitted to the consideration of parliament, as it must necessarily destroy that unaccountable confidence which parliament has been inclined to repose in the assertions of their enemies. For seven years the opposers of reform uniformly persisted in declaring, that no abuses whatever existed; and even in course of last session of parliament, they boldly averred that the only grievance was the want of a jurisdiction of accounts; while the very gentlemen who first had the

candour

endeavour to make this admission, did in the course of a few weeks, bring in or lend his name to the bringing in of the present bill, which not only provides for a jurisdiction of accounts, but contains regulations for distinguishing the cess from the other taxes, for making the cess-rolls accessible to the burgesses, for regulating the mode of alienating the property of the burghs, and restraining the powers of the magistracy in that respect, thereby virtually admitting, that the taxes were not distinguished, nor access given to the rolls: so that the burgesses are at present liable to the illegal exaction of taxes without the possibility of ascertaining the extent of the illegal exaction, or any means of procuring redress: and that there were instances of misconduct and dilapidation on the part of magistrates, which required to be regulated, all of which particulars had been formerly denied; and therefore, after these recent instances, that parliament has been grossly deceived by the misrepresentations of the enemies of reform, the burgesses confidently trust, that when the subject shall be again brought forward, parliament will no longer refuse to hear the complaints of ten thousand respectable citizens, or the evidence they offer of enormous abuses, although any one or all of the officers of the crown, or any individual or individuals, however respectable, should be again pleased to deny the existence of any grievance or abuse, or, as formerly, to argue that the grievances alledged are so atrocious as to surpass all belief, and, on that ground, to justify the representatives of the people, in refusing to admit evidence of their truth and reality.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Pref.
JOHN EWEN, Sec.

Subscription towards the succour of the People of Poland.

Mansion-house, 10th of August, 1792.

Committee of Trustees for managing the proposed Subscription towards the Succour of the People of Poland, viz.

The Right Hon. J. HOPKINS, Lord Mayor of London, Chairman.

J. W. Anderson, Esq. } Ald. and Sher.
Harvey C. Combe, } of London and
Esq. } Middlesex.

William Smith, M. P. Clapham, Surry.

John Harcourt, Esq. M. P. Hanover street, Hanover-square.

Philip Francis, Esq. M. P. St. James's-square.

George Smith, Esq. M. P. New Bond-street.

William Manning, Esq. Billiter-sq.

John Henry Cazenove, Esq. Copt-hall-court.

James Bell, Esq. Cecil-street.

John Bellamy, Esq. Kensington.

Thomas Rogers, Esq. Cornhill.

Josiah Wedgwood, Esq. Etruria, Staffordshire.

Samuel Smith, Esq. Swithin's-lane.

Thomas Lilley, Esq. Lawrence-Poultney-lane.

The committee enter on the duties entrusted to them with the cheerful confidence of success. Englishmen estimate truly the value of the object for which the king and people of Poland so ardently, so gloriously contend. Every sympathetic emotion was gratified by the principles and the conduct of their revolution.

"The means were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to the reason, and soothing to the moral sentiments. In contemplating that change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. It was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity, and a secrecy, never

never before known on any occasion."—Such is the description given by a distinguished writer before this system of order, and strength, and peace, provoked the hostility of foreign powers.

The mind cannot conceive an attack upon any sovereign people more outrageous to the rights of nations, more repugnant to justice. Every nation upon earth is interested in the fate of the Polish people, but the hearts of Englishmen swell with indignation.—They recall the long continuance of their own struggle for their own constitution, and wish the people of Poland to accomplish the happiness which they finally obtained without the calamities that led to it. To participate in their cause, is an English sentiment; for freedom is in its nature social and beneficent. It has no motive to be selfish; for its own strength is increased by extending to others the blessings it enjoys.

With what rapturous sensations then must not Britons concur with the efforts made by a virtuous king at the head of a gallant people, to deliver them from a foreign yoke, and to plant liberty and the arts, in the room of slavery and barbarism! It is for government to take measures for the empire; but, without trenching on its functions, individuals may bear testimony to distressed merit, may assist it by their purses, and may discountenance its persecution by the weight of their names. It is not every day that private men can do good to nations, or have the satisfaction, when doing it, of thinking that it must indirectly contribute to the safety of their own country.—Such an occasion now presents itself to the becoming pride, the patriotism, the benevolence of Englishmen; and let no man be deterred by an idea that succour will come too late

to be effectual.—Ten millions of men united in the cause of their native home, of their independence, of their posterity,—with such heroism as the Poles in all their former and present adversity have uniformly displayed—with such a king to animate, and such a constitution to reward their toils—with an oath of fidelity upon their consciences, and with the world for spectators, are not to be vanquished in a short campaign!—Their open country may be over-run, but "the unconquerable WILL" must remain in all its vigour, and which the faintest glimpse of freedom will rally to its standard.

Already the report of the spirit stirring in England may have reached their ears; already, perhaps, they are soothing the languor of protracted hope by anticipating the energy of our efforts; and with a gratitude that outruns the service, are pouring forth their thanks to the Deity, who has inspired the first people, that in his eternal goodness he made free, to dedicate a part of its opulence (the fruits of that freedom) to their succour!—Already the re-invigorated mind of Poland may have communicated new force to its arm; and the humane, the considerate, the suffering *Stanislaus*, may have already exclaimed, with an emotion that only such patriotism can feel—"My expectations are not deceived—the nation that I venerate will save the people whom I love!"

Mansion House, August 16, 1792.

At a meeting of the committee of trustees for managing the proposed fund towards the succour of the people of Poland,

The

The right hon. JOHN HOPKINS,
LORD MAYOR, in the Chair.

It was resolved unanimously,

That in consequence of the last advices from Poland, the committee of trustees think it adviseable to adjourn the further consideration of the measure of a subscription towards the succour of the people of that kingdom; but that the sums already subscribed should remain in the hands of the respective bankers, until certain information be received to entitle them to proceed, or that such a settlement has taken place as to make the exertions of individuals ineffectual to the proposed end.

That the committee of trustees shall call a public meeting of the subscribers, to meet at the mansion-house, as soon as such information shall be received.

J. HOPKINS, chairman.

*Case of the suffering Clergy of France,
Refugees in England.*

It is well known that the revolutions which have happened in France, have impelled, by the most urgent necessity, a great number of this unfortunate body of respectable men to take refuge in our country; they have fled from anarchy and death to this happy isle, blessed with peace and benevolence.

Trained up to the profession of administering relief to distress, they are driven by distress extreme, to ask shelter and bread from a generous people, whose hearts have ever expanded to embrace and release the wants of others. They have hitherto received charitable assistance from the voluntary bounty of some worthy individuals. But this resource becoming daily more inadequate to the relief of those whose sufferings claim

immediate attention, a general subscription in their favour is become indispensably necessary to prevent them perishing in our streets. Those unfortunate helpless men are here under the sacred protection of hospitality, and they will not perish from our neglect.

It was but the other day that they were employed in distributing alms in their own country, and they are now under the painful necessity of begging relief in a foreign land.

Donations will be received at the following bankers. And a meeting of the subscribers will be held at the London Tavern, to-morrow at one o'clock precisely, to direct the application of the donations:

Sir James Sanderford and co. borough bank.

Messrs. Down, Thornton, and Free.
Sikes, Snaith, and Snaith.
Newnham, Everett, and co.
Forster, Lubbock, Bou-
lanquets, and co.
Smith, Payne, and Smith.
Harley, Cameron, and co.
Mossats, Kensington, and
co.

Sir James Esdaile and co.

Messrs. Barnets, Hoare, and Hill.
Walpole, Clarke, and co.
Barclays and Tritton.
R. C. Glyn and co.
Boldero, Adey, Lushington, and Boldero.
Fullers and Vaughan.
Baron Dimsdale, Son, Staples, and Barnard;

And at the bar of Lloyd's coffee-house.

Polish Subscription.

At a general meeting of the subscribers towards a fund for the succour of the people of Poland, held at the Mansion-House of London, on Thursday the 27th of September.

The

The right hon. JOHN HOPKINS,
Lord Mayor, in the chair.

It was resolved unanimously, to publish the following declaration of the sentiments of this meeting, on the event of the fall of Poland under a foreign yoke:

DECLARATION.

We had hopes of being able to contribute, in some degree, to the assistance of the people of Poland. These hopes have been defeated by the successful operations of a superior force, which the Polish nation, exerting their utmost unassisted efforts in defence of their country, had no power to resist.—Our only duty now is to declare our opinion of these transactions.—The only consolation left us is to reflect, that we have done every thing that depended on individuals, to rescue the character of the British nation from the scandal and dishonour of affecting a base neutrality, or of looking on with indifference, while the independence of a great kingdom, and the freedom of a considerable portion of mankind, were sacrificed to lawless violence, and crushed under the dominion of a foreign tyranny. The fact is atrocious; but the precedent is alarming. In the ruin of one helpless inoffensive nation, the other states of Europe, and this country in particular, ought to see an example, and a warning of the principles and practice of ambition, which *they* may experience in their turn. We cannot be persuaded that the rapid progress and approach of military power; that the apparent resolution of a great confederacy to divide the continent of Europe among them, are objects and events, in which this nation has no concern. It is a thing to be believed, that the king of Poland would have been deserted, as he has been, by the natural enemies and rivals of Russia, if this conquest

had not made part of a more extensive system, concerted among them, of which Poland is only the first victim, and which is to furnish the means of equal aggrandizement to the other contracting parties. We may rely on our internal strength, or we may confide in our situation. But what solid security have we, that this powerful confederacy may not be able to create, or collect, a maritime force, sufficient to contend with the navy of Great Britain? If that should ever happen, a single event might lay this island open to the same armies of disciplined barbarians, to which the rest of Europe may have been compelled to submit. When the force is sufficient, the pretences never fail. In the case of Poland, there was none. All we have heard is, that it did not suit the views of Russia, that a limited monarchy, an hereditary crown, or a reasonable constitution of any kind should exist in that country;—that the mass of the people should have a law to appeal to, or a government to protect them.

We submit these reflections to the wisdom and generosity of the nation, with a thorough conviction that, on this subject, their wisdom and their generosity will lead them to the same conclusion.

We have no doubt of the success of our former addresses to the public, and that a sum would have been collected, which it would have been honourable in us to offer, and to the Polish nation to have accepted. But the object is gone. We have therefore determined, that the several sums subscribed shall be returned to the subscribers, deducting a small percentage to defray the expenses incurred.

In consequence of this resolution the accounts were examined, by which it appeared,

The

That the subscription (which was open but a few days when the intelligence of the unfortunate issue of the struggle of Poland for liberty was received in England) amounts to 4016l. 1s.

That the expences for advertising in the town and country newspapers, for subscription books, stationary, and incidents, amounted to 224l. 17s. 5d.

And that the probable expence of advertising the proceedings of this general meeting would amount to about 75l. making together the sum of 300l.

Resolved unanimously,

That a deduction of one shilling and six pence in the pound, or guinea (indifferently), be made from the sums now lying in the hands of the bankers, to be drawn for by five of the trustees, for the payment of the expences; and that the bankers be requested, after making such deduction, to pay back to the individual subscribers the remainder of their respective sums.

Resolved unanimously,

That any subscriptions not called for by the subscribers before the 1st day of January next, shall be paid by the bankers into the hands of the Right Honourable John Hopkins, lord mayor, and John William Anderson and Harvey Christian Combe, esqrs. sheriffs of London, to be by them presented, together with any surplus that may remain of the 75l. set apart for advertising, as a donation to some public charity.

* * To facilitate the return of the subscriptions, and at the same time to verify the claimants, each subscriber is directed to apply to the banker, into whose hands he paid the money. Those who subscribed at the London Tavern, on the 2d of August, will find their sums at the bank of Messrs. Newnham and Co.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right honourable John Hopkins, lord mayor of London, for the very polite attention with which he accommodated the trustees with the use of his mansion-house for conducting the business of the subscription, and for the zeal and interest which he has manifested for the success of the measure, in his able conduct as chairman of the committee.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the committee of trustees and managers, for the unremitting attention, zeal, and ability, with which they have conducted the measure of the subscription.

That these resolutions be published.

JOHN HOPKINS, mayor,
chairman.

Proceedings relative to the Subscription for the King and People of Poland.

At a numerous and respectable meeting, convened by public advertisement, to consider of the propriety of a public subscription, towards the succour of the people of Poland,

WILLIAM SMITH, esq. M. P.
in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,

That this meeting do warmly sympathise with the king and people of Poland, in their present situation, and admire the patriotism, unanimity, and courage, with which they exert themselves for the maintenance of a constitution, which, "removed from their country at once anarchy and servitude, by strengthening the throne for the protection of the people,

people, and by freeing ten millions of men, not merely from civil or political chains, but from personal bondage."

Resolved unanimously,

That, as far as becomes the subjects of a free government, they earnestly desire to express their feelings on an attack so abhorrent from the principles of humanity and justice, as that now made on the king and people of Poland. — To awaken in the breast of their fellow citizens the same sentiment of participation in the cause of a gallant and oppressed nation, which they cordially feel; and, as succour to be effectual, must be prompt to invite them to contribute towards a fund, to be applied to the succour of the people of Poland, in such manner as the subscribers may determine, at a meeting hereafter to be convened.

Resolved, therefore, unanimously,

That a general subscription be opened for the above purpose.

Resolved unanimously,

That a committee of trustees and managers be appointed to conduct the said subscription.

That the following gentlemen compose the said committee:

The right hon. John Hopkins, lord mayor of London.

J.W. Anderson, esq. } Ald. and Sher.
Harvey C. Combe, } of London and
esq. } Middlesex.

William Smith, esq. M. P. Clapham, Surry.

John Harcourt, esq. M. P. Hanover-street, Hanover-square.

Philip Francis, esq. M. P. St. James's-square.

William Manning, esq. one of the directors of the bank of England, Billiter-square.

John Henry Cazenove, esq. one of the directors of the Royal Exchange assurance, Copthall-court.

James Bell, esq. one of the directors of the Phoenix assurance, Cecil-street.

Alexander Champion, esq. merchant, Great Winchester-street.

John Bellamy, esq. of Kensington.

Thomas Rogers, esq. banker, Cornhill.

Josiah Wedgewood, esq. Etruria, Staffordshire.

And that the committee be empowered to augment their number.

Resolved unanimously,

That the sums be subscribed at the several banking houses, to be appointed by the committee of trustees and managers, and be held by the said bankers, subject to the order of the committee, or any five of them, (for current and unavoidable expences only), until at a public meeting of the subscribers, to be called within two months from this date, the mode of application shall be settled.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Smith, esq. M. P. for his conduct as chairman of the meeting this day.

That these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be published in the newspapers.

WM. SMITH, chairman.

Proceedings at a Meeting of the Ward of Queenhithe, London, Dec. 12.

December 12, 1792.

At a meeting of the alderman, deputy, common-council, and inhabitants of this ward, holden in the parish church of St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, Old Fish-street, London:

Mr.

Mr. Alderman SKINNER in the chair.

It was unanimously resolved, That, entertaining the same sentiments respecting the present state of public affairs, as those expressed by the last court of common-council, and being animated with a just sense of the many invaluable blessings we enjoy under our present happy constitution and government, by King, Lords, and Commons; and seeing with concern the numerous attempts to contaminate the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects, "We will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to suppress all seditious writings and publications, tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty's person; as also the circulating or sticking up papers or hand-bills, or writing any such words on doors or walls as have a tendency to disturb the internal peace and tranquillity of this city:"—That the constables, beadle, patrols, and watchmen, be desired to seize and bring before a magistrate any persons who shall be found so offending.

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting will exert every effort in their power to prevent the associating of any disaffected or seditious persons within the ward, and at all times be ready to support the magistrates in the execution of their duty, and zealously co-operate with them in enforcing a due obedience to the laws, under which we enjoy that inestimable happiness which no other nation can boast of.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman, and published in all the morning and evening papers, and that copies of the same be distributed to all the inhabitants of this ward.

1792.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be fairly copied, and left in the vestry-room of this parish, to be signed by the inhabitants of this ward, from nine till twelve to-morrow, and the two following days.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the alderman, deputy, and common council of this ward, for convening this meeting, and for their impartial conduct during the same, as also for their particular attention at all times to the interest and welfare of this ward.

Proceedings at a Meeting of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, Dec. 12.

At a meeting of the deputy, common councilmen, ministers, churchwardens, and other inhabitants of the said ward, held in the parish church of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, London, on Wednesday, the 12th day of December, 1792.

Mr. deputy WILLIAM STAINES, in the chair.

In consequence of the present state of public affairs, we conceive it the duty of every good citizen to stand forth and endeavour to prevent, as much as possible, whatever machinations may be designed or contrived, by ill-disposed or disaffected persons, to the prejudice of our mild and equitable government.

Resolved therefore, That the British constitution, as established at the glorious revolution of 1688, appears to us better calculated, than any other existing form of government, to secure the liberty, the

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the property, and happiness of the community.

Resolved, That we conceive there is sufficient energy in the constitution of this country, to produce a reform of all abuses in government, in a legal and peaceable manner, whenever it shall appear that the majority of the representatives of the nation are clearly and decidedly agreed as to the existence of such abuses.

Resolved, That enjoying as we do the blessings of peace, accompanied with an unexampled extension of commerce, and with the cheerful prospect of the gradual alleviation of the public burthens, (from the disposition shewn by government in the last session of parliament) all attempts to disturb the tranquillity of the nation are unconstitutional and impolitic, and ought to be resisted by every virtuous citizen.

Resolved, That impressed with these sentiments, and actuated by a sincere and loyal affection to our present most gracious sovereign, and the illustrious house of Hanover, the inhabitants of this ward will cheerfully co-operate with the civil magistrates, in the suppression of all seditious or tumultuous proceedings, and in the support of our happy constitution, and the defence of his majesty's person and government.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and published in all the morning papers, and that they be also entered by the ward clerk, in proper books, and left in the quest-house this afternoon till four o'clock, and again to-morrow, and every morning this week, from the hours of ten to twelve, that every inhabitant may have an opportunity of signifying his approbation; and that the de-

puty, with the common councilmen of this ward, the ministers, church-wardens, overseers of the poor, and sixteen other inhabitants, to be nominated by this meeting, be appointed a committee for carrying these resolutions into effect, and that any three or more of them be empowered to act.

Resolved, That the following sixteen gentlemen be the other members of the committee, viz.

The Rev. Mr. Tho. Towle,	Mr. J. Poultney,
Mr. Jer. Morrell,	Mr. Tho. Cole,
Mr. And. Wright,	Mr. Joseph Hale,
Mr. John Jackson,	Mr. J. Banner,
Mr. J. B. Cole,	Mr. Wm. Freer,
Mr. J. Budgen,	Mr. J. Wanless,
Mr. Jos. Jackson,	Mr. John Dabois,
Mr. Tho. Wright.	Mr. Edw. Peppin.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the deputy and common councilmen, for their zeal and attention to the duties of their office in calling this Meeting.
Signed, by order of the Meeting,

WILLIAM STAINES, chairman.

[* * * There were likewise meetings of all the other wards in the city.]

Resolutions agreed to at a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. George, Hanover-Square, Dec. 18.

Parish of SAINT GEORGE, HANOVER-SQUARE.

At a general meeting of the inhabitants of this parish, holden by public advertisement, at the Feltino-rooms in Hanover-square, on Tuesday the 18th day of Dec. 1792.

The Rev. Dr. H. R. COURTENAY, Rector, in the chair.

Resolved,

That although, from accidental circumstances, we are late in assembling ourselves on this occasion, yet we desire to be understood as not yielding to any of our fellow citizens in a firm attachment to our excellent constitution, and a just sense of the blessings we enjoy under it.

That as we hold ourselves bound in duty and gratitude, at all times, to assist in endeavouring to support and maintain that constitution, so we now think ourselves more especially called upon by the peculiar and critical situation of the times, to declare, that we will, all and each of us in our respective stations, collectively and individually, contribute every assistance in our power to the due execution of the laws, the maintenance of civil order and government, and the immediate suppression of all riots and tumults, under what pretence soever they may be excited; to discountenance all illegal meetings, and all seditious and inflammatory writings calculated to mislead and seduce the people from their allegiance, and render them blind to their true interest.

That these resolutions be entered in a book to be provided for that purpose, and to be left at the board-room in Mount-street, to receive the signature of such inhabitants as shall approve thereof.

That a distinct book be kept for the subscription of such sums of money as different persons may choose to advance, toward the expenses of carrying the purposes of this meeting into execution; it not being at all expected that those who sign the resolutions, should thereby pledge themselves to advance any money, but be left entirely to their option in that respect. And it is requested that no person would sub-

scribe more than two guineas, nor less than two shillings and sixpence.

That for the better carrying into execution the above purposes, a committee be formed, consisting of the rector, churchwardens, sidersmen, and overseers for the time being, together with any number of other persons not exceeding fifty, who shall meet from time to time, to take such measures as shall be judged necessary; that any nine of the said committee be a quorum empowered to act.

That the following inhabitants be the committee, and that their first meeting be at the board-room in Mount-street, next Monday, at twelve o'clock, viz.

Wm. Mainwaring, esq.	T. Powis, esq.
Wm. Baker, esq.	Fr. Dickens, esq.
Benj. Caldwell, esq.	Th. Birch, esq.
J. Clerke Jervoise, esq.	Sir J. Stanley, bart.
Benj. Keene, esq.	Sir Henry Gough Calthorp, bart.
Hon. C. Marham	Wm. Morton Pitt, esq.
J. Gladel Vernon, esq.	Sir R. Sutton, bart.
John White, esq.	Edw. Baber, esq.
Albet. Curzon, esq.	Regin. Pole Carew, esq.
Rt. Hon. William Windham	R. Hallifax, M. D.
Sir J. Woodhouse, bart.	Edw. Boudle, esq.
Tho. Bowdler, esq.	Hon. J. Yorke
Wm. Strode, esq.	Tho. W. Coke, esq.
Hen. Legge, esq.	Lord R. Spencer
Lord John Russell	Lord W. Russell
R. H. Ch. Ja. Fox	Right Hon. Col. Fitzpatrick
G. Hemming, esq.	Mr. Johns
Mr. Ottley	Mr. W. Gray
Mr. Henry Turner	Mr. James Fisher
Mr. Jonath. Bettle	Mr. Willerton
Mr. J. Armstrong	Mr. Butt
Mr. Davis	Mr. Owen
Mr. J. Nicholas	Mr. Francis Jones
Mr. R. Faulder	Rev. Mr. Sandilands
Mr. Walter	Mr. Simpson.

Resolved,

That the unanimous thanks of this meeting be given to the reverend Dr. Courtenay, for the zeal

and candour which he has exhibited on the present occasion, by proposing resolutions which appear to be so perfectly well-calculated for procuring the peace and security of the inhabitants of the parish of St. George, Hanover-Square.

By order of the meeting,

H. COURTENAY, Chairman.

[All the parishes in the metropolis, as well as in the vicinity, and almost all parts of the kingdom, held similar meetings.]

Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the People, at Freemasons Tavern, Dec. 15.

FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

Freemasons Tavern, Dec. 15, 1792.

The society of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, after a careful revision of all their declarations, resolutions, and proceedings, since their institution, as well as the events which have taken place since their last meeting; and after an attentive consideration of the present state of public affairs—the apparent disposition of the people at this time—the acknowledged conviction of all men, of all parties, of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and with no other difference of opinion, but concerning the extent of the measure, or the time for proposing it; and finally, the situation in which this society is placed by their own engagement, and by the expectations formed of their future conduct, have this day

Unanimously resolved,

That they hold themselves bound by every tie of honour and of duty to persevere in their endeavours to accomplish, through the known

channels of the constitution, the object of their association; namely, an effectual reform in the constitution of the house of commons, until the object is obtained, or shall be found to be evidently unattainable by their efforts, or by any of those means in which they can participate.

That considering the pains incessantly taken to traduce the character and principles of this society, first, by endeavouring to confound the idea of a reform in parliament with that of disaffection to the established constitution of this kingdom, as if a real representation of the commons were incompatible with the security of a limited monarchy, as if the crown were not safe with an honest unbiassed house of commons, or as if the idea of such reform had been at all times reprobated, as it now is, by those who occupy the highest station of profit and confidence under the crown; and then by uniting us in the same description and obloquy with persons whom they call republicans and levellers, and with whom, if such doctrines and persons exist, we have no connexion, we think it incumbent on us to declare once more, that we disclaim the views and principles so basely and falsely attributed to us; and that detesting, as we do, the corruption and baseness notoriously prevailing and increasing in every branch and department of government, our sole wish and object is to provide a constitutional instrument and power by which they may be removed or corrected in a regular parliamentary way.

That, calling, as we have done for the support of the country in their own cause, and for the purposes which we have repeatedly declared, and soliciting the assistance

ance of every man who approves of our design, and may be desirous to promote it, we at the same time most earnestly exhort and conjure the true friends of the cause of reform, to discourage, and resist to the utmost of their ability, every attempt to support it by any other means, than those which the laws permit, and the constitution warrants. Mistaken zeal is always at the mercy, and too often under the guidance, of real treachery. They who affect most to abhor sedition, are sometimes found at the bottom of it themselves; and instances are not wanting to prove, that, under the specious pretence of strengthening the hands of government, a design may be formed of destroying the liberty of the press, of calling in the military power, and finally annihilating the civil government of the country.

That whereas we have received assurances from numerous and respectable associations, in different parts of this united kingdom, of their entire concurrence in our declared views and principles, of their confidence in our integrity and prudence, and of their determination to support us, we earnestly hope that those associations, as well as all others, who are friends to the same cause, will confine themselves to the same distinct object that we do, and co-operate with us on the principles stated in this and our former declarations. In return, we promise them, that we will exert, and devote our faculties, and our labours, faithfully, honourably, and steadily, to the great cause of reform, in which we are engaged and united with them.

In the name and by the order of the society,

(Signed)

SAMUEL WHITBREAD, Jun.

Chairman.

Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the Freedom of the Press, Dec. 22.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Freemason's Tavern, Dec. 22.

At a general meeting of Friends to the Freedom of the Press, convened this day by public advertisement,

GERARD NOEL EDWARDS, esq.
M. P. in the chair.

Unanimously resolved,

1. That the liberty of the press is a right inseparable from the principles of a free government, and essential to the security of the British constitution.

2. That this liberty consists in the free discussion and examination of the principles of civil government, and of all matters of public opinion.

3. That no writing ought to be considered as a public libel, and made the subject of criminal prosecution, unless such writing shall appear to be published with a design to excite the people to resist the civil magistrate, or obstruct the execution of the existing laws.

4. That such publications may become proper objects of prosecution; and that the executive government is entrusted with powers amply sufficient for that purpose.

5. That we have therefore seen, with uneasiness and alarm, the formation of certain societies, which, under the pretence of supporting the executive magistrate, and defending the government against sedition, have held out general terrors against the circulation of writings, which, without describing them, they term seditious, and entered into subscriptions for the maintenance of prosecutions against them:—a proceeding doubtful as to its legality

lity, unconstitutional in its principle, oppressive in its operation, and destructive to the liberty of the press.

6. That such associations have appeared to us the more exceptionable from an attentive observation of their proceedings;—whilst mutually binding and engaging themselves to enforce the execution of the laws against seditious libels, they have themselves produced and circulated publications containing doctrines long since exploded, and which, if admitted, would prove the revolution to have been an act of rebellion, and the title of the reigning family to the throne of these kingdoms, to be founded in usurpation and injustice.

7. That a system of jealousy and arbitrary coercion of the people has been at all times dangerous to the stability of the English government.

8. That, anxious to preserve the public peace as connected with public liberty, this meeting considers it as an indispensable duty to warn their fellow subjects against all proceedings, which appear to be inconsistent with either, on whatever pretext they may be grounded; we are therefore determined to oppose, to the utmost of our power, every attempt to prejudice any part of the constitution, to maintain that which appears to be its best security, the freedom of the press; and to use our endeavours to counteract the effect of measures which seem calculated to suppress that liberal sentiment and manly freedom of discussion, which form the life and soul of the British constitution.

9. That the thanks of this meeting are particularly due to the hon. Thomas Erskine, for his constitutional defence of the freedom of opinion and the liberty of the press,

in a late trial: a defence in which he displayed ability, independence, zeal, and eloquence never surpassed on any former occasion at the English bar, though that defence was made under circumstances of such peculiar difficulty and embarrassment as required his determined spirit and unshaken fortitude to overcome, and though he had to encounter every prejudice which art and industry could excite.

By order of the meeting
(Signed) GERARD NOEL EDWARDS,
chairman.

Manifesto to all States and Nations, presented Dec. 29, 1791, by a Deputation from the National Assembly of France, to the King, for his Majesty's Approbation.

MANIFESTO, to all States and Nations,

At a moment when, for the first time since the epoch of their liberty, the French people may see themselves reduced to the necessity of exercising the terrible right of war, their representatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives which have guided their resolutions, and an explanation of the principles which direct their conduct. 'The French nation renounces the undertaking of war with the view of making conquests, and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any state.' Such is the text of their constitution; such the sacred vow by which they have connected their own happiness with the happiness of every other people; and they will be faithful to them.

But who can consider that as a friendly territory, in which exists anarchy, waiting only the prospect of

of success, for the moment of attack?

Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of strength not only to enemies who have already declared, but to conspirators, who have long since commenced it? Every thing, therefore, compels the powers established by the constitution for maintaining the peace and safety of the public, to employ force against rebels, who, from the midst of a foreign land, threaten to tear their country in pieces.

The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people insulted—the criminal abuse of the king's name, employed by impostors, to conceal their disastrous projects—the distrust kept up by sinister rumours through the whole empire—the obstacles occasioned by this distrust to the execution of the laws, and the re-establishment of credit—the means of corruption to delude and seduce the citizens—the disquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts the most vain and the most speedily repulsed may expose them—the outrages still unpunished which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted French find an asylum—the necessity of not allowing the rebels time to complete their preparations, or rise up more dangerous against their country—such are our motives. Never did any exist more just or more urgent. And in the picture which we have drawn, we have rather softened than overcharged our injuries. We have no occasion to rouse the indignation of citizens, in order to inflame their courage.

The French nation, however, will never cease to consider as a friendly people, the inhabitants of

the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer them protection. The peaceful citizens, whose country their armies may occupy, shall not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as subjects. The public force, of which she may become the temporary depositary, shall not be employed but to secure their tranquillity, and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, she will never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury herself in her own ruins, rather than suffer laws to be taken from her, or dictated to her, or even an insulting guarantee of those she has framed for herself; she will never infringe the independence of other nations. Her soldiers will behave on a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The damages which her troops may involuntarily occasion, shall be repaired. The asylum which she offers to foreigners shall not be shut against the inhabitants of countries whose princes shall have forced her to attack them, and they shall find a sure refuge in her bosom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, she will fulfil them with a generous exactness; but no danger shall be capable of making her forget, that the soil of France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be universal. She will present to the world the new spectacle of a nation truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amid the storms of war, and respecting every where, and on every occasion, toward all men, the rights which are the same to all.

Peace, which imposture, intrigue, and treason have banished, will never cease to be the first of our wishes.

wishes. France will take up arms, compelled to do so, for her safety and her internal peace; and she will be seen to lay them down with joy, the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace; she feels that she has need of it; and she is too conscious of her strength to fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, she might have thought, that she deserved to be listened to; and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of the tranquillity and happiness of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes who govern them; but such of those princes as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal commotions in other countries, shall learn, that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, but condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means employed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will every where pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her, but the influence of her example.

The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, she has the sentiment of freedom. She is free; she is armed; she can never be reduced to slavery. In vain are her intestine divisions relied upon: she has passed the dangerous moment of the reformation of her political laws; and she is too wise to anticipate the lesson of experience; she wishes

only to maintain her constitution, and to defend it.

The variance of two powers proceeding from the same source, and directed to the same end, the last hope of our enemies, has vanished at the voice of our country in danger; and the king, by the solemnity of his proceedings, by the frankness of his measures, shews to Europe the French nation strong in her means of defence and prosperity.

Resigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race, united against her, may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage; victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted—to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear, and to consider adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French, and this is the war which they declare against their enemies.

A N S W E R.

The national assembly may be assured, that I shall always maintain the dignity of the nation.

Decree of the National Assembly of France, presented by a Deputation to the King, Jan. 26, 1792.

The national assembly, considering that the emperor, by his circular letter of the 25th of December 1791; by a new treaty concluded between him and the king of Prus.

Prussia on the 25th of July 1791; and notified to the diet of Ratisbon on the 6th of December; by his answer to the king of the French, on the notification made to him of the acceptance of the constitutional act; and by the official notice of his chancellor of the court and state, dated December 21, 1791, has infringed the treaty of the 1st of May 1756, endeavoured to excite among divers powers a concert injurious to the sovereignty of the French nation; considering that the French nation, after having manifested its resolution not to interfere in the government of any foreign power, has a right to expect for itself a just reciprocity, of which it will never suffer any derogation, applauding the firmness with which the king of the French has replied to the official notice of the emperor; after having heard the report of the diplomatic committee, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The king shall be invited by a message to declare to the emperor, that he cannot in future treat with any power, but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the constitution.

2. The king shall be invited to demand of the emperor, whether, as head of the house of Austria, he intends to live in peace and good understanding with the French nation; or whether he renounces all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and safety of the nation?

3. The king shall be invited to declare to the emperor, that in case he shall, before the 1st of May next, fail to give full and entire satisfaction upon all the points above stated, his silence, as well as every evasive or dilatory answer, will be considered as a declaration of war.

4. The king shall be invited to adopt the most efficacious measures to put the troops in a state to take the field upon the first orders they may receive.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, in Answer to the preceding Decree.

Paris, Jan. 28.

Gentlemen,

I have examined the invitation, in the form of a decree, which you presented to me on the 25th instant. You know that by the constitution it belongs to me alone to entertain political connexions abroad; to conduct negociations; and that the legislative body cannot deliberate on war, but on my formal and necessary proposition. Undoubtedly, you may require of me to take into consideration whatever interests the safety and the dignity of the nation; but the form you have adopted is open to important observations. I shall not enter into them at present. The importance of circumstances obliges me to attend more to maintaining the harmony of our sentiments, than to discussing my constitutional rights.

I must therefore acquaint you, that I have demanded of the emperor, more than fifteen days ago, a positive explanation on the principal articles which are the object of your invitation. I have observed toward him the respect which powers mutually owe to one another. If we are to have war, let us not have to reproach ourselves with having provoked it by any wrong on our part. This certainty alone can aid us to support the unavoidable evils it must bring with it.

I feel that it is glorious for me

to

to speak in the name of a nation which displays so high a degree of courage, and I know how to make the most of this incalculable means of force; but what more sincere proof of my attachment to the constitution can I give than to employ as much circumspection in the negotiations that tend to peace, as celerity in the preparations, which will enable us, if necessary, to take the field in six weeks. The most unquiet distrust can find nothing in this conduct but the conciliation of all my duties. Humanity, and I remind the assembly of it, forbids mixing any emotion of enthusiasm in our decision on war. Such a decision ought to be an act most maturely considered, for it is to pronounce, in the name of our country, that her interest requires of us the sacrifice of a great number of her children. I am watchful, in the mean time, for the honour and the security of the nation; and I shall accelerate, with all my power, the moment of acquainting the national assembly, whether we may depend upon peace, or whether I must propose war.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Underigned) M. L. F. DUPORT.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, respecting certain Reports of his Intention to leave Paris, Feb. 17.

Gentlemen,

I have already mentioned to some of you the reports which are spread about my pretended leaving Paris: I thought that what I mentioned of it would have been sufficient for discrediting these reports; but as evil-minded people continue to propagate them, in order to alarm

the inhabitants of Paris, and to calumniate my intentions, I will explain myself clearly on my way of thinking.

I know the duties which the constitution imposes upon me: I will always fulfil them; but I also know the rights it gives me, and I will never refuse myself the power of making use of them. Nothing keeps me at Paris, but my will of being there, as I think my presence necessary; and I declare, that I will and shall remain there; and whenever I shall have reasons to leave it, I shall not disguise them.

I have to add, that if a person is not quite deprived of the use of his senses, or incurably perverse, he cannot entertain the least doubt of my inviolable attachment to the welfare of the nation, and the inhabitants of Paris.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, respecting their Complaints against the Minister of the Marine, Feb. 29.

Gentlemen,

I have examined the observations which the zeal and solicitude of the national assembly have induced it to address to me upon the conduct of the minister of the marine. I shall always receive with pleasure those communications which it thinks useful to make. The observations which have been sent me from the assembly appear to me absolutely to come within the number of those subjects upon which it had declared itself incompetent to deliberate. I at that time gave an account of those answers which M. Bertrand had presented against these

these various complaints, and my judgment coincided with the assembly. Since that time, no well-founded complaint has been made relative to the different departments of his administration, and all communications from the colonies, from commercial bodies, and from the naval departments, present testimonies of his zeal and useful services. In a word, as he has been reproached with no breach of the law, I should think myself unjust, were I to withdraw my confidence from him. To conclude, ministers know well, that the only way to obtain and preserve my confidence, is to cause the laws to be executed with energy and fidelity.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counter-signed) M. L. DUPORT.

The King's Speech to the National Assembly, proposing to declare War against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, April 20.

Gentlemen,

I have come among you for an object of the highest importance in the present circumstances. My minister of foreign affairs will read to you the report which he made to me in council on our situation with regard to Germany.

The minister for foreign affairs then went up, and standing by the king's side, read the report, which the king had notified to the assembly.

Minute of the Cabinet Council of France, addressed to the King.

Sire,

When you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you be-

came the object of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop—no motive of alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety, could prevent their enmity. Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment they forgot your majesty's fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers to prepare a guilty aggression against France. They wish to carry into its bosom fire and sword. Their rage would have been impotent if the foreign princes had not seconded, and encouraged their criminal manœuvres. The house of Austria has done every thing to encourage their audacity. The house of Austria, which since the treaty of 1756 has found us good and faithful allies! This treaty, Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of this house. She engaged us in all her wars, to which she called us as her allies. We have been prodigal of our blood in the cruel tragedies of despotism. The instant that the House of Austria saw she could no longer govern us for her purposes, she became our enemy.

It was Austria that had stirred up against France the restless northern potentate, whose tyrannical phrenzy had at last made him fall under the sword of an assassin.—It was Austria, who, in circumstances of which Europe shall judge, advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of the 18th of February, was in truth a declaration of war; M. Kaunitz there avows the league of the powers against France. The death of Leopold ought to have made some change in this ambitious system, but we have seen the contrary.

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The note of the 18th of March, is the ultimatum of the court of Vienna. This note is more provoking still than the former. The king of Hungary wishes that we should submit our constitution to his revision; and he does not dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

Sire, continues the minister, in charging me with the administration of foreign affairs, you have imposed on me the telling of you the truth: I proceed to tell you the truth. It results from this measure, that the treaty of 1736, is broken in fact, on the side of Austria. That the maintenance of a league of the powers, is an act of hostility against France; and, that you ought this instant to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave. Sire, the Austrian troops are on the march—the camps are marked out—fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath, on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negotiation, is a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired—your honour is attacked—the nation is insulted; therefore, there remains for you no other part to take, but to make to the national assembly the formal proposition of war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

The minister having read this minute, the king resumed his speech.

You have heard, Messieurs, the deliberation and the decision of my council. I adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wish, many times expressed, of the national assembly, and to that which has been addressed to me by many districts of France. It ap-

pears to me to be the wish of all the French people. Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating state, which compromises our constitution, and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert war—but I judge it indispensable; I come, therefore, in the terms of our constitution, to propose to you formally to declare war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

Sire, your wish and how want

The assembly will proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which your majesty has made to them. They will address to you, by a message, the result of their deliberation.

Message from the National Assembly to the King, April 20.

Sire,

The national assembly have thought it their duty to come to a speedy determination on the proposition you made to them, for declaring war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary. They charge us to present their decree for your majesty's sanction. It is conformable to the wish that you have expressed to them. It is the result of the lively and constant solicitude of the elected representatives and the hereditary representative of the nation, for maintaining its dignity, its liberty, and its constitution.

THE KING'S ANSWER.

I shall take the decree of the national assembly into deep consideration. It involves the most important interests of the nation.

Debate

Decree of War, by the National Assembly of France, against the king of Bohemia and Hungary, April 20.

The national assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king; considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and security of the French nation:

That Francis I. king of Hungary and Bohemia, has by his notes of the 18th of March and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert.

That notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of 11th of March, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparations.

That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the German princes, possessionaries in France, to whom the French nation have continued to offer indemnifications.

That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by offering support to the malecontents in the concert of the powers; considering, in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the king of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, decrees that there exists a case of urgency.

The national assembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the constitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people, take up arms in defence of their liberty and their independence only; that the war into which they are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch. That the French will never confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war; to preserve their property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, and to bring down upon the heads of those alone, who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from war.

That it adopts all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall join its standard and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their settlement in France.

Deliberating on the formal propositions of the king, and after having decreed the case of urgency, the national assembly decrees war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia.

Address of M. La Fayette to his Army upon their March, May 1.

Soldiers of the country,

The legislative body, and the king in the name of the French people, have declared war. Since the country, by the constitutional organs of its will, calls us to its defence,

fence, what citizen can refuse his arm?

At the moment, in which we first obey the oath, pronounced upon the altar of the federation by the nation in arms, I wish to inform you of my intentions, and remind you of my principles.

I am convinced, by the experience of a life devoted to liberty, that it can exist only among citizens submissive to the laws, as it can be defended only by troops consenting to subordination.

I have served the people without flattering them, and in my constant opposition to licentiousness and anarchy, have incurred the hatred of all the ambitious and all the factious. Now, that the army expects of me not pernicious compliances, but an inflexible discipline, it is by rigorously fulfilling this duty that I shall justify the affection which it grants and the esteem which it owes me. But when I subject freemen to the imperious will of a chief, we should all know, general, officers, soldiers, that, in this war, become a deadly combat between our principles and the pretensions of despots, the rights of every citizen, and the safety of all are involved. The constitution, to which we are sworn, the sacred cause of liberty and equality, are involved in it. The contest is for the national sovereignty, under which there can be no compromise with any combination of strength or with any dangers, without betraying, not only the French people, but all humanity.

Soldiers of liberty, to deserve these blessings it is not sufficient to be brave. Your general ought to foresee and order you to obey. Be generous; respect the enemy when disarmed. Troops, which always give quarter, and receive it not, will be for ever invincible. Be

disinterested; let not the degrading hope of pillage ever sully the nobleness of your motives. Be humane: that our sentiments may be admired and our laws blessed, wherever we go. Be, in short, like your general, resolved to see the triumph of liberty or to die.

Soldiers of the constitution, fear not, that it may cease to watch for you, while you fight for it; do not believe, that while you are gone forth to combat for your country, intestine commotions will disturb your homes. The legislative body, and the king, will doubtless unite themselves intimately in this decisive moment, to secure the empire of the law. Persons and property will be respected; civil and religious liberty will never be profaned; the peaceable citizen will be respected, whatever may be his opinion: the guilty will be punished, whatever may be their pretenses; all parties will be dissolved; and the constitution will prevail alone both over the rebels, who attack it by open force, and over the traitors, who, in disgracing it by their vile passions, seem to have sworn to make it feared at home and suspected abroad. Yes; we shall have this reward for our labours and our blood. Let us adhere then with confidence to the chosen representatives of the people, who have sworn not to avoid the duties of the constitution, as we will not its dangers; to the hereditary representative, that citizen king, whose throne the constitution has placed upon an irrefragable foundation; and to all the other depositaries of the powers delegated by the constitution.

They all know, that the use of that authority is a duty for them, to whom the constitution has de-

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puted it, as obedience is for those whom she has submitted to it; and that they may transgress the laws, by not doing what these prescribe, as well as by doing what they prohibit. Let us adhere to the national guards, whom a rising constitution found united for its establishment, whom the constitution in danger will find always ready to defend it, and whose patriotism will render glorious the calumnies which may be shared with them.

As for us, bearing the arms which liberty has consecrated and the *Declaration of Rights*, let us march to the enemy.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

Address from the Representatives of the French People, to the Citizens armed for the Defence of the Country.

The fate of our liberty; that, perhaps, of the liberty of the world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our confidence; that, like your courage, is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and, when the king proposed to us to revenge, at length, the outrages upon the national dignity, we resisted, for a long time, the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A good and free people take up arms with regret; but they take them not in vain; they triumph, or they break them in their hands. The tortures and shame of an eternal servitude would not sufficiently punish a nation, who should suffer their liberty to escape them, after having conquered it.

And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The

period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of taxation, oppression, and servitude. Your individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, are thus nearly connected with the safety of the country. But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtues to courage. The men whom we fight to day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm in misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to prisoners; such are a free people. Crimes, notwithstanding, have been committed! The laws will punish, in their just severity, all outrages against the rights of nations, and the sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of all the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of the country.

As for us, immovable in the midst of political storms, we shall watch over all stratagems, over all the enemies of the empire. The world shall see whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of certain kings in Europe. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride, or tyranny; we shall keep our oath,—“*Death—Death—or Victory and Equality!*”

But, to assure victory, it is necessary, that discipline should regulate

late all the movements of courage; and that distrust should never suspend or destroy them. There can be no triumph without the absolute obedience of soldiers to their officers, to their general without constant and fraternal union. The enemies of the country know, that you will repulse with horror, him who would lessen your civic zeal, your unalterable fidelity; but it is even in your virtues that they seek the means of seducing you. Affecting to share your patriotism, they mingle with the expression of it, both in their conversation and writings, the insinuation of a sentiment, which produces, at first, but a slight uneasiness, and ends in the most blameable distrust. They talk to you only of treason and perfidy. Observe attentively those, who hold this language; and presently you will perceive, under whatever name they may shelter themselves, that they are generally only the emissaries, or the hired writers of the enemies of French liberty.

Warriors, observe the second battalion of Paris; the 6th regiment of chasseurs, ci-devant Languedoc; the 3d regiment of hussars, ci-devant Esterhazy; and the 49th regiment of infantry, ci-devant Vintimille. It is amongst yourselves, that we are happy to find examples for you. They have trusted, obeyed, and merited well of the country.

Confidential Letter from the King of the French to the King of England.

Paris, May 1.

Sir, my brother,

I send this letter by M. Chauve-
fin, whom I have appointed my

minister plenipotentiary at your majesty's court. I embrace this opportunity to express to your majesty, how sensible I am of all the public marks of affection you have given me. I thank you for not having become a party to the concert formed by certain powers against France. From this I see you have formed a better judgment of my true interests, and a more correct opinion of the state of France. Between our two countries new connexions ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalry which has done so much mischief to both, wearing daily away. It becomes two kings, who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties, as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I have every reason to be satisfied with your majesty's ambassador at my court. If I do not give the same rank to the minister whom I have sent to your's, you will nevertheless perceive, that by associating in the mission with him M. de Tallrand, who, by the letter of the constitution, can assume no public character, I consider the success of the alliance in which I wish you to concur with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance. I consider it as necessary to the stability, to the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe.

I am your good brother,

(Signed)

LOUIS.

N^o

Note presented to Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by M. Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, May 12.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of the French, has orders to transmit to his excellency lord Grenville, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, the following note :

The king of the French, in sending a minister plenipotentiary to London, has specially charged him to commence his mission, by manifesting to the British government the powerful reasons which have determined France to declare war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia. He thinks that he owes this explanation to the purity of the intentions that animate him, as well as to the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which he attaches to every thing that can maintain mutual confidence and friendship between two nations, which now more than ever have motives to draw them more closely to each other.

Having become the king of a free nation; after having sworn the agents to maintain the constitution which the nation formed for itself, he could not but feel most profoundly all the attacks that were made against that constitution, and his probity commanded him to counteract and prevent them.

The king saw a grand conspiracy formed against France. This league covered, under an insulting pity for him, the preparations of their designs: and his majesty has had the grief to count among them, even Frenchmen, whose fidelity

the most powerful motives, and the most particular ties ought to have guaranteed.

The king did not omit to try the means of persuasion to recall them to their duty, and to dissipate this threatening league, which supported and strengthened their criminal hopes. But the emperor Leopold, the declared mover and chief of this vast plot, and after his decease, Francis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, did not satisfy any of the frank and reiterated demands of the king. After having exhausted, by delays and vague answers, the patience of the French; worn out every day by new provocations, the princes have successively avowed the coalition of the powers against France; they did not deny the part they had taken, nor conceal that which they intended to take. Far from being disposed to dissolve the plot by their influence, they tried to connect with it facts, heretofore foreign to it, and upon which France has never refused justice to the persons interested; and, as if the king of Hungary denied to consecrate the perpetuity of his attack against the sovereignty of the French empire, he has declared that this coalition, equally injurious to the king and the nation, could not cease so long as France should preserve the serious motives that have provoked the commencement—that is to say, so long as France, jealous of her independence, shall not relax from our new constitution.

Such an answer, preceded and supported by preparations the most evidently hostile, and by an ill-dissembled protection of rebels, could not appear to the national assembly, to the king, and to all France, but as a manifest aggression: for it was an actual commencement

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of war to announce that they were collecting the materials for it: that they were calling together their forces from all parts, *to constrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they had freely chosen, and which they had sworn to defend.* This was the sense, and the substance of all the evasive answers of the ministers of the emperor, and of the king of Hungary, to the simple and honest explanations which the king demanded.

Thus the king is constrained to enter upon a war, which was, in truth, already declared against him, but religiously faithful to the principles of her constitution, whatever may be ultimately the fate of this war, France repels all idea of aggrandizement:—she wishes to preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitution, and her incommutable right to reform herself, when she shall think proper. She can never consent, that under any pretext, foreign powers shall undertake to give her laws, or dare to entertain the hope of doing so; but this pride, so natural and so just, is a sure guarantee to all the powers that have not provoked her, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will shew at all times to the laws, the usages, and all the forms of government of other nations. The king also wishes that they shall know that he will loudly discountenance, and with severity, all those of his agents at foreign courts, at peace with France, who shall dare to deviate for an instant from this sacred respect, *either by fomenting or favouring insurrection against established order, or by interfering, in any manner whatever, in the internal politics of these states, under the pretext of a proselytism, which, exercised, among friendly powers,*

would be a direct violation of the rights of nations.

The king hopes that the British government will find in this exposition the incontestable justice and necessity of the war which the French nation supports against the king of Hungary and Bohemia; and that they will find also a common principle of liberty and independence, of which his Britannic majesty will not be less jealous than France; for England also is free, because it is her will to be so, and certainly she has not suffered, and would not suffer other powers to come and force her to change the constitution which she adopted, nor that they should lend the smallest support to her rebel subjects, nor that they should presume to meddle, under any pretext, in her internal disputes.

Persuaded that his Britannic majesty does not desire less ardently, than himself, to see consolidated and drawn more tight, the good understanding and union that subsist between the two nations; the king desires, that conformably to the treaty of navigation and commerce of the 26th of September 1786, his Britannic majesty shall prohibit all the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland (and publish the order in the usual way through the two kingdoms, and the islands and countries dependent thereon, from committing any hostility against French ships at sea: and that they shall not take out any patent commission, or letters of reprisal from different princes, or states at war with France, or to make use in any way of such patents or commissions.

The king desires, besides, that all the articles of the said treaty, which have reference to the case of one of the contracting powers being

war, and particularly articles 3, 16, 39, 40, and 41, shall be punctually observed and executed, as his majesty is on his part determined to do in all the stipulations of the said treaty.

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.
London, 15th May.

Proclamation of the king of Great Britain, respecting the War between the most Christian King and the King of Hungary, May 25.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas hostilities have broken out between the most christian king and the king of Hungary; his majesty, for the preservation and continuance of friendship and amity between him and their said majesties, doth by this his royal proclamation (with the advice of his privy council) strictly prohibit and forbid all his subjects whatsoever to take any commission at sea from any foreign prince or state, against any other foreign prince or state now in amity with his majesty, or their subjects, or by virtue or under colour of any such commission already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to set or employ any vessel or ship of war, or to serve as mariners in any ship which shall be employed against any prince or state now in amity with his majesty, or their subjects, during the present war. And all his majesty's subjects are required to take notice of this his royal command, and to conform themselves to the same, upon pain of incurring his majesty's high displeasure, and of being punished with the utmost severity of law and justice. And whereas

the most christian king hath caused application to be made to his majesty, that his majesty would, conformably to the article of the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded at Versailles 26th of September, 1786, renew and publish in all his dominions and countries the strict and express prohibitions contained in the said article; his majesty doth hereby strictly forbid all his subjects to receive any commission for arming and acting at sea as privateers, or letters of reprisals, from any enemy of the most christian king, or, by virtue or under colour of such commissions or reprisals, to disturb, infect, or any ways damage his subjects; or to arm ships as privateers, or to go out to sea therewith, under the severest punishments that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done any damage.

Given at our court at St. James's the 25th day of May, 1792, in the 32d year of our reign.
GOD save the KING.

Note presented by M. Chauvelin, the French Minister at the Court of London, to Lord Grenville, May 24, respecting the Proclamation of the 21st of May, against seditious Publications, &c. See Page (52).

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary from the king of the French to his Britannic majesty, has the honour to inform lord Grenville, minister of state for the foreign department—

That the royal proclamation, published on the 21st of the present month, and communicated to the two houses of parliament, contains some expressions which ap-

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pear, (no doubt, contrary to the intentions of the British ministry) to give credit to the erroneous opinions which the enemies of France strive to propagate, relative to the intentions of Great Britain.

If individuals of this kingdom have entered into a foreign correspondence, tending to excite troubles; and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, some Frenchmen have entered into their views, this is a circumstance unconnected with the French nation, the legislative body, the king, and his ministers; it is a fact entirely unknown to them, entirely repugnant to all the principles of justice, and which, on being known, will be universally condemned throughout France.

Independently of those principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to depart; if any one is anxious to reflect candidly on the true interests of the French nation, is it not evident that they must be anxious for the internal peace, and the stability and duration of the constitution of a country, which they already look upon as a natural ally?

Is not this the sole reasonable wish which a people can form, who perceive so many efforts exerted against their liberty?

The minister plenipotentiary of France, profoundly penetrated with these truths and maxims of universal morality, has already developed them in an official note presented to the British ministry, by the express order of his court, on the 15th of the present month.

The honour of France, the desire which she entertains to preserve and augment the good intelligence between the two countries, and the necessity of obviating all doubts on this subject, requiring that it should

acquire all possible publicity, the undersigned minister plenipotentiary begs lord Grenville to obtain permission from his Britannic majesty, to communicate the present official note to the two houses of parliament, before they deliberate on the proclamation of the 21st of May. He also seizes this opportunity to renew the testimonies of his high esteem and respect for his excellency.

CHAUVELIN,

Minister plenipotentiary of France.

Lord Grenville's Answer to the preceding Note, May 15.

I have the honour, sir, to acknowledge the receipt of a note, which you addressed to me, of the date of yesterday. Desiring with ardour and sincerity to maintain, in all affairs which I may have the honour to treat of with you, the harmony and cordiality suitable to the intentions of the king, it is with regret that I find myself under the necessity of making the following observations upon the subject of this piece:

I am persuaded that it cannot have been, in the least, your intention to depart from the rules and forms established in this kingdom for the correspondence of the ministers of foreign powers with the king's secretary of state in this department: but it is impossible for me not to remark, that, in your last note, the reference is solely to a communication which you desired me to make to the two chambers of parliament, before they deliberate upon a subject with which you appear to believe that they will be occupied. I must, therefore, observe to you, sir, that, in my quality of secretary of state

to his majesty, I cannot receive any communication on the part of a foreign minister, but for the purpose of laying it before the king, and of taking the orders of his majesty upon it; and that the deliberations of the two chambers of parliament, as well as the communications which it may please his majesty to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom, are objects entirely foreign from all diplomatic correspondence, and upon which it is impossible for me to enter into any discussion whatever with the ministers of other courts.

This, sir, is the only answer which it is possible for me to make to the note in question, which, as well with respect to its form, as to its object, cannot be considered as a regular and official communication. I shall always have the greatest pleasure in reporting to his majesty the assurances which you may be authorized to give me for that purpose of the amicable dispositions of your court; and I entreat you to accept my expression of the esteem and the high confidence with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Letter from M. La Fayette to the National Assembly
at the Enclosed Camp of Maubeuge,
 June 16, 1792, 4th year of Liberty.

Gentlemen,
 At the moment, too long delayed, perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers, the conduct of a ministry, which my correspondence has long accused, I am informed that, masked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for,

undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of his power, that the least excusable, the most notorious of these ministers, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; from them the nation expects her salvation. But, when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the law to the legislators appointed under it, it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall prevent me from exercising this right of a free man, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion (for what are opinions when they deviate from principles?) nor my respect for the representatives of the people (for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the constitution is the will supreme), nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, in-

ternal foes, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and distress us still more with their insolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to suppress them; and you cannot have the power to do so, without being yourselves constitutional and just.

You desire to be so without doubt; but cast your eyes on what passes in your own body, and all around you.

Are you ignorant that the Jacobin faction has occasioned all the disorders? It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis, and its affiliations blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by subjugating their representatives, and their mandataries.

It is there that, in public sittings, love of the laws is denominated aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism. There the assassins of Delfiles receive triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrist; there also the recitals of the assassination that stained the city of Metz, excite infernal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named? Are they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced their name? and because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to interfere in our quarrels, are we absolved from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

Of what moment to this duty are either the projects of foreigners, their connivance at the counter-revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty?

It is I who denounce this sect; I who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who feign suspicions of me—'Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will soon be known, and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, the firmest in his resistance, will best brave the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her sake.'

And how should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, and substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators imposes silence on peaceable citizens, and supplants useful men; when attachment to a sect is made the substitute of all public and private virtues, which in a free country ought to be the severe and only means of arriving at the first functions of government?

It is after having opposed to all obstacles and all snares, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its leader, that I can now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a ministry the worthy production of its club; a correspondence, of which all the calculations are false, the promises vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without means, they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between those factious men who avow their aristocratic spirit, and those who usurp

the name of patriots! Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, desert the national guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who thenceforward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, durst tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who wouldully it; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the vilest in the universe, may and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her.

It is not undoubtedly in the midst of my brave army, that timid sentiments are permitted: patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. The principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property sacred in it; neither calumnies nor factions are known in it.

But in order that we, soldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with advantage to our cause, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of our country be speedily proportioned to that of their adversaries; that stores of all sorts be multiplied; that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the accommodations for their health,

be no longer exposed to fatal delays, or pretended savings, which always turn out the direct reverse of their object.

Above all, it is necessary that the citizens, rallied around the constitution, be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, that shall drive its enemies, concealed or public, to despair.

Reject not this wish: it is that of the sincere friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measures can serve a cause which owes its strength and glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, make criminal justice resume its constitutional course, make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is invested with the national majesty; let him have the power of choosing a ministry that wear not the chains of a faction; and if there be conspirators, let them perish by the sword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation that understands its rights, and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true interests of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those to whom

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her subjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous speculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the representations and the petitions submitted to the national assembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whose love of liberty will never be honestly questioned; whom the different factions would hate less, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness; whom silence would have better become, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national assembly, and the confidence with which it is of importance that it should be surrounded; and who cannot better testify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without disguise.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and the obligation of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to postpone observations that I think useful, and who wish to believe that the assembly will find in this a new homage of my devotion to its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude, and of my respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

Letter from M. La Fayette to the King, with a Copy of the preceding Letter.

Entrenched Camp of Maubeuge,
June 16, 1792, 4th year of Liberty.

SIRE,

I have the honour to send your majesty the copy of a letter to the national assembly, in which your

majesty will find the expression of sentiments that have animated my whole life. The king knows with what ardour and constancy I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred principles of humanity, equality, and justice. He knows that I was always the adversary of factions, the enemy of licentiousness, and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. Such, sire, are the sentiments which dictated my letter to the national assembly; such will be those of my conduct toward my country and your majesty, amid the storms which so many combinations, hostile or factious, strive to draw upon us.

It belongs not to me, sire, to give to my opinions or my measures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a simple citizen ought to possess; but the expression of my thoughts was always a right, and, on this occasion, becomes a duty; and, although I might have fulfilled this duty sooner, if, instead of being to be heard from the midst of a camp, my voice had been to issue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that any public function, any personal consideration, releases me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

Persist, sire, strong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all their enemies. Let this resolution, supported by all the acts of your private life, as by a firm and full exercise of the royal power, become the pledge of harmony, which, above all,

all, in the moments of crisis, cannot fail to be established between the representatives elected by the people, and their hereditary representative. It is in this resolution, sire, that for your country and for yourself are glory and safety. There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it against the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprises of the factious. And I, sire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my persevering opposition, will always merit it by my zeal to serve the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law, and the king.

Such, sire, are the unalterable sentiments of which I subjoin the homage and that of my respect.

(Signed)

LA FAYETTE.

Letter from M. Roland, late Minister of the Home Department, to the King.

SIRE,

The present state of affairs in France cannot be of long duration. It is a crisis at its highest degree of violence, and must terminate in a shock that interests your majesty, as much as it does the whole empire. Honoured with your confidence, and placed in a situation in which it behoves me to speak the truth to you, I venture to do it without disguise: it is an obligation under which your majesty's self has laid me. The French have formed a constitution, and it has produced malecontents and rebels. The majority of the nation approve it, and have sworn to maintain it at the expence of their lives. They have considered the war with satisfaction,

as the grand expedient for establishing the constitution; yet, buoyed up by hopes, the minority have exerted their united efforts against it. Hence arises that intestine conflict with the laws, that anarchy which all good citizens lament, and of which ill-disposed people have not failed to take the advantage, in order to countenance their aspersions against the new government. Hence those opinions which are every where spread abroad, and every where fomented; for in no part is indifference of opinion to be found. Either the triumph or the change of the constitution is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain or new-model it. I shall only touch upon what the present circumstances of things require, and, with the utmost impartiality, shall suggest an idea of what turn affairs may be expected to take, and what measures would be prudent to adopt.

You enjoyed, sire, great prerogatives, and which, indeed, your majesty conceived to be inherent in royalty. Bred up under the idea of preserving these prerogatives, you could not see yourself deprived of them with satisfaction. The desire of recovering them was as natural as the regret you felt at their dissolution. These sentiments, which are natural to the human heart, have had their proper influence on the minds of the anti-revolutionists.

They have, therefore, depended upon being secretly favoured by your majesty, until circumstances permitted an open declaration in their behalf. This posture of things could not but be evident to the whole nation; and it was sufficient to put men upon their guard. Your majesty has then been ever under the necessity of either yielding to the

the force of habit, and to particular inclination, or to make sacrifices dictated by philosophy, and called for by necessity.

Every thing has its term of duration, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived. Can your majesty openly ally yourself with the pretended reformers of the constitution? or is it incumbent upon you generously to devote yourself entirely to promote its triumph? Such is the true statement of a question, the solution of which the present state of things renders of inevitable necessity.

As to the metaphysical question, 'Whether the French are ripe for liberty?' it is foreign from the subject before us; for it is not our business to consider what we should become in a century hence, but to see what the present generation are capable of.

In the midst of the fermentations of the four last years, what has taken place? Privileges burdensome to the lower order of the community have been abolished; the ideas of justice and equality have been universally spread. The acknowledgment of the rights of the people, which has been solemnly allowed, is become a sacred doctrine in politics. The hatred against the nobles has been long since inspired by the nature of the feudal system: it is now increased by their manifest opposition to the constitution. The people considered these nobles in an odious light, on account of the oppressive privileges they enjoyed; but they would have forgot their hatred on the abolition of these privileges, if the conduct of the nobility, since that period, had not given every reason for men to consider their rank with distrust, and to oppose it as an ir-

reconcilable enemy to their welfare.

The public attachment to the constitution increased in like proportion. The people not only derived essential advantages from it, but were persuaded that still greater benefits were preparing for them, since those who were accustomed to oppress them were endeavouring with such earnestness to destroy or to modify it. The declaration of rights is become a political gospel, and the French constitution a religion; in the defence of which, the people are ready to perish. Thus their zeal sometimes went so far as to supply the place of law; and when its influence was not sufficient to restrain the disturbers of the public peace, the citizens took upon themselves the task of punishing them. Hence the possessions of the emigrants have been exposed to the ravages incited by vengeance. Hence so many departments were under the necessity of severely treating the clergy whom the public opinion had proscribed, and of whom some would have been victims to its resentment. In the collision of interests, every sentiment assumed the tone of passion. Our country is not a mere word, created by warmth of imagination; it is a being to which we offer sacrifice, to which we are the more attached by the very solicitude it brings upon us, that which we love on account of the benefits we hope to derive from it; and every injury offered to our country proves the means of increasing our enthusiasm.

To what a height did this enthusiasm rise, when the machinations of foreign enemies were added to those of the domestic foe, in order to perpetrate all that could be conceived

ceived wicked and fatal? The fermentation is extreme in the various parts of the empire; it will burst upon us with a dreadful explosion, unless it be calmed by a well-founded confidence in your majesty's intentions. But this confidence will not be established by mere promises and protestations; it can rest upon facts only. The French nation know their constitution can sustain itself; that government will have all necessary aid, whenever your majesty, wishing well to the constitution, shall support the legislative body, by causing their decrees to be executed, and remove every pretext for popular dissatisfaction, and every hope of the malecontents.

For instance, two important decrees have been issued; both essentially concern public tranquillity and the welfare of the empire: their not being sanctioned gives birth to mistrust; if it be postponed, it will create malecontents; and it is my duty to say, that in the present effervescence of the people's minds, discontent may lead to any thing. It is no longer time to recede: it is no longer time to temporize. The revolution is established in the public mind; it will be completed by the effusion of blood, if wisdom do not guard against evils which can yet be prevented.

If force were recurred to in order to restrain the national assembly; if terror were spread through Paris, disunion and consternation in its vicinity, all France would rise with indignation; and, distracted by the horrors of a civil war, she would display that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and crimes, ever fatal to those who provoke it. Public safety, and your majesty's individual happiness, are closely

linked; no power can divide them; distresses and certain misfortune will gather round your throne, if it do not rest, through yourself, on the basis of the constitution, and be established on peace, which the maintenance of that constitution would at last produce in our favour. Thus the state of the public mind, the circumstances, political reasons, your majesty's own interest, render it indispensable for you to join the legislative body, and to concur in the nation's will. The nation considers as a necessity what principles point out as a duty; but the natural sensibility of this affectionate people holds out another motive. You were cruelly deceived, sire, when wicked men endeavoured to excite uneasiness and mistrust in your breast, injurious to this kind people, this people so easily affected.

By being perpetually taught not to confide in the nation, your own conduct alarmed them. Let the people see that you are willing the constitution should take its course, the constitution to which they have united their happiness, and you will soon become the object of thanks.

The conduct of the clergy in many parts of the kingdom, the pretext they furnish for commotions, occasioned a wise law to be enacted against those disturbers of the peace. Let your majesty's sanction be given to it. The public tranquillity and the safety of the clergy solicit it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be obliged to substitute severe measures, as they have universally done; and the people will supply its place by violence.

The attempts of our enemies, the fermentations in the capital, the

the extreme disquietude arising from the conduct of your guard, and which the testimonies of satisfaction given to that body contained in your proclamation (a measure truly impolitic under such circumstances) still keep up the situation of Paris; its proximity to the frontiers, all contribute to shew the necessity of a camp in its neighbourhood. This measure, the wisdom and urgency of which are allowed by thinking men, waits only for the sanction of your majesty. Why should delay create an appearance of regret on the part of your majesty, when dispatch would deserve gratitude on ours? Already have the machinations of the staff of the Parisian national guards against this measure caused men to suspect that they act under superior influence: already the clamours of certain outrageous demagogues raise suspicion; already the public opinion exposes the intentions of your majesty.

A little more delay, and the afflicted people will imagine they perceive in their king the friend and the accomplice of conspirators. Good heaven! are the powers of the earth stricken with blindness, and will they never attend to any councils but such as lead them on to ruin? I am aware that the language of truth is seldom well received in courts: I am likewise sensible, that, as her voice is hardly ever heard there, revolutions become necessary. Above all, I know to speak the truth to your majesty, not only as a citizen subject to the laws, but as a minister honoured with your confidence, or invested with functions that imply it; nor do I know what can prevent me from fulfilling a duty which I feel to be incumbent on me! With the same intentions, I shall

repeat my observations to your majesty on the utility and necessity of executing the law, which prescribes that there should be a secretary of council. The law speaks so powerfully, that the execution of it should immediately follow.

It is necessary, for the sake of responsible ministers, to use means to establish sedateness, wisdom, and caution, in the deliberations of council.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, June 21.

The national assembly is already apprised of the events of yesterday. No doubt Paris is full of consternation. I leave to the prudence of the assembly the management of the constitution, and also the individual liberty of the hereditary representative of the people. France will learn what has happened with grief. As for me, nothing shall hinder me from steadily pursuing, without the least distrust, the views which are directed by the constitution, which I have sworn to maintain, and to obtain those ends which it prescribes.

(Signed) LOUIS.)

Proclamation of the King, on the Events of the 20th of June.

June 22, 1792, 4th Year of Liberty.

The French cannot learn, without grief, that a multitude, excited by some factious persons, have come with arms in their hands into the habitation of the king; have drawn cannon even into the hall of the guards; have forced the doors of his apartment by hatchets: and there, audaciously abusing the name
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of the nation, have endeavoured to obtain by force the sanction which his majesty had constitutionally refused to two decrees.

The king had to oppose to the menaces and to the insults of the factious, only his conscience and his love for the public welfare.

The king was ignorant at what limits they would stop; but he can assure the French nation, that violence, to whatever excess it may be carried, will never force his consent to that which he thinks contrary to the public interest.

He exposes, without regret, his tranquillity and his safety; he sacrifices, without pain, even his enjoyment of the rights which belong to a throne, and which the law should render sacred with respect to him, as with respect to all citizens; but, as the hereditary representative of the French nation, he has severe duties to fulfil; and if he can make the sacrifice of his repose, he cannot also make that of his duties.

If those, who would overthrow his monarchy, require one further crime, they may commit it. In the present state of the crisis in which the king finds himself, he will give to all the constituted authorities an example of that courage and firmness, which alone can save the empire; in consequence, he orders all the administrative bodies and municipalities to watch over the safety of persons and properties.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation of the Mayor and Municipality of the City of Paris, June 22.

CITIZENS,

Preserve your peace, and your own dignity,

Beware of the snares that are laid for you. Attempts are made to create division between the armed and unarmed citizens.

Protect with your arms the king and the constitution. Let his person be respected, and his asylum sacred. Respect, and cause to be respected, the national assembly, and the majesty of the representatives of a free people.

Do not assemble together under arms. The law prohibits it; and that law has been just renewed.

In the most inoffensive assemblage of the people, are always to be found ill-disposed persons.

The law reprobates all violence; and you have invested the magistrates with the execution of the law.

Shew yourselves worthy of liberty, and remember that the first of all people are those who are most devoted to their laws.

(Signed) PETION, Mayor.
DESSLY, Sec. Legislator.

Instructions to the Citizens of Paris, by the Department, June 23.

Citizens, Secret enemies of the public weal mingled among you, wish to make you serve their purposes.

Our enemies have need of having the king out of the kingdom. They dare not carry him off; they wish, therefore, that that you should force him to fly.

They know that almost all the powers of Europe, assured of the king's personal liberty, refuse to unite with the king of Hungary to make war on us; and they are solicitous, at least, to make these kings believe that his majesty is not free, in order

der that they may draw them into the league against us.

They know that the popular magistrates are charged to guarantee, in the midst of us, respect for the laws, and they hope to destroy and vilify these magistrates, by placing them between the necessity of extreme rigour, or the opprobrium of inactivity, while crimes are perpetrating.

They know that all enlightened citizens, who understand the constitution, are devoted to its defence, and they desire to separate them and the constitution from the uninformed multitude; nay, they wish even to bring them to a trial of strength the one with the other, and to kindle a civil war.

In fine, they know that the cause of liberty, which is the cause of equality, cannot be better defended in the eyes of other nations, than by the wisdom and dignity of the French people; and they wish to dishonour a part of that people by exciting mobs, in which they may dexterously mingle themselves to accomplish their ends.

They wish to make you demand from the king the revocation of the *veto*, which he has pronounced on two decrees; and you do not see, that if the king had yielded to the demand of armed thousands assembled, and threatening him in his palace, he would thereby have declared to all Europe that he was not free.

They force you to penetrate into his dwelling, which is surely not less sacred than each of your own. They tell you the doors are not shut against us, and they break them open before your eyes; they tell you the king shall be respected, and you believe them, because you feel for his majesty in your hearts, but

yet, in your presence, they offend and outrage him.

They strive to make you believe, that the sovereignty which belongs to the entire French people, is the particular property of the suburb which they excite, and of the groups which assemble round them. They assure you, that the constituted powers ought to humble, and that they shall humble before you. Citizens, this language is a snare; our enemies know well that the magistrates, constituted by the people at large, and appointed by the citizens, cannot yield to illegal crowds; and the traitors hope, that, in the midst even of an irritated people, they may, with impunity, aim mortal blows at the magistrates of the people.

They dare to tell you also, that you are all the national force, such as it exerted in 1789, and that nothing can resist you. Citizens, this is another snare. In 1789, there burst forth an insurrection; a powerful insurrection, because it was general, and because it spread over all the empire; a holy insurrection, because it was directed against oppression, because there existed no powers constituted by the people, or conferred either by themselves or their representatives. At present, every thing is changed. There can now arise nothing but seditions, tumults, and revolts, punishable by the laws, and easy to be repressed. And why? because we have a constitution, because every Frenchman has sworn to it, because it is just that he should keep his engagements, because the great majority will always be faithful to their oath, and because they are determined to punish the factious.

These factious men tell you, that the constitution is bad, and that

it must be instantly changed, without having given it a trial, and without the forms prescribed by the constitution itself: the army at Coblenz says nothing else! Citizens, every thing which tends to destroy the constitution tends to a counter-revolution. Liberty is destroyed if the nation shall concert with intestine factions, the same as if it concerted with our external enemies.

Citizens, these external enemies menace our frontiers; their force is formidable, the union and the exercise of our's is necessary. Peace must reign among ourselves, if we wish to have energy against them. It is upon them that we must fix our eyes and turn our arms; it is to the frontiers, it is under the standard that flies in the midst of our armies that we ought all to hasten, and rally like brothers, to defend the cause of freedom against tyranny.

Given in the council of the department of Paris, the 23d June, 1792, and in the 4th year of liberty.

(Signed)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, President.
BLONDELL, Secretary.

Address of M. la Fayette to the National Assembly of France, read by Mr. Raymond, in his Presence, June 28.

Gentlemen,

It becomes me, with deference, in the first place, to declare to the assembly, that my presence in this capital will in no way tend to injure either the welfare of the empire, or the safety of the state. The measures

concerted betwixt marshal Luckner and myself will be a security against every surprise. My motives for coming hither are as follow:

You have been told that the letter, bearing my signature, and dated the 16th instant, cannot have come from me. I appear before you to acknowledge the letter, and to call on your justice to avenge the attempt of the 20th made at the palace. This attempt against liberty and the safety of the king has excited an indignation in my army, and in the heart of every good citizen. I am charged to communicate to you the patriotic hatred they have sworn against the factious leaders of this tumult. My brave companions were desirous to address the assembly: they have renounced this project by my order, and I have taken upon me to lay before you their sentiments.

Several of them have already asked, whether it is the cause of liberty and the constitution which they defend? It is time to defend the constitution against the faction which aims to destroy it, to defend the national assembly and the king, and to maintain the independence and authority delegated to them. I demand, therefore, that the authors and instigators of the troubles of the 20th, shall be prosecuted, as having been guilty of *leze-nation*.

I beseech the national assembly, in the name of myself, and of every honest man in the kingdom, to take the most effectual measures to have a due respect paid to the constituted authorities, those of the assembly and the king, and to guarantee to the army that no attempt shall be made against the constitution, at the moment when they are shedding their blood for the country.

Letter

*Letter from M. la Fayette, to the
National Assembly, June 29.*

Gentlemen,

On returning to the post where brave soldiers devote themselves to death for the constitution, but where they neither ought to, nor will, lavish their blood but for the constitution, I carry with me a lively and profound regret that I am not able to inform the army of the assembly's having already deigned to come to a decision on my petition.

The cry of all the good citizens in the kingdom, which the clamours of a few factious persons strive in vain to stifle, daily informs the elected representatives and the hereditary representative of the people, that while near them shall exist a sect that fetters all the authorities, menaces their independence, and, after having provoked the war, seeks, by misrepresenting our cause, to deprive it of defenders; that while we have to blush for, as unpunished, a crime of treason, which has roused the just alarms of all Frenchmen, and the indignation of all the world, our liberty, our laws, our honour, are in peril.

Such are the truths which free and generous spirits are not afraid to repeat: revolting against the factious of every description, indignant against the dastardly, who would degrade themselves to the point of expecting a foreign interference, penetrated with the principle which I have the honour of having been the first to profess in France, that all illegal power is oppression, and that to resist them is a duty—they are bound to lay their fears before the legislative body. They hope that the attention of the legislative body will deliver them from those fears.

As for me, gentlemen, who have never changed principles, sentiments, or language, I should hope, that the national assembly, considering the urgency and danger of circumstances, will permit me to join the new expression of my regret and my wishes to the homage of my profound respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

*Letter from the King to the National
Assembly, July 4.*

July 5, 4th year of liberty.

" Gentlemen,

" We approach the famous epoch at which the French are going to commemorate, in all parts of the kingdom, a pact of alliance contracted on the altar of our country on the 14th of July, 1790. The law forbids all particular federations; it allows only an annual renewal of the federative pact in the chief town of each district. But we have in our power a measure which, without the least violation of the letter of the law, seems to me adapted to the grand events that every where present themselves. When a great nation wages war abroad in defence of liberty, then it is that she feels most strongly the necessity of peace at home; when all the intestine dissensions seem to coincide with the foreign war, when wicked men are striving to excite troubles, the peaceable citizens stand in need of encouragement. We must prove to the armies on our frontiers, that they are fighting in reality for the peace and the liberty of their country. I am of opinion, gentlemen, that we cannot give them a surer pledge of this, than the union of the two constituted powers, renewing on the

the 14th of July, round the altar of our country, the same resolution — *to live free or die.*

A great number of Frenchmen are collecting from all the departments. They think, that they shall double their force and their courage, if, on the eve of their departure for the frontiers, they shall be admitted to celebrate the anniversary of the federation with the citizens of Paris. I express to you my desire of going into the midst of you to receive their oaths, and to prove to the evil-disposed, who seek to ruin the country by dividing us, that we are animated by but one and the same spirit—that of the constitution; and that if we are compelled to war, it is principally by internal peace that we wish to prepare and assure our victories.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

DEJOLY.

*Notification to the Powers of Europe,
from the King of the French.*

The king of the French being informed that persons still continue to make use of his name to propose negotiations with foreign courts, to make loans, and even levies of foreign troops, and being again desirous of consecrating, in a solemn manner, his attachment to the constitution, which he freely accepted, and which he has sworn to defend, disavows all declarations, protestations, negotiations with foreign courts, loans, levies of foreign troops, purchases of arms, warlike stores, and others, and generally all acts, public and private, made in his name by Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, Charles-Philip, Louis-Joseph, and Louis-Anthony-Henry, French princes, and by other emi-

1792.

grants, rebels to the laws, and to their country.

He declares, that his own interests, and those of the people, of whom he is the hereditary representative, are for ever inseparable; that the government, the execution of which is confided to him, shall be maintained by him in all its purity.

Firm in this resolution, the king of the French charges his minister of foreign affairs to notify to all the powers, that, entirely devoted to the cause of the French people, he will make use of all the force put into his hands against the enemies of France, whatever pretexts may be employed to countenance the armed assemblies of the emigrants, or to support them in their hostile preparations.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

CHAMBONNAS.

*Declaration of the National Assembly,
on the Danger of the Country,
July 10.*

Citizens,

Your constitution restores the principles of eternal justice. A league of kings is formed to destroy it. Their battalions are advancing; they are numerous, under rigorous discipline, and long practised in the art of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer hordes of foreigners, like a destructive torrent, to overflow your fields? Will you suffer them to ravage your harvests; to waste your country by burning and cruelties; in a word, to load yourselves with chains dyed in the blood of all you hold most dear?

Our armies are not yet complete; an indiscreet security too

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soon restrained the ardour of patriotism. The levies of recruits ordered, have not been so completely successful as your representatives had hoped. Internal troubles, added to the difficulty of our situation, cause our enemies to give themselves up to vain hopes, which to you are an insult.

Hasten, citizens; save liberty, and vindicate your glory.

The national assembly declares, that our country is in danger.

Beware, however, of thinking that this declaration is the effect of a terror unworthy of the assembly, or of you. You have taken the oath, *To live free, or die.* The assembly knows that you will keep it, and swears to set you the example; but the question is not to brave death—we must conquer; and you can conquer, if you abjure your hatreds, if you forget your political dissensions, if you unite in the common cause, if you watch with indefatigable activity your internal enemies, if you prevent all the disorders and all the acts of violence to individuals which they excite; if, securing within the kingdom the empire of the laws, and answering by well-ordered movements the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers, and to our camps, with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and the profound sentiment of the duties of soldier-citizens.

Frenchmen, four years engaged in a struggle against despotism, we advertise you of your dangers, in order to invite you to the efforts necessary to surmount them. We shew you the precipice; what glory awaits you when you shall have passed it! The eyes of nations are fixed upon you; astonish them by the majestic display of your force, and of a grand character of union, respect for the laws, for the chiefs,

for the constituted authorities. Let your courage be unshaken, and soon will victory crown with her palms the altar of liberty; soon will the nations, who are now arming against your constitution, covet to unite themselves with you by the ties of a sweet fraternity; soon consolidating, by a glorious peace, the basis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution; and in preparing your own happiness, you will have prepared the happiness of posterity.

The King's Proclamation on the same Subject, July 20.

Citizens;

Our country is in danger.—The national assembly has declared it: the law has assigned every one his proper post. The king presses you to repair to it. The country, our common mother, calls upon all her children; and they will not surely be deaf to her voice. Your property and your persons are at stake; the safety of what is dearest to you, your mothers, your wives, your children, are in danger. Frenchmen, your constitution and your liberty are at stake.

It is no longer the time of deliberations and speeches; it is that of glorious actions. Europe is in league against you; unite yourselves to be able to repel their efforts. Legions of foes threaten the barriers of the empire: it is thither you must march; force must be opposed to force; it is subordination, it is confidence in your leaders, that you must oppose to the discipline and blind obedience which constitute the strength of your enemies. It is the unalterable union of all good citizens that we have to oppose

to the union of the powers in league against us. Your enemies are experienced in war, and inured to combats: you have, in advantage over them, the great interests of your own cause to defend;—you have the passion for liberty, which exalts a man above himself; and transforms him into a hero. But the time is precious; hasten to repair to your standards.—Fly into the country and to the frontiers, and remember that when the state is in danger, every citizen is a soldier; and that the devoted service of the most generous becomes no longer a virtue, but a duty.

All the cities in the empire will doubtless be ambitious of seeing their name inscribed in the list of the *well-deserving of their country*. The whole kingdom will be overspread with citizens subject to the laws, united together in the indissoluble bands of concord, and by their attachment to a constitution to which they have all taken a solemn oath of fidelity.

Administrators, magistrates, warriors, citizens, this is the moment to extinguish, in a brotherly sentiment of reconciliation and peace, the dissensions and hatreds that have hitherto divided and weakened you. This is the moment to establish freedom upon an eternal foundation, in establishing the empire of the laws; without which all is confusion, disorder, and misery; all anarchical tyranny, a thousand times more intolerable than even that of despotism.

The law places you all in a state of perpetual inspection. Avail yourselves of the privilege, in order to give weight to authority, and springs to government. Avail yourselves of it for the re-establishment of good order, for the succour of France; which cannot make head

unless all powers, all inclinations, all courage unite for its salvation. It is the king who calls to you,—a king proud of commanding a free people, who, in the name of the liberty that he loves, and of the equality which, like you, he is determined to maintain, conjures you to rally under the standard of the country, to assist him in giving force to the laws against the foes within and without; to swear with him to conquer or to die for the rights of the nation: and to bury them rather under the ruins of the empire than suffer its dignity to be insulted; that foreigners or rebels should give laws to France: or, by yielding to a disgraceful capitulation, tarnish the honour of the French name.

Under these considerations, the king, participating in the solicitude of the national assembly, who, by the act of the 11th of the present month, have declared the country to be in danger; thoroughly convinced that the moment in which the public liberty is menaced, is that in which it is most necessary to recall the citizens and magistrates to the exact observance of the laws which guarantee it; and especially the decree of the 8th inst. which ascertains the measure to be taken when the country is in danger; is anxious to recapitulate the duties which these different laws universally impose upon the French nation.

Art. I. His majesty invites all citizens who are able to bear arms, and such especially who have had the honour to serve their country, of what rank soever they might have been, to enlist themselves immediately, in order to make good the complement of the army of troops of the line.

Art. II. Invites all citizens who

possess the requisite qualifications, and who are not yet enrolled in the national guard, to enrol themselves forthwith.

Art. III. Enjoins all administrative bodies, and all the municipalities, to put the law of the 8th of this month, relating to the formation of the battalions of national guards destined for the defence of the state, instantly in force.

Art. IV. Recommends to them to instruct the citizens in the particular duties which the present circumstances of things require at their hands, to animate their zeal, and to excite them to rush forward, wherever the dangers of their country may call them.

Art. V. Recommends to them likewise to neglect nothing that may accelerate the armament, and march of the troops; and to do every thing in their power to further such purpose.

Art. VI. Exhorts the citizens, who shall obtain the honour of marching the first to the succour of their country, to subordination to their chiefs; to regularity of conduct in the service; to zeal worthy of the noble cause which they are called upon to defend; and to honour the French name as much by their humanity towards their conquered enemies; as by their courage in combating against them.

Art. VII. Exhorts likewise the citizens, that remain for the defence of the internal parts of the kingdom, to give proofs of their patriotism, in performing personal service, in maintaining the safety of citizens and property, the execution of justice, and the respect due to constituted authorities.

Art. VIII. Recalls to the mind of all public officers, the obligation of residence which the law imposes upon them, and which the peril of

the state render more indispensable. Enjoins his commissaries of tribunals, the syndic solicitor generals of departments, and the syndic solicitors of districts, to keep up, each in his particular station, the strict observance of this law, and to inform against all infractions made therein.

Art. IX. Recommends, lastly, to all administrators and other public officers, both civil and military, to redouble their ardour and assiduity in the exercise of their functions; and to all citizens to remember, that it is only by making every sacrifice, and shewing an inviolable respect for the laws, that they can approve themselves worthy of liberty. Ordains, that the present proclamation be sent to the administrative and judiciary bodies, printed, read, published, and advertised all over the kingdom.

Done, in council of state, the 20th of July, 1792, the fourth year of liberty.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Counterigned)

DEJOLY.

Manifesto issued by their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia, against the French Revolution.

Their majesties the emperor and king of Prussia, in commencing a war, occasioned by the most unjust and irresistible circumstances, have successively and separately published the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the sacred interests of humanity, their imperial and royal majesties, thinking it not sufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumstances which oblige them

to have recourse to arms, consider it as of importance to their glory, and the happiness of their faithful subjects, to enlighten all nations respecting the causes and effects of the late deplorable revolution in France, and, in a manifesto, to lay open to the present generation, as well as to posterity, their motives, their intentions, and the disinterestedness of their views.

Taking up arms for the purpose of preserving social and political order among all polished nations, and to secure to each state its religion, happiness, independence, territories, and real constitution; it is to be presumed that the use which their imperial and royal majesties are about to make, for the general safety, of the forces committed by Providence to their disposal, will console mankind, if possible, for the evils to which war has already exposed them, and for that blood which the disturbers of public tranquillity may yet cause to be shed. In this hope, their majesties have not hesitated to give to all nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient animosities, and their private concerns, that they may attend to the public good only, in a crisis so important and unparalleled in history. They think that, on this occasion, all empires and states ought to be unanimous, and that all sovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happiness of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to rescue a great nation from its own fury: to preserve Europe from the return of barbarity, and the universe from that anarchy with which it is threatened.

However celebrated the French revolution may unhappily have

been, a manifesto against it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cause of all nations against faction and rebellion,

For four years past, Europe has viewed with attention, and beheld with increasing indignation, the revolution which has oppressed France, and which detains in captivity an august monarch, worthy of the love of his subjects, and entitled to the esteem, friendship, and support of all sovereigns.

Since his accession to the throne, it is well known that his most christian majesty has evinced, in every possible manner, his affection for his subjects, his love of justice, his constant and sincere desire to establish order and oeconomy in the administration of his finances, and his integrity toward the creditors of the nation.* To make personal sacrifices was his highest enjoyment, and a desire of complying with public opinion has ever determined him in the choice of his measures. Continually employed in devising means for relieving his people, and for gratifying the public wishes, he has erred with them and for them; obeyed the dictates of humanity rather than those of justice; and overlooked their faults, in hopes that they would repair them without rendering it necessary for him to have recourse to punishment. Calumny itself has always respected his intentions, and the most criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his sovereign authority, and insulting his sacred person, struck by his private virtues, has never presumed to deny them.

After trying in vain every method that occurred to him to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to discharge the public debt of the nation,

nation, (unfortunate in the choice of his measures, deceived in his hopes, and disappointed by various events, yet still firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occasion for his being so, by the queen and all the royal family, to pursue incessantly the object of his wishes, the darling passion of his heart, the happiness of his people), Louis XVI. not finding the assistance which he sought in the assembly of the notables, convoked the states-general of the kingdom. He was desirous to collect around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his subjects, and to ask them by what means he could at length render them happy. Scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himself, he endeavoured to learn the public opinion respecting the convocation of the states-general; he found himself compelled, by circumstances which he could not avoid, to change the ancient form followed by his predecessors*; he signed, without distrust, orders, insidiously and artfully drawn up, which endangered his sovereign authority, tended to excite discord, and intimated disobedience to his commands. Under these fatal auspices, the states-general met; and one of the best kings that France can boast of, addressed to this august, but soon after criminal, assembly, these valuable words, which sovereigns, who found them in their own sentiments, still take a pleasure in repeating:

“ Every thing that can be expected from the tenderest interest in the happiness of the public, eve-

ry thing that can be required of a sovereign, the best friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my sentiments†.”

These memorable expressions, which might have recovered the most alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inspired with the most lively gratitude, a people loaded with kindness by their king, were scarcely pronounced, when the signal of revolt was given on all sides. One of the three orders, converting a momentary concession into a right, and abusing a double representation, the object of which, on the part of the monarch, was to increase his information, without increasing his preponderance, wished, by taking the lead, to swallow up the other two, and to bear them down by its weight. In vain did the laws of the monarchy, the authority of precedent, the nature of things, and the sacred and imprescriptible rights of each order, oppose this ambitious, unjust, and illegal confusion. The resistance of the two first orders was soon overcome, by turning against them their love for the king; opposing the danger of the monarch to that of the monarchy, and exciting a revolt, which threatened in an imminent degree the life of his most christian majesty. On the report of a danger, which the resistance of the two first orders might doubtless have despised, had it threatened them only, consternation put an end to reasoning; there was no longer room for deliberation; it was necessary to act. The nobility and clergy rushed into the assembly, with the third estate, to save France from the most horrid

* Results of the council of December 27, 1783. Letters of convocation addressed to the grand baillifs.

† Speech of the king on the opening of the states-general, 5th May, 1789.

of crimes; and from that moment the states-general, in *ceasing to be free, ceased to exist*.

The monarchy was overturned by a mad and tumultuous assembly. Rebellious subjects, deputed to the sovereign to learn his decisions, and to receive his laws, presumed to dictate to him others, which in every respect were intolerable, and violently pulled down that throne which they were called to support. They commenced their sacrilegious usurpation by violating the oath they took when they received their powers. They had the audacity to style themselves the *national constituent assembly*, as if they had possessed a right to constitute themselves what they were not established, and when they were only the deputies of the assemblies of the bailiwicks, the real representatives of the nation. Perjured in respect to the oath of fidelity, which they took to the king, as well as in respect to that which they swore to their constituents; and substituting the individual will of their criminal majority to the imperative letter of their instructions (the national will, expressed in all the bailiwicks) they rendered all their subsequent operations absolutely null, by making themselves superior to their powers, by rendering themselves independent of them, and by assuming authorities to which they had no title. They treated France as a country not subject to a monarchical form of government, without monarch, and without laws; and they leagued together to plunge it into all the errors of yet savage nations, and to form a government after the rude sketches of infant states, making the first ad-

vances toward civilization, and which at present would mark the last stage of their decline. Like all usurpers, they flattered the people, in order that they might subject them to obedience; assigned to them a sovereignty, with a view of converting it to their own purposes; spoke to them of the *rights of man*, while they were silent respecting their duty; employed, according to the dictates of their turbulent and destructive ambition, the poniards of assassins, and the flames of revolt; and, taking advantage of the prejudices and passions of the multitude, they successively called to their assistance famine and abundance to incense the populace, that they might afterward seduce and govern them; and, to add to the horror of their proceedings, they caused the virtuous monarch, who had convoked them, to be accused of those very crimes which they themselves had committed.

Alarmed at the dangers which surrounded him, and foreseeing the afflicting evils which were preparing for his people, his most christian majesty in vain endeavoured to avert them. Concessions, rendered prudent by necessity *, and the urgency of circumstances, which were fully approved by the instructions of all the bailiwicks, and consequently by all Frenchmen, increased that thirst for reigning with which the usurping assembly was inflamed.

All France, deceived and misled by the most infamous impostures, was the same day instantly in arms †. The people imagined that they were taking them up to oppose robbers, and those robbers turned them against the king. From that mo-

* Declaration of the king, June 23, 1789.

† Declaration of the king, June 20, 1793.

ment the sovereign authority was annihilated; and the incontestable rights of the two first orders * were sacrificed, to nourish the destructive ardour of the conspirators.

The orders were proscribed †, the king himself, and his brothers, deprived of that private patrimony, which their ancestors had brought to the crown on their accession to the throne. The parliaments, the sovereign courts, the states of the provinces, and all the political bodies, almost as ancient as the monarchy, which in turn supported and moderated its power, which were securities to the people for the justice of the monarch, and to the monarch for the fidelity of his subjects, were buried under the ruins of the throne. Religion also was involved in the same general wreck. Its property was seized; its altars were overturned; its temples profaned, sold, or demolished; and its ministers persecuted, and continually placed in such a situation, that they must either violate the dictates of conscience, or submit to death; commit perjury, or suffer punishment; often resigned themselves as victims, in order that they might avoid the commission of a crime.

Thus attacking Heaven itself, an impious sect vilified all religions, under a pretence of toleration, permitted all modes of worship in suffering them all to be oppressed, and offering equal violations to them all. In their room, they substituted political irreligion, without comfort for the unfortunate, without morality for the vicious, and without any check for crimes. Nay,

crimes themselves were every where tolerated, encouraged, rewarded. Insurrection was consecrated ‡ as the most sacred duties. Solemn and public festivals were decreed in honour of the basest and greatest criminals §. Every species of villany was permitted under the name of patriotism. France was inundated with blood, flames covered it with ruins; and strangers beheld with consternation and horror that country, whose laws, manners, politeness, prosperity, and, above all, its fidelity to its kings, were so much boasted of; and which, by a frightful revolution, was suddenly converted into a land of discord, proscription, exile, conflagration, and carnage, and where every violence was permitted with impunity. Inflamed with an insatiable ardour of exercising this pretended sovereignty of the people, each wished to govern, and to divide the bloody remnants of the supreme authority. Hence arose innumerable assemblies of electors, municipalities, cantons, districts, and departments. Hence those fatal turns from which intrigue scandalously procured the most shameful elections; that general lottery of all places, all public functions, of the episcopacy itself, and other church dignities, in which violence, deception, and deism, obtained almost the whole prizes. Hence societies of conspirators and enthusiasts, stifling and suppressing, by persecution and popular punishment, the voice and opinion of honest men. Hence the galleries, domineering over the usurping assembly, and the delirium of the assembly itself, which thought

* Of the 4th August, and 22d November, 1789.

† Declaration of the king, November 3, 1789.

‡ The principle proposed by M. la Fayette, and adopted by the national assembly.

§ To the soldiers set at liberty from the galleys, and the assassins of Avignon, Nismes, Arles, &c.

it enjoyed authority, when it only servilely obeyed the impulse of fanatics and madmen without doors, and was subjected to the fickle passions of the people.

In this general and systematic anarchy, created by the most execrable and profound art, thousands of victims were sacrificed in all quarters, and provinces and whole towns were given up without mercy to the most shocking barbarities. Every one who was suspected was consigned to destruction—every one who was moderate, was considered as criminal. All those who had property to make them objects of plunder, were denounced as enemies of the public good; and, in a word, amid accusations, commanded, solicited, and paid for; in the midst of committees of research, clubs, assemblies of all kinds, and national prisons, into which tyranny arbitrarily crowded faithful subjects, whom judges, even chosen by the factious, could not condemn, and durst not acquit; amid the agitation of all passions, excited at the same time, virtue alone was a crime, established right was usurpation, and every one was a sovereign, except the sovereign himself.

The organ of the factious, the mayor of Paris, had the impudence insolently to tell his king and master, that the people had conquered him. The people, indeed, detained their monarch a captive in their kingdom, and his days, perhaps, would not have been prolonged, but by the forced and salutary escape of one of his brothers, and princes of the blood.

The monarch and monarchy, however, still, in appearance, subsisted; odious and intolerable decrees having been suspended by the simple observations of his most christian majesty. The revolter

were irritated at this resource of justice and reason. The most criminal attempts were projected. A number of seditious persons hurried to Versailles; the castle was forced. The king, exposed, as well as the queen and royal family, to every outrage, every crime, and unheard-of attacks, thought only of sparing the blood of his people; and the tears which he would not have shed for himself, moistened the bodies of the generous and faithful guards who had been inhumanly butchered on the steps of the throne. Providence, which watches over the destiny of kings and nations, saved at length his majesty, with the queen and august family, from this horrible conspiracy. And if the criminals who were the authors of the execrable atrocities committed on the night between the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, have hitherto enjoyed an odious impunity, the Divine Justice has doubtless deferred their punishment, in order to reserve to all sovereigns, offended in the persons of their most christian majesties, the inflicting of the most striking and exemplary vengeance on the guilty.

Escaped from the most imminent dangers, his most christian majesty at length thought of freeing himself from that captivity in which he was detained, and of placing his sacred person in a place of safety, by retiring to the frontiers of France. He hoped that he should then be able to exert himself, with more effect, in bringing back his subjects to a sense of duty, and in saving the monarchy; and by yielding to the most imperious of all laws, *self-preservation*, his most christian majesty meant solemnly to have protested against all those acts to which he had consented during his captivity. But Providence, which in its wisdom often deranges, for the

the instruction of mankind, the best concerted plans, did not permit a resolution so just, so lawful, and so necessary to the happiness of France, to be successfully executed. An infamous town, the name of which posterity will never pronounce but with horror, the just and terrible punishment of which will serve as an example to all rebellious and sacrilegious towns that may ever have the criminal madness to wish to imitate it, and to attempt the liberty of their sovereign—this town had the audacity to arrest their king. By a signal he might have overcome this obstacle, but in that case it would have been necessary to shed blood; and his most christian majesty has proved, upon all occasions, that he would rather suffer death himself than expose the lives of his subjects. The return made to this goodness and signal magnanimity was, that he was conducted, amid a thousand dangers, and a thousand outrages continually renewed, back to his capital, to be there imprisoned in his palace, by virtue of a decree passed by the usurping assembly; to be there suspended from his authority, as if any power upon earth had a right of passing so infamous and odious a sentence, and at length to be reduced to the alternative of forfeiting the throne, or submitting to the most pitiable concessions; that is to say, the alternative of a civil war, which would have converted France into an immense grave, or the acceptance of a constitution, dictated by the mean populace to perjured wretches without legal power, and deprived themselves of their liberty, when surrounded by poniards, conflagrations, and all those convulsions

which are the natural consequences of revolt and anarchy.

The king of France, had he enjoyed perfect freedom, would doubtless have consulted only the honour of his crown, the interest of his people, his protest of the 20th of June, 1791, and his religion, which they endeavoured to make him renounce. Had he enjoyed freedom, by making a generous sacrifice, he would certainly have resigned life, had it been necessary, to rescue his people from that pretended constitution, with which they were loaded; but all Europe knows, that his refusing to accept it would have caused the three faithful guards who were arrested with him at Varennes, to be massacred before his eyes; that a famine, created on purpose, already presaged the most horrid attempts; that the murder of all the royal family was resolved on by the conspirators; that such of the nobility and clergy as remained faithful to their God and to their king, would have been instantly butchered; and that foreign powers would have had to punish thousands of criminals and regicide monsters.

A ray of hope, which still seemed to beam forth in the heart of his most christian majesty, made him doubtless entertain an idea that the factious would soon repent; and he probably flattered himself, that by this last act of condescension, he should be able to disarm their fury, and dissipate that fatal cloud of error by which they were blinded. The nullity of his acceptance, fully demonstrated by those rigorous circumstances which irresistibly commanded it, sufficiently destroyed the inconveniences of it. He wished, as he himself declared *, that the

* Letter of the king to the assembly, Sept. 18, 1791.

constitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or condemn France to commit execrable crimes, to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins.

The king signed it, but his hand at that time was in chains. The act which he performed was invalid. The protestation of the 20th of June had previously annulled it. A prisoner can enter into no engagement, can sanction nothing, nor accept of any thing; and a monarch, who is reduced to the necessity of *writing* that he is free, is not so in *reality*. All powers, filled with indignation at this horrid spectacle, had already concerted measures for avenging the honour of the diadem. His late imperial majesty, by his circular letter, written from Padua *, invited all the powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpose. The convention of Pilnitz determined those circumstances which made their imperial and Prussian majesties have recourse to arms; but the acceptance of his most christian majesty, though forced, and consequently null, seemed to promise a new order of things. It rendered the danger less threatening †, and the latter events seemed to afford hopes respecting the future. It appeared that the greater part of the French nation, struck with the evils which they had prepared for themselves, were returning to more moderate principles; began to acknowledge the necessity of maintaining that form of government which was alone

proper for a great state; and to testify a desire of restoring to the throne that dignity and influence which belong to monarchical governments. His imperial majesty was not completely satisfied with these appearances, but he wished, as well as the other powers united with him, to try the effects of a little longer delay, to avoid, if possible, that disagreeable extremity, to which all powers feel themselves now obliged to have recourse. A prodigious number, however, of faithful Frenchmen, banished from their country by crimes which they had seen, and of which they were the objects, imploring in vain at home timid or corrupt judges, and laws, which, in order to oppress them, were made to speak or be silent, as might be most favourable to the revolution, ranged themselves under the banner of honour, duty, and fidelity, with the count d'Artois, and other princes of the blood, who, like them, had been forced to exile themselves from their country.

A new usurping assembly, which seemed to pride itself in surpassing the excesses of the preceding, dared to treat the royal majesty with still greater insults ‡, added weight to his chains, encouraged more than ever the effervescence of those popular societies which domineered over him, multiplied the dangers around his throne, were incensed at the hospitable reception granted by foreign princes to the French emigrants §, and insulted, with intolerable licentiousness, all the sovereigns of Europe. In violation of their own laws, and contrary to

* Month of July, 1791.

† Dispatch of the prince de Kaunitz to several ministers of foreign courts, November 12, 1791.

‡ Decree of Monday, Feb. 6, 1792, which determines, that in writing to the king, the president shall follow the formula adopted by the king in writing to the assembly.

§ List of letters of prince de Kaunitz to M. de Flumendorff, Feb. 17, 1729.

their

their pretended renunciation of making conquests, they invaded the county of Avignon, and the bishopric of Basle; pretended to set an arbitrary pecuniary valuation on the sacred property which they had, in Lorrain and Alsace, forcibly taken from several princes and states of the empire; and were offended because the police in all the neighbouring countries suppressed those inflammatory writings which they industriously circulated, and punished those missionaries of revolt whom they every where dispersed to corrupt the people, and to incite them to attack private property, to dethrone kings, and abolish all religions. Their audacity increasing, by remaining hitherto unpunished, and rendered more violent by the moderation of neighbouring princes, this assembly, in their delirium, conceived the project of extending their usurpation, and the licentious principles of the French to the Germanic empire, and without doubt, to the whole world. A ministry, whom they obliged his most christian majesty to accept, became the organ of their secret views, and of views well known to all popular societies.

Explanations were required from the court of Vienna, and given with that clearness, precision, and minuteness, which became the candour and dignity of his apostolic majesty, the king of Bohemia and Hungary. Being in every respect satisfactory, they could displease only an assembly and societies who wished to disturb the public peace, and who, by intrigues and criminal manœuvres, obliged the king to yield to the violent impulse of his ministry and the assembly, and contrary to all justice, and the evident

interest of France, to declare war against his neighbour, his relation, and his good and faithful ally the king of Bohemia and Hungary. The usurping assembly flattered themselves that they could subdue Europe, as they had subdued France, by corrupting their troops, seducing their subjects, and rendering odious the paternal authority of sovereigns; by commanding crimes; by giving rewards to those who committed them; by irritating and flattering the passions of the people; and, in a word, by dissolving all the bonds of moral and political society. They flattered themselves, above all, that they should revive and propagate that error which had misled the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; they trusted they should carry thither the flames of insurrection; find there a number of partizans; devour the rich patrimony of the churches; seize on the property of the nobility; abolish the lawful authorities of the states; and as they caused to be repeated with complaisance by the ministry of their will*, they wished to carry away the specie of the Low Countries, and to replace it with that paper money which circulates on the credit of violence; which is secured only by usurped property; and which, by its discredit at home, is sufficiently proved to be illegal. They thus trusted that they should be able to reward the crimes of their satellites, and the activity of their patriotic agents, with the spoils of their neighbours, and the riches of a peaceful and industrious people. On this criminal basis, detestable in the eyes of all nations, they founded their wish for war, as well as their plan for executing it; and they congratulated themselves for

* Report by M. Dumourier, on the affair of Mons.

having extorted this proposal from a just monarch, whose sole life has attested his love for justice, his fidelity to his allies, and his ardent desire for preserving the tranquillity of Europe.

The triumph of the assembly, however, was not of long duration. Providence, in blessing the arms of a sovereign, unjustly attacked, deservedly punished those rebellious troops, who, detaining the king prisoner at Paris, came in his name, to make war on his allies.

The army of the French revolt-ers, beat at Tournay and Mons, and defeated at Florennes and Grif-nille, attempted an invasion of Flanders, an open and defenceless country; but being soon after obliged to retire, the usurping assembly* were taught that his apostolic majesty had none but courageous soldiers, as well as faithful subjects, and that nothing of their projects remained to that rebellious army, but the shame of having conceived them; the ignominy of having massacred, with a civic joy, the unfortunate prisoners who had done their duty; and the opprobrium of having burnt at Courtray without advantage, object, and even military pretence, the habitations and property of three hundred families, against whom they had no cause of complaint. But other enjoyments recompensed the usurping assembly for these checks. Contrary to the express letter of their own laws, without process and previous accusation; without hearing him, or any person for him, the assembly had unjustly dismissed, and removed from the king's person, an irreproachable guard; and in-

vited banditti from all the provinces to their assistance. These famous banditti, whose names must be handed down with infamy to the remotest ages, as if they wished to try the strength and energy of the villany of their agents, caused the asylum of the king to be violated on the 20th of June, 1792; and the most atrocious crimes would have been then committed, had not the majesty of the monarch, his virtues and his firmness, overawed a band of regicides, whose arms were evidently paid and directed. All France, who in justice ought to be separated from the factious, turned aside with horror from that execrable day, and demanded that punishment might be inflicted on the guilty. But he who refuses to punish crimes is alone criminal; and Europe cannot be mistaken respecting the authors of these outrages.

Such then is the French revolution, unjust and illegal in its principle, horrid in the means by which it was effected, and disastrous in its consequences.

Their imperial and royal majesties, who can no longer delay to fulfil their mutual engagements, to deliver mankind from so many excesses, have considered this revolution under the following points of view:

1. As it personally regards his most christian majesty.
2. As it respects the French nation.
3. As it respects the princes of Germany who have possessions in France.
4. As it respects the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of all nations.

* Letters of M. Luckner, June 28th, 29th, 30th, 1792.

I: *On the Revolution, as it personally regards his most Christian Majesty.*

The whole world knows that it was essential to the French monarchy, and the unanimous wish expressed in the instructions of the bailiwicks, that the king of France should be legislator; that he should have the full and entire disposal of the army; that he should cause justice to be administered to his subjects; that he should have the right of making peace and war; and, in a word, that plenitude of power which belongs to sovereignty. But it is also known, that an usurping assembly, leaving him the title of king, which they considered as a gratification, deprived him absolutely of royal authority; that, reduced to be the executor of their will*, their servile and passive organ, he had not even the right of proposing the most necessary laws†; that he had no longer any authority over the sea and land forces‡; that the right of making peace and war was taken from him§; that he was deprived of the power of electing magistrates||; that not enjoying even the power of going *wherever he pleased*, which the constitution secures to all citizens, his most christian majesty was forced to reside near the pretended legislative body¶; and that the chain which detained him could not be extended farther than the distance of twenty miles.

The supreme authority in France being never-ceasing and indivisible, the king could neither be deprived,

nor voluntarily divest himself, of any of the prerogatives of royalty, because he is obliged to transmit them entire, with his crown, to his successors.

He could be dethroned only by an abdication; but the acts which he committed cannot even be considered as a partial abdication, because he could not divest himself of the crown, but to invest the presumptive heir, and because the essential condition of the validity of such an act would be a full and entire liberty which did not exist; and this, it is notorious, his most christian majesty never enjoyed. It is well known, that the violence, outrages, and dangers with which his people were threatened, and on account of which he was continually harassed, never suffered him to be in freedom a moment. How, then, could the sovereigns of Europe acknowledge a revolution which, to the scandal of the whole world, dethrones a pious and just monarch, continually destroys his liberty, endangers his life as well as the lives of the queen and royal family; and which by an universal system of anarchy, would force all sovereigns, though the honour of their diadems did not render it a duty, to consider as personal outrages to each of them individually, all those which have been, or may hereafter be, offered to their most christian majesties. Warned by the examples of the past; by the days, above all, of July 13th, 14th, and 17th; by those of Oct. 5th and 6th, 1789, strangely rewarded by the community of

* VIIIth article of the constitution, section, Internal Administration.

† Decree of September 24, 1789.

‡ Decree, February 28, 1790, and April 28, 1791.

§ Decree, March 22, 1790.

|| Decree, August 16, 1790.

¶ Decree, March 24, 1792, article III.

Paris*; by the oath of liberty taken by a captive monarch on the 4th of February, 1790; by the scandalous atrocities committed even in the apartment of the king, February 28th, 1791, on his most faithful servants; by the ferocious insults of a hired mob and licentious soldiery, offered, for three hours successively, on his most christian majesty and family, in his palace, on the 18th of April, 1791†; by the unpardonable detention of the king's aunts, in the town of Ar-mav-le-duc, though they had condescended to provide themselves with passports, which the new laws did not even then require from private individuals; by the disastrous events of the month of June 1791; by the suspension of the royal guard, and the attempts of the 20th of June, 1792; by the odious decree of accusation against the king's brothers, the forced sanctioning of which was an equal outrage to nature, justice, and supreme authority; warned, in short, by the impunity of so many crimes, their imperial and royal majesties have already protested, and now protest, against all acts, declarations, and letters which his most christian majesty may suffer to be extorted from him, until he shall be placed in full liberty with his whole family, under a guard of their imperial and royal majesty's troops, in such a frontier city of his kingdom as he shall think proper to choose, and be enabled in safety to make known his supreme and definitive intentions, and to realize the wishes which he has always

expressed for their happiness, liberty, and prosperity.

II. *Of the Revolution as it respects the French Nation.*

The revolution considered, as it respects the French nation, instead of being its work, is evidently its scourge; the object of its grief and regret; the source of all its evils; and would be eternally its shame and disgrace, were it not proved, in a thousand different manners, that this illustrious nation itself abhors the factions by which it is torn; that it loves its king; that it wishes to preserve its religion by favouring toleration; that it sighs after the moment when it shall be delivered from the vilifying yoke under which it groans; and that if foreign powers did not come to its assistance, abandoned to its fatal destiny, its consequence would vanish, its commerce would be annihilated, its arts forgotten, its industry rendered useless, its credit subverted, and its whole surface become a prey to more atrocities, ravages, and destruction, than its unfortunate colonies, than its unfortunate cities of Nimes, Montpellier, Arles, Avignon, and others. It is far, then, from the thoughts of their imperial and royal majesties to be at war with the French nation, and to separate it from its king, with which it ought to make only one. The intention of their imperial and royal majesties is evidently, on the contrary, to come to its assistance, and to combat in the middle of those unnatural

* The community of Paris decreed patriotic medallions to five women, who had been at the head of the execrable expedition of Versailles; and the abbé Mulet, a victorin monk, president of the community, had the audacity to say, "Receive this reward which your country bestows on your virtues, your wisdom, and your patriotism."

† The king and queen being desirous of spending the day at St. Cloud, the people and national guard prevented them, and detained them in their carriage for three hours, in the court of the Thuilleries, loading them with the most horrid imprecations.

children who tear its bosom, who outrage its king, and persecute its religion. The positive right of all countries entitles them to disarm all those madmen who attempt to destroy their own lives. The rights of nature enjoin all men to give each other mutual assistance. The rights of nations require, in a much stronger manner, among all civilized people, that neighbouring states should unite to rescue a great nation from its own fury, from the fatal and disastrous consequences of that political frenzy which undermines, dissolves, and destroys it.

However little one may have observed the frightful events which have desolated France; however little one may have reflected on their cause and effects; or calculated the emigration of French property, of which no age affords an equal example; he must be convinced, that a small number of villains have excited all these troubles, and that by the assistance of obscure individuals, people banished from all countries, criminals escaped from prison or punishment, they have brought about their fatal revolution, which is equally an attack upon the nation, as well as his royal majesty.

Have not the rebellious majority of the deputies to the states-general, declared themselves superior to their powers? Have they not usurped the rights of the nation, by substituting for the national will, their own passions, and to the paternal government of a wise monarch, their own tyranny?

With regard to their instructions, when all the bailiwicks unanimously, or almost unanimously, requested the same thing, had this criminal majority the right to determine another? And, once freed by itself from the observance of its oath, who could check the course of its abuses, and moderate the despotism of its power?

To mislead the people, and fascinate their eyes by false illusions, this assembly speak of equality when they make all France tremble: they speak of justice, and they have not yet punished a single crime, nor a single atrocity; on the contrary, they applauded the most detestable crimes; and admitted into their bosom criminals abhorred by all nations*. They speak of public safety, yet the asylum of the king is daily violated by committees of research, which desolate France; assassinations are every where committed, and the magistrates of the people are themselves massacred with impunity†; they speak of toleration, yet all the temples of the established religion are shut; all its ministers, immured in prisons throughout whole provinces‡, are condemned by the assembly to be entirely banished from the kingdom; the Roman Catholics cannot profess their religion, but at the risk of their lives, and wretches have been excited to persecute and punish their worship, even in nunneries§, consecrated by religion itself to the use of the poor. They speak of liberty, yet the king is not free; every avenue from the

* Conspirators of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; murderers of Avignon, Nîmes, &c. soldiers of the regiment of Chateau-Vieux.

† Mayors of Troye, St. Dennis, Estampes.

‡ Mans, Angers, Dijon, Bretagne, &c.

§ The nuns de la Charité des Hospitalières were flogged and beaten by people sent for that purpose, in presence of the national guard, because they desired to hear mass from a nonjuring priest.

kingdom is shut; more than 50,000 municipalities, or administrative bodies, have a right to arrest, and actually cause to be arrested, in an arbitrary manner, peaceful and innocent citizens. There is not a member of the usurping assembly, who cannot by an order from his hand, by a mere word, cause to be put in irons, as was the case at Besor *, and other parts of France, strangers flying from the melancholy spectacle of a people in a state of anarchy; and the assembly itself, accuser, witness, party, judge, and executioner, crowds daily into prison, as its caprice directs, every person who displeases or opposes it.

No—the French nation is not stained with the crimes of which it is itself the victim. It knows that unbridled liberty is a general evil, and that liberty without happiness is a benefit to no one. It was always free; it is worthy of being, and still will be, free; but it will always be subject to the empire of laws which promoted its happiness and glory for so many ages; and by restoring its lawful sovereign, a sovereign worthy of its love and confidence, their imperial and royal majesties will do an equal service to the sovereign and to his subjects. As this is the sole object of their wishes, the only motive which has induced them to take up arms, they will cause their armies to protect all the faithful subjects of his most christian majesty, who shall give an example of obedience; and all good Frenchmen who, in the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall concur in re-establishing the authority of the king, as well as public order, shall know no other

enemies than the enemies of their king and country, and those factious men, who, with arms in their hands, wish still to support the cause of revolt.

God forbid that their imperial and royal majesties should have any intention to employ their forces to introduce despotism into France, to serve the cause of private hatred or vengeance, which the honour of Frenchmen ought to sacrifice to the public good, or to facilitate an odious bankruptcy to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the state. There is no reason for apprehending any evils of that nature. The candour and probity of his most christian majesty will secure his subjects; but they have not a moment to lose in choosing between popular tyranny, and laws which will gratify the general wishes; between obedience and revolt; between the oblivion of errors, and the punishment of unpardonable resistance. They have it in their own power to regulate their destiny: the destiny of France is in their hands: they alone can decide whether it shall still be a flourishing monarchy, or an immense desert.

In short, their imperial and royal majesties cannot better recall the French to their duty, to the laws of humanity, and to those of honour, which were formerly so dear to them, and to their ancient love for their king, than by bringing to their remembrance the last words of the protest of his most christian majesty, made on the 20th of June, 1791:

“Frenchmen! and you Parisians above all, beware of giving credit to the suggestions and calumnies of your false friends; return to your

* All Europe must have learned, with horror, the inhuman treatment which miss Nash, an English lady, experienced at Orchies, in Flanders, from the troops of the line, though she had a passport from marshal Luckner.

king; he will always be your father, your best friend. What pleasure it will give him to forget all the personal injuries he has suffered, and to see himself in the midst of you; when religion shall be respected, and government established on a stable basis; when the property and persons of individuals shall be no longer molested; when the law shall not be infringed with impunity, and, in short, when liberty shall be placed on a solid and lasting foundation."

III. *Of the Revolution as it respects foreign Princes, who have Possessions in France.*

Considered under the third point of view, the French revolution, so fatal to France, becomes still more so by the violence and intolerable injustice offered to foreign princes, who have possessions within the territories of the kingdom, and by the rigorous means which must necessarily be employed to do them justice.

Avignon belonged to the holy see. The sovereignty of the pope over this domain was founded on an incontrovertible title of acquisition, and on possession, which among all nations is equal to a title. The usurping assembly united it to their territories by the sanguinary right of utility and necessity; and compounding afterward with themselves, and with justice, they offered an indemnity to the holy see. But if the sovereignty of the pope were legal, they had no right to deprive him of it; and if they had a right to deprive him of it, why did they offer him an indemnification?

The prince bishop of Basle, a state of the empire, possesses in his sovereignty desiles, which tempted the ambition of the national assem-

bly. It caused them to be forcibly seized, and removed a detachment of troops, which the emperor had sent thither, on the requisition of the bishop, for the safety of the country, agreeably to the Germanic constitution. The treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Breda, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, and Vienna, gave to France the provinces of the three bishoprics, and of Alsace and Franche Comté, by expressly reserving the rights and property of the princes and states of the empire in these provinces, and by stipulating that no innovation could be made in them, either with regard to ecclesiastical or political matters.

It is evident that these treaties cannot be infringed at the will of the usurping assembly, and that by calling for the execution of those clauses which serve their views, they have no right to reject those that displease them. It is perfectly clear that they ought to renounce provinces which have been ceded to the crown of France, or punctually execute the condition of the cession made to it.

But their decrees respecting the dismemberment of dioceses, and of the right of metropolitans, the abolition of feudality, the suppression of several privileges, or the annihilation of territorial jurisdiction, without indemnification, and the sale of the possessions of the clergy, are a direct infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, as well as of subsequent treaties. These decrees have violated political and ecclesiastical rights secured in perpetuity by the treaties of cession. These cessions, consequently, which are synallagmatic acts, which must be executed in all their parts, or rejected *in toto*, being infringed by the usurping assembly, would be at present

sent annulled, were not the proceedings of the assembly radically null themselves, and if it were not necessary that their decrees should disappear before the grand interest which France has in being just, in not violating the sacred rights of the empire, and in not wounding the dignity of any of its members.

But their imperial and royal majesties are fully persuaded, that the first use which his most christian majesty will make of this authority when he has recovered it, will be to restore to the injured princes all their rights and privileges, to indemnify them for what they may have suffered in respect to degradation, or being deprived of their privileges, and to cement more and more by this act of justice, the harmony which has for a long time subsisted between the Germanic body and his most christian majesty. The injury offered to the German princes, who have possessions in France, is not considered as a reason for making war on his most christian majesty, but for placing him upon the throne, in order to obtain justice.

IV. *On the Revolution, as it concerns all Nations.*

But the most general point of view under which their imperial and royal majesties ought to consider the French revolution, is, as it respects the interest of all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe.

In vain would the assembly, which usurps the name of the French nation, have renounced conquest, if it wished to subject to its pretended liberty the states of their neighbours. Of all the methods of making war on a peaceful, virtuous, and happy people, the

most fatal, doubtless, would be to preach up rebellion, to mislead their minds, to corrupt their morals, to form them to crimes by example and seduction, and to draw down upon them the wrath of heaven and punishment from their sovereigns, under the pretence of rendering them happy.

The ambition of a conqueror has its bounds, and his views when known, cease to be dangerous; but a planned system of anarchy, which tends to dissolve all political society, abounds with inexpressible danger; and all sovereigns, for the interest of their subjects, cannot use too much expedition to check its progress, and to stifle the evil in its birth. People would pay too dearly for the fatal error of believing that their interests can be separated from those of their sovereigns. It is, therefore, necessary to destroy this error as soon as possible, and to chastise, as soon as they appear, those factious men, who conspire against the happiness of all countries. Had any doubts existed in this respect, they would have been already removed by the attack and invasion of the Low Countries; by the plan of the usurping assembly, divulged by the popular minister, of spreading every where the flames of revolt; a barbarous maxim, which attests views of cowardly ambition, and which is an insult to all nations, and a signal of alarm to all kings. Besides, a numerous and powerful nation cannot disappear from the political hemisphere of Europe without the greatest inconvenience. The balance of power among sovereigns, the work of their wisdom, purchased by their treasures and the blood of their subjects, which regulates the ambition of one by the interest of all; which maintains harmony amid contend-

ing passions and jarring interests; and which almost always terminates by well-conducted negotiation, such disputes as may have excited bloody wars, requires, for the general interest of Europe, that so considerable a state as France should not be dissolved or withdrawn from its political engagements; and yet this would be the case, should the present revolution be established. The decrees * which have deprived the king of the right of making peace and war, have at once dissolved all those treaties which connected his most christian majesty with all the neighbouring princes. The revolution gives to the usurping assembly the right of renouncing such treaties as are contrary to its views, while it takes from his majesty the means of supporting those which might be beneficial to him. According to these principles, it has no more political ties than those which it chooses to approve, and it is consequently not bound to any of its allies, though all are obliged to be faithful to it. Thus the king without power, and the nation without an army, or what amounts to the same thing, having no army properly disciplined, and subject to authority, exhibit to their neighbours, and, above all, to their allies, nothing but the shadow of power. The tranquillity of Europe, however, depends absolutely on the execution of the treaties now subsisting between the different sovereigns; and those treaties themselves depend on the stability of the constitution of those states which contradict them. The displacing, and much more the annihilation of the counterpoise of the political balance, would tend then to disturb the peace of Europe, and to revive

ancient disputes and pretensions, now settled, the discussion of which, again renewed, would occasion the loss of much blood, and excite the tears and regrets of humanity. It belongs to the wisdom of sovereigns to avert such dreadful misfortunes; and it is with this view that their imperial and royal majesties think themselves obliged, for the general tranquillity and safety, and for the individual happiness of their respective subjects, as much as for the real interest of France itself, to have recourse to arms, in order to prevent the annihilation of the French monarchy, and to destroy there every spark of insurrection, which might continually threaten and endanger the welfare of all sovereigns, and of all nations.

But yielding to what the honour of all crowns and the real interest of all people require, their majesties declare to Europe, that, in the just war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of personal aggrandizement, which they expressly renounce; and to France, that they mean not to interfere with its internal administration, but that they are firmly and fully resolved,

To re-establish in it order and public security;

To cause the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king, their lawful sovereign, to be protected;

To punish, in a striking manner, all resistance to their arms;

To give up the city of Paris to the most dreadful and terrible justice, from which nothing can save it, as well as all the other cities which may render themselves its accomplices, if the least insult, or the least outrage, is offered to the king, the queen, or the royal family;

* Decree of March 22d, 1792.

and if that city does not endeavour to expiate its errors, and to merit the interposition and good offices of their imperial and royal majesties, to obtain pardon, by immediately restoring liberty, and paying every due honour and respect to their most christian majesties :

In short, to procure to the king perfect security in some frontier town of his kingdom, and the means of collecting there his family, and the princes his brothers, until his most christian majesty can enter his capital with honour, and enjoy there the satisfaction of seeing his subjects repent ; of conferring new favours upon them ; of granting them real liberty ; and, consequently, of finding them submissive to his supreme authority.

Declaration of the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, Commander of the combined Armies of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to the Inhabitants of France.

Their majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia, having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions, of the German princes in Alsace and Lorrain ; after having disturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government ; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred

person of the king, and against his august family ; those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party and of their emissaries.

His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his imperial majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and of his co-estates. It is under this double relation, that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To these high interests is added another important object, and which both the sovereigns have most cordially in view ; which is, to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprizes of their oppressors ; his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia,

earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the underwritten, general commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare,

1st, That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

2d, That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his most christian majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

3dly, That the combined armies shall protect the towns, burghs and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout all France.

4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen until the arrival of the troops belonging to their imperial and royal majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible: that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in

their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace.

5thly, That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

6thly, That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and estates, for all the conflagrations, for all the murders, and for all the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most christian majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make farther arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their imperial and royal majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; and their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

8thly

8thly, The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his and to all royal persons that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their imperial and royal majesties, making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of the peace, and others whom it may concern: and their imperial and royal majesties farther declare, on their faith and word of emperor and king, that if the palace of the Tuilleries be forced or insulted, if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their majesties, the king, queen, and the royal family, if they be not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it, the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their imperial and royal majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his most christian majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

Finally, Their majesties, not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France except those which shall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, the princes, and of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and with this view, their imperial and royal majesties invite and intreat his most christian majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the queen, and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose: so that his most christian majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocation as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom.

In fine, I declare and promise, in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed, every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation, those well disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance or of manifest evil intentions.

I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the

(I 4) bene.

benevolence which circumstances may require.

Given at general quarters at Coblenz, July 25, 1792.

CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND, DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG.

Exposition of the Motives on which the French National Assembly have proclaimed a Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the suspension of the Executive Power in the Hands of the King.

The national assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, an exact account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line: and fanatical priests, infusing alarm into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens, that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France. They fancied that they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism

permitted us to be free; and they flattered themselves, that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, prostrate before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The national assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and the factious priests, by severe decrees; and the king employed against those decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction, which the constitution granted him. In the mean time, those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the king; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the king, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correspondence of these facts, with the conduct of the king, authorized, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be suspended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the veto, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the king the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced impending storms, and suspicions of the executive power were displayed with energy.

The national assembly were not

dis-

discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants not an asylum, but only the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying foldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the king was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a weak or treacherous ministry were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare or an insult. The league of kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the emperor, brother-in-law to the king of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself alone.

The national assembly thought it necessary, for the safety of France, to oblige the emperor to declare whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her: treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of separating the king from the nation, and of representing a war against the French people, as succours granted to his ally. The emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it he repeated the absurd charges against the assembly of the representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French minis-

try had long wearied the counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the king, and he had just signed a new league against France, in favour of the authority of the king of the French.

These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the king, had been concealed by the ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of monarchs, had shewn, either to the citizens of France or the nations of Europe, that the king had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, struck every mind; the national assembly thought it their duty to examine with vigour the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs; and a decree of accusation was the result of this examination. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the king's council was formed of patriot ministers.

The successor of Leopold followed the course of his father. He thought proper to require for the princes, formerly possessing fiefs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length, he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed without having recourse to arms.

The king seemed to feel, that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying

ing a shameful weakness; he seemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an interest in his fate, and to desire his alliance, for no purpose but to sow the seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our strength, and to stop or disconcert our motions; he proposed war by the unanimous advice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing tooops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening league, the king of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence, ruinous in their expence, exhausted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the departments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them, and perpetuated troubles. Never did hostilities more really justify war; and to declare was only to repel it.

The national assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless, their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, on the secret councils of the king; but they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political divisions; discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as well as between the generals and the ministry. At-

tempts were made to transform into the instruments of a party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintain the national independence.

The machinations of the priests becoming more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensable—one was passed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while, at the same time, it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their disquiets might have produced: the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

The constitution had granted to the king a guard of 1800 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror: hatred of the constitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

The assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of a counter-revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the king bestowed praises on those very men, whose dismissal from his service he had just pronounced, to those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

The new ministers excited well-founded distrust: and as this distrust could

ould not stop at them, it fell on the king himself.

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees, rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded, in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition; in it, they solicited the recall of the patriotic ministers; and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the national assembly, after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present it under the forms established by the law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism give him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the king, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The king had mounted the ensigns of liberty; he had done justice to the citizens, by declaring, that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens

from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the 20th of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments; between the people and the army; between the several portions of the national guard; between the citizens who remained at their homes, and those who were flying to the defence of the state. The very next day the king changed his language; a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directories of department, by unconstitutional resolutions, disclosed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives; between the national assembly and the king. Justices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots, whose vigilance and talents were the most dreaded. Already one of these justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterously concerted for finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority. Letters were sent from the minister for the home department, directing the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight

fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the national assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished in fraternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too often in the national assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the king's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped. The virtuous Petion, punished by an unjust suspicion, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the king; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons, might have fallen again entirely upon those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had the long habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The national assembly then saw, that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of, and prepare a plan of these means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts; and yet, in the midst of complaints incessantly repeated of the inaction of government, of the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, of the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, ministers unknown or sus-

pected, were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, and the same principles.

A declaration of the general of the enemy, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the king of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the king, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

Who then can be astonished that suspicions of the supreme head of the executive power should inspire citizens with the desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence at the disposition of a king, in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him, whose interests were the pretexts of all her troubles? To these motives, common to all France, were joined others, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblenz forming the habitual society of the king and his family. Writers, paid by the civil list, endeavoured, by false calumnies, to render the Parisians odious, or suspected in the eyes of the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow division between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guards was agitated by perfidious manœuvres, in order to form in it

a party

a party of royalists. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed to be divided between Paris and Coblenz, and their audacity increased with their number.

The constitution enjoined the king to give notice of approaching hostilities to the national assembly; and long solicitations were necessary to obtain of the ministry the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced abdication against the king if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprizes undertaken in his name against the nation; and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the king's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military household for him out of France; and these facts were known for more than six months before the king, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with foreign powers, might have prevented the success of these measures, had discharged the duty imposed upon him by the constitution.

It was on such powerful motives, that numerous petitions, sent from a great number of the departments, the wish of several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the wish of all the commons, solicited the forfeiture of the king, or the suspension of the royal power; and the national assembly could no longer shrink from the examination of this grand question.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-considered examination, after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhausted;

all at once, they appeared united as one man in the same will; they marched to the king's residence, and the king came to seek an asylum in the assembly of the representatives of the people, whose seat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris with the citizens of the departments, would always render an inviolable asylum.

National guards had been charged with defending the residence which the king had abandoned, but with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. The people had long seen, with painful surprise, Swiss battalions sharing the guard of the king, although the constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been easy to foresee, that this direct violation of the law, which was constantly obtruded on every eye, would sooner or later occasion great misfortunes. The national assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, discussions, motions made by individual members, and referred to committees, had apprized the king several months before of the necessity of dismissing from about his person, men, whom every where else the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional king, in direct contradiction to the constitution, without suspecting that they had become the instruments of the enemies of their liberties.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the ministry, demanded changes in that decree: the national assembly consented to those changes. A part of the soldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew disquiets; and it was contrary to the sense of
the

the national assembly, contrary to law, that on the 10th of August they were employed on a service, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away; they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the instant when a deputation of the national assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms, to speak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage. Then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those of which they had long been the victims.

In the midst of these disasters, the national assembly, afflicted, but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their post; they took the oath to save France, and they sought for the means.

They saw but one, which was that of recurring to the supreme will of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their inalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognized, and which it could not subject to any restriction. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a national convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers: it required no less than that the members of this convention should be elected in each department in an uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the national assembly could not restrain the

powers of the sovereign people from whom alone the members of that assembly hold all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulations traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of the new forms, even supposing them to be better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws, because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the exercise of the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature has prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation, of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the national assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such

such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the king had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people the only means of saving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the king, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived; that is to say, in the case in which there is not ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution; and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The constitution foresaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously proscribed.

The national assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he, to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not but be given to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious or personal views; they decreed, that the election be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attended their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our divisions; woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself

self wholly to the common defence; who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices.

It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other sentiment to the love of your country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wishes in

making use of their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. We have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, on quitting that post, the consolation at least of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our own consciences; to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood which a weaker conduct would have caused to flow; we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having embraced it.

(Signed) GADET, president.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1792.

N A V Y.

	FEB. 9.	£	s.	d.
FOR 16,000 men, including 4425 marines	—	832,000	0	0
	FEB. 13.			
To discharge the navy debt	—	131,000	0	0
	FEB. 14.			
Ordinary, including half-pay	—	672,482	0	0
Extraordinaries	—	350,000	0	0
		<u>£1,985,482</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

A R M Y.

FEB. 16.

For 17,013 men as guards and garrisons, from December 25, 1791, to June 24, 1792.	—	285,064	12	9
For 15,701 do. from June 25, to December 24, 1792	—	275,140	19	3
Forces in the Plantations, &c. from Dec. 1791, to June 25	—	170,193	9	6½
Do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1792	—	149,294	13	5
Difference between British and Irish establishment, from Dec. 25, 1791, to June 24	—	4,250	12	8
Do. from June 25, to Dec. 24, 1792	—	2,903	4	7
Forces in the East Indies	—	8,345	16	2
Recruiting, contingencies, &c.	—	98,037	15	0
Full pay to supernumerary officers	—	15,064	11	0
General and staff-officers	—	6,427	0	6
Allowances to the paymaster general, &c.	—	52,338	5	2
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	—	159,797	10	0
Do. horse-guards	—	202	10	0
Officers late in the service of the states-general	—	3,161	10	10
Reduced officers of British American forces	—	55,092	10	0
Allowances to ditto	—	4,907	10	0
Chelsea pensioners	—	173,104	3	11
Widows pensions	—	9,381	13	10
Scotch roads and bridges	—	4,060	0	0
Garrison and staff-officers in 1791	—	1,785	3	8
	FEB. 28.			
Extraordinaries in 1791	—	340,306	8	0
		<u>£1,819,460</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>

(146) P U B L I C P A P E R S.

O R D N A N C E.

FEB. 16.

Ordinance previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for — — — — —	£	s.	d.
Do. not provided for in 1790 — — — — —	877	11	2
Ordinance for 1792 — — — — —	43,225	18	5
	377,898	1	8
	422,001	11	3

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEB. 9.

To discharge exchequer bills — — — — —	5,500,000	0	0
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FEB. 14.

Civil establishment of Nova Scotia — — — — —	5,376	17	6
Do. New Brunswick — — — — —	4,520	0	0
Do. St. John's Island — — — — —	2,020	0	0
Do. Cape Breton — — — — —	1,800	0	0
Do. Newfoundland — — — — —	1,306	7	6
Do. Bahama Islands — — — — —	4,180	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda Islands — — — — —	580	0	0
Do. of Dominica — — — — —	600	0	0
Civil list establishment of Upper Canada — — — — —	6,565	7	0
Do. New South Wales — — — — —	4,726	0	0

FEB. 20.

To the fund for paying off exchequer bills — — — — —	100,000	0	0
To the bank for the reduction of national debt — — — — —	400,000	0	0

FEB. 28.

Convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours — — — — —	6,401	4	8½
Do. on the Thames — — — — —	17,023	17	2
Sending provisions, &c. to New South Wales — — — — —	22,179	12	6
Secretary of commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves — — — — —	100	0	0
Prosecution of Mr. Hastings — — — — —	6,347	11	6
To Thomas Cotton, esq. to pay bills of exchange — — — — —	1,926	9	10½
Compensation to the owners of slave ships — — — — —	4,141	11	7½
African forts — — — — —	13,000	0	0
Extraordinary expences of the mint — — — — —	9,819	18	7
Prosecution of offenders against the corn laws — — — — —	707	3	8
Presents to the inhabitants of the north west coast of America — — — — —	10,329	15	4

MARCH. 19.

Compensation for losses sustained on evacuating the Mufquito Shore — — — — —	12,262	19	9
Address money — — — — —	26,043	3	3
American and East Florida sufferers — — — — —	284,992	15	5½
Allowances to American civil officers, sufferers — — — — —	28,000	0	0

£6,474,950 15 5½

DEFL.

DEFICIENCY.

FEB. 14.

	£	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1791	—	—	—
Navy	1,985,482	0	0
Army	1,819,460	0	4
Ordnance	422,001	11	3
Miscellaneous services	6,474,950	15	5½
Deficiency	436,990	18	0½
	£11,138,885	5	1

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1792.

FEB. 13.

Land-tax and malt-duty	—	—	—	2,750,000	0	0
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FEB. 20.

Surplus of consolidated fund to Jan. 5, 1792				155,495	19	0½
Do. to April 5, 1792	—	—	—	486,000	0	0
Do. to April 5, 1793	—	—	—	2,300,000	0	0

FEB. 28.

Exchequer bills	—	—	—	—	5,500,000	0	0
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MARCH 29.

Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at £6 5s each				312,500	0	0
				11,503,995	19	0½
				11,138,813	5	1
Excess of ways and means				365,182	13	11½

Public Acts passed in the Second Sessions of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Feb. 15.

An act to extend the provisions of certain acts respecting the trials of controverted elections of members of parliament.

March 9.

Land-tax act.

Malt-duty act.

Marine mutiny act.

Act for repealing the duties on female servants.

Act for ditto, on window-lights in houses containing less than seven windows.

Act for repealing the duties on waggons, &c. granted by an act 23 Geo. III.

March 10.

Mutiny act.

Act for repealing the duties on malt, granted 31 Geo. III.

Act for repealing a part of the duty on tallow candles.

March 30

Two acts for raising money by exchequer bills.

Act regulating the commercial intercourse with America.

April 5.

Act to make provision for the establishment of the duke and duchess of York, and to settle an annuity on the duchess, in case of the death of his royal highness.

Act granting 400,000l. to be paid to the bank, for the reduction of the national debt.

Act for the better execution of warrants against offenders against the excise laws.

Act repealing certain regulations with respect to certificates on the exportation of tea into Ireland or America.

Act for the more effectual preventing of frauds on the excise by common brewers.

Act to compel auctioneers to declare whether sales have been held under the notices required by law.

April 30.

Act to raise a sum of money by lottery.

Act for the defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia.

Act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for officers, &c.

Act to prevent frauds on the excise in the soap manufactory.

Act to enable the bank of Scotland to increase their capital stock.

May 8.

Act granting a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund.

Act to explain and amend an act 31 Geo. II. for the encouragement of seamen in the royal navy.

Act to explain and amend an act 26 Geo. III. for the preventing of frauds in the payment of seamen's wages.

June 11.

Act for the amendment of the law in proceedings upon information in the nature of quo warranto.

June 15.

Act for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace in and near the metropolis.

Act granting relief to pastors, ministers, and lay persons of the episcopal communion in Scotland.

Act for establishing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

Act to remove doubts respecting the functions of justices in cases of libel.

Act for preventing the counterfeiting of certificates in the characters of servants.

BIOGRAPHICAL
ANECDOTES
AND
CHARACTERS.

THE
HISTORICAL
AND
GEOGRAPHICAL
CHARACTERS
OF THE
COUNTY OF
SURREY

BY
J. G. COOPER
AND
J. G. COOPER
CHARACTERS
OF THE
COUNTY OF
SURREY

9

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Some Account of THEODORICK, KING of the OSTROGOTHS
in MORISIA.

[From ROBINSON'S ECCLESIASTICAL RESEARCHES.]

THIS prince was the most accomplished man of his age. When he was a little infant (to use the words of the historian) that is, in the eighth year of his age, he was delivered by his father Theodemir as an hostage to the emperor Leo, and as he was brought up at the court of Constantinople, he had united the elegance and the address of the Greeks with the firm manly virtues of the Goths. He had no literature, but he was a lover of learned men, and a great encourager of arts and sciences. He continued in the unitarian religion of his ancestors, and adopted the same principles of government, uniformly just, and perfectly free. The Imperial and the Gothic writers differ on one article. The first say, Zeno sent Theodorick to conquer for him: the last affirm, the emperor ceded to him his claim on Italy, and gave him a settlement there, and this latter seems the truth, for the emperor was greatly in arrears to the Goths; he could not make his payments good, and he gave Italy, as former emperours had other places in Greece, in lieu of pay to the Goths his allies.

However it were, when Theodorick appeared, his reputation was so great, that the troops and the people chose to be under his government: his handsome exterior won the hearts of the Imperialists, and his personal virtues rendered him the idol of the Goths. Success crowned his undertaking; he founded the Ostrogothick kingdom of Italy, fixed his royal residence at Ravenna, and reigned in glory three and thirty years. His dominion extended over all Italy, the island of Sicily, a part of Provence in Gaul, Rætia now the country of the Grisons, Vindelicia now Bavaria, Noricum containing several countries in Germany, as Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and part of Tirol, and a considerable part of Hungary then Pannonia, and Sclavonia or that part of Illyricum which lay between Croatia, Bosnia and Servia and the Adriatick sea, and which was then called Dalmatia.

"Under the auspices of this truly great man, as undoubted monuments declare, Italy respired, the people recovered their spirits, commerce thrived, artists were invigorated, literature revived, Rome was

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happier than it had been for ages. Ravenna rose into splendour, and the magnificence of Theodorick is yet seen in the remains of palaces and sacred edifices. The catholicks, to their eternal disgrace, plotted to subvert this government. In time they succeeded, and now the city is become "one vast solitude, *magni nominis umbra*, having neither trade nor manufactures, and of course few handicraftsmen or artificers. The bulk of its inhabitants are idle nobles, who make the interest of the princes of Europe, that is, the thing of all others the most foreign to them, their most important or indeed their only business." These are the words of a modern celebrated author. What ideas of Almighty God must those writers have, who pretend, he hated Ravenna when it was a paradise, because unitarians made it so, and admires it now it is a desolate swamp, because catholicks brood over it!

"King Theodorick subsisted on his own domain, and imposed no heavy taxes on his subjects. The people in all parts of his empire were perfectly free: the Romans lived under Roman, the Goths under Gothick law. There was no such being in the eye of the law as an heretick during the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. The king was an unitarian; but he never persecuted the catholicks, as they called themselves. They elected their own bishops, who were afterward signified to him; and when a contested election happened, as in the case of Symmachus, and an appeal was made to him, he judged the affair by their own canons, or, if they were defective, by principles of natural justice. After the death of pope Anastasius, two candidates, Symmachus and Laurence, started for the pontifical chair. The se-

nate and the clergy of Rome were divided, and each party elected and ordained its candidate. To put an end to contention, for it was necessary to nominate the new-elect to the king, they agreed to return both, and to refer the case to him, which of the two had been lawfully elected. Both the bishops went to Ravenna for this purpose, and the wise and just Theodorick, who thought both erroneous enthusiasts, neither examined their personal qualities, nor their notions of religion, but enquired which had the majority of votes, and which was elected first. Symmachus was on these grounds declared duly elected. About four years after, Festus and Probinus, two senators, and some of the clergy, accused Symmachus of mal-administration, and setting up Laurence again, they divided. Some communicated with Laurence, others continued with Symmachus. At length the affair broke out into open riots; it was dangerous to walk the streets. Complaint was made to the king, and a petition was presented, beseeching him to appoint a delegate to settle the affair at Rome. He did so, and sent a roman catholick prelate, the bishop of Altino, to compose the difference. Far from persecuting the catholicks, he protected them, and loaded them with presents, and even adorned their churches with rich utensils. They say he behaved to their pope at Rome as handsomely as if he had been a catholick, *ac si catholicus*. It hath been said, there was but one Latin philosopher in the sixth century, the celebrated Boethius, a senator of Rome and a privy counsellor to Theodorick, and him the king put to death. It ought to be added, that this great man was guilty of high treason, and that the senate condemned him. He corresponded with

with the eastern emperor Justin, and plotted to subvert the gothick government in favour of the Greeks: but this was no sin, because the philosopher was a catholic. Symmachus his father-in-law suffered for the same crime. Some writers say, in their opinion, the king was offended with both, because they would not put Arians into their churches: but divine vengeance punished him for his cruelty, for soon after the execution, as the king was sitting at supper, the head of a fish on the table assumed the likeness of Symmachus, and with flaming eyes yawned at him as if threatening to revenge his death. The king was so terrified, he retired to his bed, and soon after expired. Saint Gregory declares he was told by a credible monk that a holy hermit, on the day Theodorick died at Ravenna, saw Symmachus and pope John lead him barefooted with his hands bound, and throw him into a burning mountain in Lipari, one of the isles of Sicily. Such visionary tales need no refutation. The case was this. Two or three years before the death of Theodorick, the emperor Justin, animated by the intolerant catholics, published an edict against the unitarians, and the Arians in the empire were deprived of their churches. At the same time the king was informed of the correspondence just now mentioned, which was carrying on in order to effect the same purpose in Italy, and having full proof of the guilt and ingratitude of his catholic subjects, he punished the principal conspirators as their crimes deserved. It was evidently their design to subvert the free government of the Goths, under pretence that it was administered by Arians. Theodorick conducted his affairs with that cool dignity, which always marks the

the able statesman. He sent commissioners to the court of Constantinople to remonstrate against the injustice of the persecution, to require liberty of conscience to be allowed, and the churches to be restored to such Arians as had been unjustly deprived of them, at the same time threatening to suppress the catholics under his government in case of refusal. The commissioners were four senators and six bishops, of whom pope John I. was one, and Ecclesius bishop at Ravenna another. The emperor complied: but when the commissioners returned, the king put the pope under confinement, because he had been guilty of duplicity. While he pretended to negotiate for liberty, he wrote a letter, yet extant, to the catholic bishops of Italy, to inform them that both the emperor and he desired them by all means to get possession of the Arian churches, and in spite of the king to extirpate Arians root and branch. Gregory of Tours confirms this fact. A few days after he died, the king recommended Felix, and the Romans elected him to the pontificate. Theodorick departed this life on the 13th of August, in the year 526. His daughter Amalasuinth erected a monument to his memory half a mile from the city, and a porphyry vase, said to contain his ashes, is to this day shewn at Ravenna. It is fastened to the wall of the castle, and under it is an honourable inscription in marble.

"Theodorick was a fine figure in his person. His manners, acquired in his childhood at the polite court of Constantinople, were elegant and easy, at once displaying the dignity of his rank and the goodness of his heart. He had not a tincture of literature; it was not the fashion of the times: but he had a great fund of natural sense, an exquisite taste

for the arts, and was a patron of sciences and learned men. He was free from the vices of the princes of his age, and in all cases he discovered a sound understanding and a love of virtue. He was deeply versed in the politicks of the times, and conducted all his affairs with the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths, so as to preserve peace, the glory of an able statesman. "He went into Italy with the knowledge and consent of the lawful emperor, and took upon him the government, not only with the approbation of the emperor, but with that of the senate of Rome. His valour was never doubted; but after his throne was established, he never took up arms except in case of necessity, and always out of Italy." His munificence was splendid but wise. He erected many publick buildings, and, says an exquisite judge, "Nothing is more remote from gothicism, than all the monuments of this king of the Ostrogoths." His court was the seat of western magnificence, and his chancellor Cassiodorus, whose writings remain, is called by the French the Fontenelle of his age. He was a sincere lover of liberty. He preserved it among all his own subjects by an administration of equal justice. He obtained it for foreigners in their states by negotiation; he acquired it for slaves by methods just and generous, and at one time he redeemed six thousand captives from the Burgundians. He wanted nothing of an emperor but the title, and that was in his power, had he chosen to adopt it. This is the man, whom Providence sent to bless the western world, as prophets had been anciently sent to the Jews to guide them into paths of peace. The catholicks, like the Jews, never knew the worth of such

a messenger of good. Orthodoxy not liberty, hierarchy not social happiness, ritual worship and not virtue, were their objects: to obtain these they conspired against him during his life, and since his departure they hand his name down to posterity, from book to book, under the odious appellation of Arian, anabaptist, heretick, persecutor, enemy of God, blasphemer of Christ, oppressor of the saints, an Agrippa, a Herod, a barbarian, and so on.

"Machiavel, who cared for nothing but truth, gives Theodorick a very different character. He says, "Theodorick was eminent both in council and in camp, for he was victorious in the field, and moderate in his government. He so conciliated the Ostrogoths by his management, that he could command them in war, and employ them without danger to the state in time of peace. He enlarged and adorned Ravenna. He reinstated Rome, and reinvested the citizens with all the titles of their ancient dignity, except the military. By his sole authority he kept foreign adventurers from making irruptions into Italy, and by erecting forts from the Alps to the Adriatick he prevented all incursions. Had he not contaminated his admirable endowments by the cruelty of putting Boëthius and Symmachus to death, his memory would have merited the highest praise. He preserved other provinces of the empire as well as Italy, from the ravages of foreigners. . . . He was the first who put a stop to these incursions, and within the thirty-eight years of his reign he elevated Italy, from a heap of ruins, into such a prosperous state, that at his death hardly a vestige of former devastations could be seen." Machiavel was a very free writer, and he, clearly enough, insinuates that

SKETCH of the CHARACTER and OPINIONS, &c. [7]

that christianity, in his opinion, was one principal cause of the subversion of the empire: but it is worth while to mark his precise meaning, for it is that of all such writers as he. The christianity that he condemns, is that of the policy of the popes, the scandalous zeal of speculative disputants, and the egregious folly of the saints, who rebaptized all parts of Italy by new names, and exchanged Cæsars and Pompeys for Peters, Matthews, and Johns. He says Theodorick remedied all these ills. It is not such christianity as that of Theodorick, then, which he condemns, for that was justice, mercy, and good government, and he ap-

plauds it: but it is the factions of the priests of Greece, Rome, and Ravenna for primacy, which he expressly censures. This celebrated Florentine is only guilty of a misnomer; for had he affirmed that nominal christianity had ruined the empire, and that real christianity had contributed to restore peace and social felicity, who but a catholic would have contradicted him? Such a man ought not to be accounted an adversary to christianity, for it is not the christian religion, but the abuse of it, which he explodes; and were all that he condemns removed, the religion of Jesus would stand unhurt."

SKETCH of the CHARACTER and OPINIONS of the learned DUDITH.

[From the same Work.]

"**A**NDREW Dudith Sbardellati was the son of Jerome Dudith, a privy counsellor of Ladislaus king of Hungary, and a noble Venetian lady of the family of Sbardellati. He was born at a family castle near Buda in Hungary, in February 1533 (some say thirty-seven). His father dying while he was very young, his uncle, who was archbishop of Strigonia, perceiving he had all the talents necessary to make a great man, took care of his education. He was sent to Breslaw, then to Padua, and from thence to Paris, whence he returned home highly accomplished in literary and polite acquirements, and celebrated for his eloquence and virtue. He came into England along with cardinal Pole, whose life, written in Italian by Beccatelli, he published a few years after in elegant Latin, with emendations and

additions, and a well written preface. His youth and modesty induced him to submit it to Binardus before it went to press. Next he went into Italy, and published some classical criticisms, which were greatly esteemed by the learned. Soon after he went to France, and the duke of Florence having given him recommendatory letters to Catharine of Medicis, he complimented her so politely in the Italian tongue, that she could not help saying she thought it impossible for a Hungarian to speak Italian with so much elegance and ease. Every where admired and applauded, he went to the emperor's court at Vienna, and in sixty-one Ferdinand nominated him bishop of Tinia in Croatia, and sent him ambassador to Sigismund king of Poland. By the emperor and the clergy of Hungary he was appointed their delegate to the coun-

cil of Trent, where he made an oration in favour of the marriage of the clergy, and another for the cup in the Lord's supper, to be administered to the laity. He spoke with so much eloquence, that the legates wrote to cardinal Borromei, that though the orator had taken up time dévoted to other business, yet the council was so charmed with him, that they did not perceive it, and had never heard any thing like it. The pope, afraid of his powers, got the emperor to recall him. Ferdinand did so, but having heard Dudith's account of what passed in the council, he approved of his conduct and rewarded him with the bishoprick of Chonat, and soon after with that of *Quinque Ecclesiarum*, or five churches. Hence he returned into Poland, and continued ambassador from the emperor. During his residence here, offended with the immorality of courts, and the fopperies and superstitions of the church, he condescended to read the writings of Blandrata and Davidis, two noted anti-trinitarian baptists, and from them he received his ideas of religion, and became a heretick, though he never saw them. He resigned all his preferments, married lady Sophia Strassi, and after her death a second lady of the family of Zborowsky, and settled at Cracow among the Calvinists. The pope excommunicated him, but he treated his anathema with contempt; for the emperor, for political reasons, continued to protect him. He was well acquainted with several branches of philosophy and the mathematicks, with the sciences of physick, history, theology, and the civil law. He copied Cicero three times over with his own hand. He had something majestick in his face, and in the

air of his countenance, though he was singularly modest, and bashful as a lady. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and easy, and his benevolence warm and extensive. This character is almost all taken from those who considered him as a heretick. In what terms would those who knew him best describe him!

"The liberal sentiments of Philipowski met the hearty approbation of Dudith, for he had laid it down as a maxim that there was no sin in a mere misconception of the mind, and hence he inferred, that men might think differently without injury to their virtue; that conscience ought to be left uncontrolled, and that no punishment should be inflicted on pretended hereticks. It was this principle, says the continuator of Fleury, that led him among the unitarians; for there, adds he, he might say what he would on every subject. On this affair he wrote to Wolff, a divine at Zurich, to Beza and others, soon after this interview with Philipowski. In his letters he desires the Swiss divines in their future epistles to him to omit the pompous prelatial titles, which he had laid aside with popery, but which they were so unacquainted with the world as to continue to give him in their addresses. He laments the condition of the reformed in Poland, which, says he, resembles the chaos of the poets, heat and cold, wet and dry, contending for mastery, and which he attributes in great measure to their inflammatory letters. He endeavours to convince his correspondents that there is no such thing in any of their churches as uniformity of faith, and that it is not in the power of man to produce it. He laughs at their creeds, and says, they deserve to be called not confessions but confusions.

visions. He shews the folly of appealing to fathers and councils, and the absurdity as well as the injustice of employing capital punishments. Tell me, says he to Wolff, my learned friend, now that the Calvinists have burnt Servetus, and beheaded Gentilis, and murdered many others, having banished Bernard Ochin with his wife and children from your city in the depth of a sharp winter; now that the Lutherans have expelled Lasco, with the congregation of foreigners that came out of England with him, in an extremely rigorous season of the year: having done a great many such exploits, all contrary to the genius of christianity, how, I ask, how shall we meet the papists? with what face can we tax them with cruelty? How dare we say, OUR WEAPONS ARE NOT CARNAL? How can we any longer urge, LET BOTH GROW TOGETHER TILL THE HARVEST? Let us cease to boast, that faith cannot be compelled, and that conscience ought to be free.

"Never was a finer pen than that of Dudith. With all the penetration of a man, who thoroughly understood the artifices of ecclesiastical politicians; with all the powers of wit, argument, learning, and liberality of sentiment, he addressed, I wish we could add, and disarmed, the godly prosecutors at Zurich and Geneva. "You contend, says he to Beza, that scripture is a perfect rule of faith and practice: but you are all divided about the sense of scripture, and you have not settled who shall be judge. You say one thing, Stancarus another. You quote scripture, he quotes scripture. You reason, he reasons. You require me to believe you. I respect you: but why should I trust you rather than Stancarus? You say, he is a heretick: but the papists say,

you are both hereticks. Shall I believe them? they quote historians and fathers: so do you. To whom do you all address yourselves? Where is the judge? you say, the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets: but you say I am no prophet, and I say you are not one. Who is to be judge? I love liberty as well as you. You have broken off your yoke, allow me to break mine. Having freed yourselves from the tyranny of popish prelates, why do you turn ecclesiastical tyrants yourselves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you set them an example to do? You contend, that your lay-hearers, the magistrates, and not you, are to be blamed, for it is they who banish and burn for heresy. I know you make this excuse: but tell me, have not you instilled such principles into their ears? Have they done any thing more than put in practice the doctrine that you taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have you not been the constant panegyrists of such princes as have depopulated whole districts for heresy? Do you not daily teach, that they who appeal from your confessions to scripture ought to be punished by the secular power? It is impossible for you to deny this. Does not all the world know, that you are a set of demagogues, or (to speak more mildly) a sort of tribunes, and that the magistrates do nothing but exhibit in publick what you teach in private? You try to justify the banishment of Ochin, and the execution of others, and you seem to wish Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augsberg confession and your Helvetick creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths,

truths, I keep thinking of the sixth commandment, THOU SHALT NOT KILL. Farewell, most learned and respected Beza. Take what I have said in good part, and continue your friendship for me." This is only a sketch of a letter; but these hints may serve to shew the temper and the turn of the man. The Genevan and Swiss divines did not reason thus; they called the pernicious practices which Dudith condemns, healing the wounds of the church.

"The gentle Dudith, in February eighty-nine, about the fifty-seventh year of his age, had fallen asleep at Breslaw, the capital of Silesia. He retired from life like some deep and placid river winding into a dark thicket, a little while sparkling like stars through the leaves, but soon out-running the eye, and gone into impenetrable gloom to be seen no more. The

day before he died, being full of mercy and good fruits, and in perfect health, he sent his servant to fetch a poor old man, whom he had been used to relieve. The servant returned, and told him, he could not find the old man to-day. You should have found him to-day, replied he, for perhaps to-morrow I may not be in a condition to serve him. The next day he appeared quite well: but on receiving an invitation to sup with a friend, he replied, no, I must sup elsewhere. I must die. He retired to his bed, and desired his family and friends to sit with him. They did so, and he conversed with them freely on religious subjects; and after two hours spent thus, with the composure of a christian philosopher, he reclined his head, and closed the transitory but edifying scene of a well-spent life."

LIFE OF ANDREW FLETCHER.

[From the EARL OF BUCHAN'S ESSAYS ON THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF FLETCHER OF SALTOUN, and the POET THOMSON.]

"ANDREW Fletcher of Saltoun was the son of sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan. By his paternal descent he was of a family truly honourable, and by his maternal, of the royal race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, king of the Scots. His father was the fifth in lineal descent from sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York. He married Catharine Bruce in the year 1651; and his

eldest son Andrew, the subject of my enquiry, was born in the year 1653.

"When he had the misfortune to lose his father, he was but in his early youth, and was destined by his father, on his death-bed, to the care of Dr. Burnet, rector of the parish of Saltoun, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, well known by his political zeal and interesting writings. From Burnet he received, as might have been expected, a very pious and learned education, and was strongly imbued with erudition and the principles of a free government, which were congenial to the family of

of Fletcher, and espoused by his mother, and by those who had, with her, the charge of his nurture.

"When he had completed his course of elementary studies in Scotland, under the care of his excellent preceptor, he was sent to travel on the continent.

"He was from his infancy of a very fiery and uncontrollable temper; but his dispositions were noble and generous.

"He became first known as a public speaker and a man of political energy, being commissioner in the Scotch parliament for the shire of East Lothian, when the duke of York was lord commissioner, connecting himself with the earl of Argyll, in opposition to the duke of Lauderdale's administration, and the arbitrary designs of the court, which obliged him to retire first into England to consult with Dr. Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, into Holland. He was summoned to appear before the lords of the council at Edinburgh, which he not thinking it prudent for him to do, he was outlawed, and his estate confiscated.

"In the year 1683 he, with Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, came into England in order to concert measures with the friends of freedom in that country; and they, I believe, were the only Scotchmen who were admitted into the secrets of lord Russel's council of six. They were likewise the only persons in whom the earl of Argyll confided in Holland the common measures of the two countries, which were then concerted with much secrecy and danger, for the recovery of the constitution and liberties of the British kingdoms.

"Fletcher managed his part of the negotiation with so much address and prudence, that administration,

though in no respect delicate as to the means of reaching the objects of their jealousy or resentment, could find no pretext for seizing him, nor could they fix upon him any of the articles of impeachment for which Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood was condemned and suffered capital punishment. Mr. Baillie was offered his pardon on condition of impeaching his friend Fletcher; but he persisted to the gallows in rejecting the proposal with indignation. O noble, excellent, and truly worthy Scot! may your descendants and your countrymen ever remember and imitate your example!

"On Fletcher's return to the continent, finding no prospect of his safe return to Britain, he dedicated his leisure to foreign travel, and to the study of public law and politics; during which period of his life I have fruitlessly sought for letters that might not only have traced him in his various situations, but furnished agreeable and useful materials for his biography.

"In the beginning of the year 1685, Fletcher came to the Hague, to assist at the deliberations of the exiles from Britain, and particularly with those of his own country, with a view to promote the cause of opposition to the arbitrary measures of James II: but it does not appear that he possessed much of the confidence of the party. He was unaccommodating, and ran extravagantly on the project of setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as hardly to bear any resemblance to a kingdom. His soul was fired with the recollection of the great spirits that had been raised by the Greek republics, and, like all men of great abilities, he wished for that state of things which might mark the superiority of his own talents, and give full

full exercise to his popular powers. Argyll's expedition concerted at that time with Monmouth and the party was the most inviting to Fletcher; but being dissatisfied with the plan of operations, and his countrymen, who enjoyed Monmouth's confidence, he went with the duke, who was the dupe of the ambitious and crafty prince of Orange.

"Burnet, in the History of his Own Times, informs us that Fletcher had told him, that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, and hesitated till he was urged by the party, most of whom were certainly in concert with the prince of Orange, and considered him as the only probable instrument for dethroning the king, and supplanting William in his views, if the attempt were delayed till the English nation should become desperate enough to overlook the doubts that Charles II. had confirmed by the declaration in council of the legitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. So well was this plot laid, that few of the party in Holland joined in these expeditions, but waited either in or out of the secret, till they should see the effects of the explosion that was to bury poor Monmouth under its ruins. But Fletcher of Saltoun had neither coolness nor sufficient political subtlety to conduct himself with a view to his own private emolument. Fired by the hopes of a revolution that, from the insignificance of Monmouth, and the circumstances of his birth, might produce a constitution of government in which his republican talents might have full scope, he at first fell in warmly with the scheme of Monmouth's landing; but afterwards, suspecting probably the intrigue of the prince of Orange, he wished it to be laid aside. He told bishop

Burnet (which supports this conjecture), that Monmouth was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was picqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. Monmouth landed at Lime in Dorsetshire. Soon after his landing, lord Grey was sent with a small party to disperse a few of the militia, and ran for it; but his men stood, and the militia retreated. Lord Grey brought back a false report, which was soon contradicted by the men, whom their leader had abandoned, coming back to quarters in good order. The unfortunate duke of Monmouth was struck with this (says Burnet), when he found that the person on whom he depended most, and for whom he designed the command of the cavalry, had already made himself infamous by his cowardice. He intended to join Fletcher with him in that command; but Fletcher having been sent out on another party, engaged in a scuffle, in which he had the misfortune to kill the mayor of Lynn, against the laws of war, in the sudden heat of passion, on account of contumelious language used to him by the mayor, on reclaiming a horse of his that had been impressed by Fletcher's party. This unguarded, unsoldierly, and unjustifiable act of violence, must have rendered his future services on the expedition of little consideration to Monmouth; but it was not the cause of his leaving the little army. The account given by Fletcher himself of his general conduct at this time to the late earl marshal of Scotland was, that he had been induced to join the duke of Monmouth, on the principles of the duke's manifestos in England and Scotland, particularly by the laws promised for the permanent security of civil and political liberty, and of
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the protestant religion, and the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, and not to pretend to the throne upon any claim, except the free choice of the representatives of the people. That, when Monmouth was proclaimed king at Taunton, he saw his deception, and resolved to proceed no farther in his engagements, which he considered from that moment as treason against the just rights of the nation, and treachery on the part of Monmouth. That, finding himself therefore no longer capable of being useful, he left Taunton, and embarked on board a vessel for Spain. That soon after his landing he was committed to prison; and, on the application of the English minister at Madrid, he was ordered to be delivered up, and transmitted to London in a Spanish vessel, which was named for that purpose. That one morning as he was looking pensively through the bar of his dungeon, he was accosted by a venerable person, who made sign to speak to him. Fletcher, looking if any passage could be found for his escape, discovered a door open, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three guards of soldiers, who were fast asleep; and, without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, he prosecuted his escape with the aid of a person who seemed to have been sent for that purpose, concerning whom he never could obtain any information. That disguised he proceeded in safety through Spain, where, when he found himself out of all apparent danger, he lingered, and amused himself with the view of the country, and with study in the conventual libraries; and having privately obtained credit by bills upon Amsterdam, he bought

many rare and curious books, some of which are preserved in the library at Saltoun, in the county of Haddington. That he had made several very narrow escapes of being detected and seized in the course of his peregrinations through Spain, particularly in the neighbourhood of a town (the name of which lord Marshall had forgotten), where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood a few miles distant from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of very respectable appearance, to take the left-hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder on the road, against which he had been cautioned. Some time after this escape, Fletcher's active genius led him to serve as a volunteer in the Hungarian war, where he distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. But the glory which he might have acquired in arms, had he served long enough to have obtained a command, he cheerfully sacrificed to the safety of his country.

"Persuaded that the liberties of Britain, if not of all Europe, hung upon the issue of the design then in contemplation at the Hague for a revolution in England, and having learned that it had already attained a considerable degree of maturity, he hastened to Holland, and joined himself to the group of his countrymen who were attached to the interests of the prince of Orange, most of whom were refugees from England or Scotland. Lord Stair, lord Melville, sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Lord Cardross, sir Robert Stewart of Coltness, Dr. Burnet, Mr. James Stuart, afterwards lord advocate of Scotland, and Mr. Cun-

Cunningham, the editor of Horace, and author of a Latin History of Great Britain, which has been lately translated by Dr. W. Thomson, continuator of principal Watson's History of Spain, and author of several philosophical romances, &c. &c. and published by Dr. Hollingberry, one of the present king's chaplains, were the Scots with whom he was in the greatest habits of intimacy. With these gentlemen Fletcher associated; but his political principles were too high and refined, and his sentiments were too Roman, or rather, as I may now say, too Gallic, and too much in the odour of philosophical politics, to accept of the privilege granted by James the Second's act of indemnity to return to his country and estate, when under the dominion of disguised despotism, sanctified by a venal parliament: so that when Argyll, Sutherland, Melville, and others had recovered their inheritances in the year 1686, he chose rather to remain in exile than to accept of liberty as a royal favour! Yet Alexander Cunningham, the historian, though a whig and friend of Fletcher, mentions this conduct of Fletcher's as extravagant. It was reserved for this age of wonders to exhibit the true principles of political sentiment, unconnected with superstition and personal attachment to kings or to parties.

"Fletcher made a manly noble appearance in that convention which met in Scotland, after the revolution, for the settlement of the new government.

"It was said of Fletcher, that he wished for a republic in which he himself should rule by his popular talents; but his temper was unaccommodating: nor is there any ground for supposing that his views in any transaction were selfish. He

was the contriver and mover of the act of the Scotch parliament to stop any settlement of the crown until the constitution was formed, and the rights of the people secured; and his speeches on that occasion will be found in this volume, full of good sense, and of manly classical eloquence.

"The duke of Hamilton was suspected of wishing to embarrass the settlement of the crown, with a view to favour the eventual pretensions of his own family. He went secretly on board the ship of Van Aärsen Somelsdijke, the Dutch admiral in the road of Leith, and proposed an union of Scotland and Holland as one commonwealth. It may be guessed who expected to be vice stadtholder in Scotland. Nothing could be more natural than the aversion the Scots felt to be funk and lost in the great empire of Britain; and it was as natural for Hamilton and Fletcher to foment this aversion with different intentions, and from different motives. Lockhart of Carnwath, the memoir writer, flattered himself that Fletcher was a tory, if not a jacobite, in his heart, because he associated with tories and jacobites: but he did not reflect that the tories and jacobites were then the country party, and that Fletcher would hear more from them of the dignity, independence, and interest of his country, and less about a king that inspires a republican with no sentiment but terror or dislike. This, I believe, was the foundation for his being suspected of *not being a true whig at bottom*; for whigs and tories were in those days quite distinct, disliking and avoiding each other, not mingled together as they now are, to share among themselves the plunder of their country.

"From the most minute examination

nation of the records and memoirs of the times, it sufficiently appears, that while others, whether whigs or Tories, were endeavouring to turn the revolution in Britain to the promoting of their own selfish purposes, Fletcher neither asked nor obtained any emolument from the court; but that he was continually attentive to the interest and honour of Scotland.

"When an attempt was made in the year 1692, to bring about a counter-revolution, Fletcher's ruling principle (though dissatisfied with king William) was the good of his country. He used all his influence with the duke of Hamilton to forget the causes of his disgust, and to co-operate with the friends of a free constitution.

"In every proposal for the happiness and glory of his country, Fletcher was interested as if it tended to his own personal emolument and reputation. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man Paterfon, the projector of the Darien company; to whose merits my kinsman sir John Dalrymple has done the justice they deserve in the last volume of his interesting Memoirs of Great Britain."

"From this busy period till the meeting of the union parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and *jealous, as every friend to his country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers; for it is as much of the nature of kings and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry yard, and destroy the poultry.* All of them therefore ought to be muzzled.

"Fletcher was accordingly a stren-

uous but unsuccessful advocate for a national militia. His discourse on that important subject written at this time, was not printed until the year 1698."

"In the year 1703 we find Fletcher great in the debates concerning the fixing the succession to the crown of Scotland, in the event of queen Anne's dying without issue; which he strenuously and successfully urged the parliament to determine before they should think of granting any supplies to the crown. It was even resolved, that the successor of the crown after queen Anne, should not be the same person that was king or queen of England, *unless the just rights of Scotland* should be declared in parliament at London, and fully settled independent of English interests and councils; and what is remarkable, that wise and excellent, but seemingly very strong rule of the French constitution, that the king or queen should *not* have the power of engaging the nation in war without the consent of parliament, was determined upon by the parliament of Scotland; in the support and preparation of which law, and others for the security of Scottish freedom, Mr. Fletcher had a considerable share, and had great influence by the power of his fervent and manly eloquence."

"Fletcher was by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical oratory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches and his language will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain, far superior to the meretricious, inflated, metaphorical style of our modern orators; from
which

which remark I must set down Mr. Charles Fox, member for Westminster in the present parliament, as a wonderful exception. In many respects Fox resembles Fletcher; and may he close his career so as to deserve an equal character!

"The irascibility of Fletcher's temper, and his high sense of honour, made him impatient of the slightest tendency towards an affront. Lord Stair, when secretary of state, having let fall some expressions in parliament, that seemed to glance at Fletcher, he seized Stair by the robe, in his place, and gave him the reply valiant. Lord Stair was called to order by the house, and was obliged to ask his pardon publicly."

"Fletcher (says the anonymous author of his character in Thomas Rawlinson's library) was steady in his principles, of nice honour, great learning, brave as the sword he wore; a sure friend, but an irreconcilable enemy; and would not do a base thing to escape death.

"He would not submit to be called either whig or tory, saying, *those names were given and used to cloak the knaves of both parties.* Bravo!

"He had acquired the grammatical knowledge of the Italian so

perfectly as to compose and publish a treatise in that language; yet he could not speak it, as he found when having an interview with prince Eugene of Savoy, and being addressed in that language by the prince, he could not utter a syllable to be understood. In his person he was of low stature, thin, of a brown complexion, with piercing eyes; and a gentle frown of keen sensibility appeared often upon his countenance.

"To the memory of this extraordinary man I have reared this monument. The bodies of men are frail and perishing: so are their portraits and monuments: but, upheld by the power of the Creator, the form of the soul is eternal. This cannot be represented by statues or by pictures, nor otherwise than by a conformity of manners. May whatever was great and truly valuable in Fletcher be for ever imitated by my countrymen, and may the splendour of his virtues reflect honour upon his family, and glorify his kindred throughout all generations!

Ille ego qui quondam patriæ percussus amore

*Civibus oppressis libertati succurrere ausim,
Nunc arva paternæ colo, fugioq; limina regum."*

MEMOIRS of the LIFE of Sir JAMES STEUART DENHAM, Baronet.
By the Right Hon. the EARL of BUCHAN.

[From the first Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY of the ANTIQUARIES of SCOTLAND.]

"SIR James Steuart Denham, baronet, was the son of sir James Steuart of Goodtrees, bart. solicitor general for Scotland, by Anna, daughter of sir Hugh Dalrymple, bart. lord president of the college of justice of Scotland, who was the

third son of the illustrious and learned lord viscount Stair.

"He was born on the 10th of October, *old stile*, 1713, and remained, during the years of his infancy, at Goodtrees, his father's seat, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

Burgh. His first public education was received at the school of North Berwick, in East Lothian, where the first dawning of his genius and abilities were observed to be rather of a firm and permanent, than of a light, showy, and figurative nature. His attention to the elements of language was diverted by the want of perception, at that early period, of their connection and utility; and there were few, if any eyes at that time sharp enough to foresee the resplendent and beautiful blossom of his faculties, in the contracted bud.

"The consideration of this circumstance, which is not uncommon in the experience of schools, ought to incline the protectors and conductors of them, to wait with patience and perseverance for the later fruits of the human understanding; and the appearance of early and promising blossoms ought, on the other hand, to be observed with moderate expectation, as often arising from premature exertion, and giving birth to no future greatness or ability.

"Sir James, having imbibed the elementary part of classical education at the school of North Berwick, was removed to the university of Edinburgh, at the age of fourteen, his father being now dead, and his mother intrusted with the care of his education.

"At this university our author went through a complete course of the sciences and languages there taught, and studied the Roman and Scottish law there also, with the occasional assistance of professor Hercules Lindsay, an eminent civilian in the university of Glasgow. This laborious institution being happily accomplished, he went to the bar as an advocate before the college of justices, and published an

1792.

acute and ingenious thesis on that occasion, having before submitted himself, as is usual, to a public examination by the faculty of advocates.

"A few months after this introduction to the practice of his profession, sir James set out upon his travels. He made the tour of Holland, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy; not to import the fashions and fopperies which are to be found in all countries, but to imitate the example of the wise Ulysses, to study the laws, manners, and desirable improvements of the countries and cities through which he passed, or in which he resided.

"He returned from these well-employed travels in the year 1740, and became the general object of esteem and attention in his own country; not only on account of his excellent qualities, but by the elegance of his manners, and the beauty of his person.

"His return to the bar was anxiously expected by his friends and countrymen; and his absence from it was imputed to the influence of certain connections, of a political nature, which he had formed abroad, and particularly at Rome.

"In the year 1743, sir James married the lady Francis Wemyss, eldest daughter of James earl of Wemyss, a lady of great merit, who afterwards accompanied him, in all his troubles, with a constancy and affection that endeared her not only to her husband, but to the public.

"A few months after this happy marriage, a vacancy happened in the representation in parliament, for the county of Edinburgh, when sir James took an active part in opposition to the interest of Robert Dundas, esq. of Arncliffe, one of the senators of the college of justice, who, happening to preside at the

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ing of the electors for the county of Edinburgh, omitted to call over sir James's name, on the roll of the electors, on account of an alleged insufficiency of right to vote on that occasion.

"On this account, Mr. Dundas became the object of a legal prosecution by sir James, as having disobeyed the injunctions and rules laid down and enforced by an act of parliament relating to the rolls of electors of members of parliament for counties in Scotland. — When, in the course of litigation, this cause came to be heard before the college of justice, sir James pled his own cause with so much eloquence, and in so masterly a manner, that Mr. Dundas (commonly called lord Arncliffe) though a judge, came down from the bench and defended himself at the bar. An appearance very uncommon, and demonstrative of the high sense he had of the abilities of his opponent.

"This extraordinary appearance of our author gave the greatest hopes of his professional abilities, and inspired all his friends with fresh zeal for his continuance at the bar; but the sentiments and engagements formerly mentioned, did, in all probability, prevent sir James from availing himself of so brilliant an introduction.

"After this struggle, he passed near two years at his seat, in the country, surrounded at all times by the most learned and accomplished of his countrymen, and rendering himself continually the delight of all his guests and companions, by the charms and variety of his conversation, and the polite animation of his manners and address.

"Among those were many of the illustrious persons who afterwards engaged in the attempt to place prince Charles Edward on the

throne of his ancestors, in the name of his father.

"The time is not yet come when it would be proper to give an account of the share sir James had in the political events relating to that unsuccessful attempt.

"It is certain that sir James was the person of the greatest talents who was suspected of giving counsel and aid to the promoters of this intended revolution; and, on that account, he was the more subject to the ill offices of those who viewed him as a dangerous rival in political abilities, and were afraid of being supplanted by him in the career of professional promotion. His name was transmitted to government, as privy and aiding to the rebellion; and those who lent up his name were not patriots.

"The fame of such persons, if they had or have any, will hardly survive even that of this simple and unaffected monument of sir James's reputation.

"If spirit is superior to brute matter, and moral misfortunes to natural, the loss of sir James Steuart's talents to his country, must be reckoned among the heaviest losses sustained by that unhappy rebellion.

"Thus sir James became a fugitive and an exile from that country which ought to have cherished him, and pointed him out for elevation with the finger of public applause.

"But the mind of this illustrious man was not to be soured by disappointment; nor was he to imitate a Coriolanus or a duke de Ripperda, by becoming an enemy to his country: he employed the years of his banishment for the good of that country, the instruction of mankind, and the illustration of the republic of letters, at that time, unhap-

happily, the only commonwealth of which he was a member.

"He resided long in France, and particularly at Angoulesme, where, having nothing else to occupy his active mind, he applied himself to study; a great part of the fruits of which are to be found in his acute and elaborate works. It was by studying the language of the finances, without which nobody can ask a question concerning them, so as to be understood by those who have knowledge sufficient to answer it, that sir James was enabled to collect that amazing magazine of facts relating to the revenue, which laid the foundation for some of the most curious and interesting chapters of his Principles of Political Oeconomy.

"As soon as sir James could ask questions properly, he applied in familiar conversation to the intendant and his substitutes, in the province where he lived, whom he found of course exceedingly curious to learn the state of British finances, under the branches of land-tax, customs, excise, and other inland duties.

"This led him to compare the state of the two nations. The information he was enabled to give, was an equivalent for the information he received, and both were mutually instructed.

The department of the intendants in France is confined to the taxes which compose the *recettes generales*, namely the *Taille*, the *Capitation*, and the *Vinçtiemes*. But as all intendants have been *maîtres des requêtes*, and bred at Paris, they could not fail to have some knowledge of the general farms, and other branches of finance.

"He carefully noted down at all times the answers he got; and when he came afterwards to reside at Paris, he got more ample infor-

mation, both from gentlemen of the finance, and from persons of the parliament of Paris, who to the number of 25 had been for fifteen months exiled in the province where sir James had lived a long time. In a word, with long study and application, he was enabled to compose the 6th chapter of the 4th part of the fourth book, which gives so clear and succinct an account of the French finances as they stood at that time.

"With respect to sir James's elaborate and useful discussion of what relates to money, he had had occasion, long before the publication of his Principles of Political Oeconomy, to write and publish concerning the principles of money as applied or applicable to the coin and money of the empire, which performance had met with much approbation. It was written in High Dutch, and published at _____ in the year _____.

"In the year 1757, sir James published at Francfort sur le Mein, his *Apologie du sentiment de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton, sur l'Ancienne Chronologie des Grées, contenant des réponses à toutes les objections qui y ont été faites jusqu'à présent*.

This apology was written in the beginning of the year 1755, when the author proposed to have caused it to be printed, but was prevented by other engagements. Some time afterwards, a correspondence took place betwixt M. L. R. Desh. P. R. and sir James, on this subject, and a letter of that gentleman's was published in the French *Mercure* for December 1755, which letter was answered by sir James, and printed also, but not for some time after.

This work of sir James has great merit: as for the great work, the Political Oeconomy, it is needless

to praise it, for the public will do ample justice to it, when it has thrown from its literary meal, the high seasoned cookeries of the plagiarists; who have obtruded sir James's facts, principles, and reasonings, on the world, without acknowledging from whence they were derived.

"While sir James resided abroad, during the late war between France and Great Britain, he had the misfortune to have some letters addressed to him, proceeding on the mistake of his person and character, whereby he became innocently the object of suspicion, as furnishing intelligence to the enemy, which occasioned the imprisonment of his person until the mistake was discovered;---of all men the worthy sir James was the most incapable of stooping to such a meanness, and breach of the laws of hospitality, as to betray the secrets of any nation from which he received protection, and where he had spent so many happy years of safe and learned leisure. Sir James, some time after the peace of Paris, was permitted to come *incognito* to London, where a *noli prosequi* and pardon was solicited for him, through different channels, and particularly through that of the great Mr. Pitt, by the interposition of sir James's nephew, the earl of Buchan, the writer of this memoir, then lord Cardross; but, through the malevolence of some unknown persons, it became abortive at that time. In the year 1767, sir James was fully restored to his native country, and to his citizenship, with the gracious approbation of his humane and discerning sovereign. He then retired to his paternal inheritance, and continued still to exert his faculties for the benefit of his country. He repaired the mansion of his ancestors,

improved his neglected acres, set forward the improvements of the province in which he resided, by promoting high-roads, bridges, agriculture, and manufactures; publishing at this time, for the use of the public, an anonymous plan for the construction of an act of parliament to regulate the application of the statute labour of the peasants and others upon the public roads; the greatest part of which treatise has been since adopted in the framing of acts for the different counties in Scotland.

"In the year 1771, he was employed, on the generous offer of his gratuitous services, by the East India Company of Great Britain, to consider the most likely methods of regulating the coin in their settlements; and in the year 1772, at their request, he published the results of his labours on that subject; the title of which treatise is, 'The principles of money applied to the present state of the coin of Bengal.'

"About this time he also was engaged in a critique on the celebrated performance entitled *Système de la Nature*, which he wrote out and prepared for the press; but which has not hitherto been published.

"In a letter to lord Buchan, he conveyed a plan for a general uniformity of weights and measures, a work of great ingenuity and learning, which was intended to have been laid before the congress, previous to the late peace. It was written at Tübingen in Swabia, and finally corrected and enlarged at Coltness, his seat in Clydesdale in Scotland, in March 1778, and transmitted to his nephew the writer of this memoir.

"In the summer of the year 1779, he set himself to enquire minutely
into

into the state of the distillery and brewery, and the revenue arising from it, which was suggested by the complaint which had proceeded from an act of parliament, enlarging the lawful size of vessels for the distillation of malt spirits, and the imposition of a tax in Scotland, equal to that in England, on malt spirits: the general result of this inquiry he anonymously published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant of October 1, 1779; and the particular discussion, with the materials he had used, he transmitted to a friend in parliament.

"This publication had the effect to prevent the counties in Scotland from entering into crude resolutions on a subject of so much importance, and so likely to shagreen the minds of ignorant persons.

"There is no society which refined address and well-judged information will not improve, nor any subject of nature, in northern climates, which industry and taste will not adorn.

"In the year 1780, in the beginning of October, sir James was attacked by an inflammation in his toe, in consequence of the too near cutting of a nail, which, from the ill habit of his body at that time, terminated, towards the beginning of November, in a mortification. The progress of this disorder was arrested by the copious use of the Jesuits bark; but on the 19th of

that month, he was seized with a fever, which put an end to his useful and valuable life on the 26th, being Sunday, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On Tuesday the 28th, his remains were conveyed to the burial place of his family in the church of Cambusnethan, where they were interred on Wednesday the 29th; his grace the duke of Hamilton and several of sir James's illustrious friends assisting at this mournful ceremony, and mixing their tears with those of his afflicted relations.

"It is with uncommon satisfaction that we find it in our power to adorn the account of this celebrated author, by adding the just encomium of his domestic virtues, an accompaniment too often wanting, at least with truth, in the biography of illustrious characters. As a husband, father, master, companion, and friend, sir James's life was distinguished; and to all these excellent qualities, that rare one of public spirit, and unwearied attention to the interest of the state, were eminently conjoined.

"Sir James had, by the lady Frances Steuart, a daughter, who died soon after her birth; and the present sir James Steuart Denham, baronet, who is lieutenant-colonel of the 13th regiment of dragoons, in the service of his Britannic majesty."

PARTICULARS of the LIFE of DR. JORTIN.

[Extracted from DR. DISNEY'S MEMOIRS of the LIFE and WRITINGS of JOHN JORTIN, D.D.]

"JOHN JORTIN, the subject of these memoirs, was born in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields,

in the county of Middlesex, October 23, 1698.

"His father, Rhenatus Jortin, was
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a native of Bretagne in France, and had studied at Saumur. His testimonial from that academy is dated 1682, and is now in the possession of his descendants. He came into England a young man, along with his father, uncle, two aunts, and two sisters, about the year 1685, when the protestants fled from France, on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz by Lewis the Fourteenth. Soon after his settlement in this country, he married Martha, daughter of the rev. Daniel Rogers, of Haverham in Buckinghamshire, who descended from a family of the same name, that resided at Lees near Chelmsford in Essex, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and had produced some clergymen, distinguished by their abilities and learning.

“Mr. Renatus Jortin was appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to king William the Third, in the year 1691; and was afterwards successively secretary to admiral Edward Russell earl of Orford, sir George Rooke, and sir Cloudesley Shovel, and perished with the latter when his ship unfortunately struck upon the rocks, called “the Bishop and his Clerks,” off Scilly, October 22, 1707.

“After this melancholy event, Mrs. Jortin removed into the neighbourhood of the Charter-house, the better to accommodate the education of her son, who was now nine years of age, and sent him to that seminary as a day-scholar. He learned French at home, and spoke it well. At the age of fifteen he had completed his classical studies at school, after which he remained at home about a year, and perfected himself in writing and arithmetic.

“On the 16th of May 1715, he was admitted pensioner of Jesus

college in Cambridge; and distinguished himself so much by his abilities and application, that whilst he was an under-graduate, he was engaged by the recommendation of his tutor, the learned Dr. Styan Thirlby, to translate some of Eustathius's notes on Homer for Mr. Pope.

“Mr. Pope began his translation of the Iliad with notes in 1712, his twenty-fifth year, and concluded it in 1718, his thirtieth year. This circumstance ascertains with sufficient accuracy, that Mr. Jortin was not more than eighteen or nineteen years of age, when the good opinion of his tutor had recommended him to this literary exercise.

“Mr. Jortin was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, in January 1718-19; and was elected fellow of Jesus college, October 9, 1721. He proceeded to take the degree of master of arts at the commencement of 1722.

“On the 10th of October 1722, Mr. Jortin was appointed one of the moderators, at the disputations in the sophs' school, and, at Michaelmas in the succeeding year, he was elected one of the taxors. The learned Dr. Edmund Law, late bishop of Carlisle, who took his first degree in arts 1723, told me, some few years before his death, that he kept an opponency under Mr. Jortin when moderator, and though he was every way eminently qualified to discharge the duty of his office, was a man of few words. The bishop added, however, in the course of our conversation, that, in consequence of that exercise, Mr. Jortin recommended him in the university, and thereby laid the foundation of his future advancement.

“In the course of the year 1722, Mr.

Mr. Jortin published a few Latin poems, which were well received, entitled "*Lusus Poetici*," in a thin quarto of twenty-four pages, with a preface: a second edition appeared in 1724, in a small octavo: and a third in 1748, in quarto, printed by Bowyer, with additional poems, but without the preface. His name is prefixed only to the first edition; the two last were printed to be given to his friends.

"In a more recent edition of his *Lusus Poetici*, republished in the first volume of *Tracts, &c.* 1790, (p. 1--53.) the editor has introduced five additional poems which were found among the author's papers, and deemed not unworthy a place amidst their predecessors. At the end of the same volume, (p. 460-470.) he has preserved some translations from the originals.

"Dr. Vicefinus Knox, who is certainly a writer of classic taste, and one whom we shall have occasion to mention more than once in these memoirs, says (in some cursory remarks on the life and writings of Dr. Jortin), that his Latin poetry is classically elegant; and has observed that the first efforts of genius have commonly been in poetry. Unrestrained by the frigidity of argument, and the confinement of rules, the young mind gladly indulges the flights of imagination. Cicero, as well as many other ancient philosophers, orators, and historians, is known to have sacrificed to the muses in his earlier productions. Dr. Jortin, says he, adds to the number of those who confirm the observation. In his *Lusus Poetici*, one of the first of his works, are united classical language, tender sentiment, and harmonious verse. Among the modern Latin poets, there are few who do not

yield to Dr. Jortin. His sapphics, on the story of Bacchus and Ariadne, are easy, elegant, and poetical. The little ode, in which the calm life of the philosopher is compared to the gentle stream gliding through a silent grove, is highly pleasing to the mind, and is perfectly elegant in the composition. The lyrics are indeed all excellent. The poem on the immortality of the soul is ingenious, poetical, and an exact imitation of the style of Lucretius. In short, the whole collection is such as would scarcely have disgraced a Roman in the age of an Augustus.

"Jortin was ordained deacon by Dr. White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, September 22d, 1723. and priest by Dr. Thomas Greene, bishop of Ely, June 24, 1724. On the 20th of January 1726-7, he was presented by the master and fellows of Jesus college to the vicarage of Swavesey near Cambridge, and in January 1727-8, agreeably to the statutes, he resigned his fellowship.

"About the month of February 1728, he married Anne, daughter of Mr. Chibnall of Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire. On the first of February 1730-1 he resigned his vicarage of Swavesey, and not long after settled in London, where he was engaged as reader and preacher at a chapel belonging to the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, then in New-street, near great Russell-street, Bloomsbury. In this situation he continued till 1746.

"On Mr. Jortin's removal to London he published "*Four sermons on the truth of the christian religion*," in a small volume in duodecimo. These sermons are no longer to be consulted in the form in which they first appeared; they have been inserted with advantage

in some of our author's subsequent publications.

"In the years 1731 and 1732, Mr. Jortin, in conjunction with some literary friends, published in a series of twenty-four sixpenny numbers, "Miscellaneous Observations upon authors ancient and modern;" making together two volumes in octavo. They have been much esteemed by the learned both at home and abroad; and though the scarcity of these volumes has arisen from a wasteful and tasteless destruction of several copies, as I was credibly informed by the late Mr. Lockyer Davis, they have of late years been much sought after.

"This store of critical learning was translated into Latin, and printed at Amsterdam, entitled, "Miscellanæ observationes in auctores veteres et recentiores; ab eruditissimis Britannis, anno 1731, edite coeptæ, cum notis et auctario variorum virorum doctorum."

"Our author's skill and taste for critical learning were again exhibited in some excellent "Remarks on Spenser's poems," published in 1734, in octavo; to which were subjoined "Remarks on Milton." And in a periodical work, entitled, "The present state of the republic of Letters," for August in the same year, he published "Remarks on Seneca."

"Of Mr. Jortin's criticisms upon those rare English classics, Spenser and Milton, it would be trifling to offer any praise, after the testimony borne to their excellence by the late bishop Newton and Mr. Thomas Warton.

"Mr. Jortin was presented by the earl of Winchelsea to the vicarage of Eastwell in Kent, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a year, some time in 1737;

but, the air of the place not agreeing with his health, he soon resigned it, and returned to London. He therefore continued to officiate at the chapel in New-street, until he was appointed (March 20, 1746-7.) by his friend Dr. Zachary Pearce, then rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, afternoon preacher at a chapel of ease belonging to that parish in Oxenden-street, in the place of the rev. — Johnson, then lately deceased; in which situation he continued till 1760.

"In the year 1746, Mr. Jortin published his "Discourses concerning the truth of the christian religion," which included the substance of the "Four discourses" before mentioned, and have since passed through several editions. Bishop Watson has repeatedly, and very deservedly, classed Jortin among some great and eminent names who have honourably and successfully laboured to establish the truth, and illustrate the doctrines of Christianity; and bishop Law, while engaged in the same service, very justly pronounces him "a very learned and ingenious writer." Dr. Knox does not hesitate to say that his "Discourses on the christian religion, one of the first fruits of his theological pursuits, abound with that sound sense and solid argument, which entitled their author to a rank very near the celebrated Grotius."

"These Discourses have received much advantage from the accession of additional matter, and their present arrangement. They contain a valuable collection of facts, and very masterly display of arguments upon some very interesting parts of the enquiry into the evidences and truths of christianity; concerning which, "if he has advanced any wrong notions, there is

is reason to hope," as he expresses himself, "that they proceed not from a bad mind, but are only the issues of unfortunate inquiry."

"Mr. Warburton, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn, engaged Mr. Jortin, in the year 1747, to assist him occasionally at the chapel there, and he continued his assistant about three years.

"Upon the translation of Dr. Matthew Hutton from the see of Bangor to the archbishopric of York, Dr. Zachary Pearce was appointed to succeed him. Dr. Pearce requested Mr. Jortin to preach the sermon at his consecration in the parish church of Kensington, on February 21, 1747; which was afterwards published, with the usual authoritative mandate prefixed, *insuperiorum*.

"On the recommendation of archbishop Herring, and bishop Sherlock, Mr. Jortin was appointed by the earl of Burlington, on the 26th of December 1749, preacher of the lecture founded by Mr. Boyle. An appointment, honourable from the nature of the foundation, and from the respectable characters of several of the clergy who had preceded him in the duties of it, and, we may also add, from the patronage of the noble trustee, and the recommendation of the two prelates, at whose instance he had received it.

"The mutual friendship between Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin continued after their connection at Lincoln's Inn chapel had ceased; inasmuch, that the former announced, in the second edition of his *Julian*, the speedy publication of his "learned friend Mr. Jortin's curious dissertations on ecclesiastical antiquity; composed, like his life, not in the spirit of controversy, nor what is still

worse, of party, but of truth and candor."

"Mr. Warburton's favourable notification of the forwardness of the "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," was very soon followed by the publication of the first volume, early in the year 1751; and however sanguine may have been the expectations of the friends of Mr. Jortin, they were not disappointed.

"The appendix to this first volume of the "Remarks on ecclesiastical history," is the work of Mr. Warburton, and so much more mischief does the ill-judging friendship of some men effect, than their resentments can accomplish, that Mr. Jortin has lost more credit by the admission of these few pages of Mr. Warburton's, than if this imagined Colossus had replied to every line of the remarks, or "whipped him at the cart's tail in a note to the Divine legation, the ordinary place of his literary executions: or pilloried him in the *Dunciad*, another engine, which as legal proprietor, he very ingeniously and judiciously applied to the same purpose."

"Mr. Jortin tells us that bishop Pearce and Mr. Warburton were willing to appear as his friends, and his coadjutors in this work, and prefixes a copy of Latin verses, written more from the goodness of his heart, and in the spirit of poetry, than in the spirit of prophecy. "By some fatality," says an ingenious essayist, "he was duped, not only to accept of a postscript to the first volume of ecclesiastical remarks, exhibiting the visions of a Welch prophet, with the commentaries of Warburton upon them, but to celebrate the new alliance with an—

Ibit et hoc nostri per sæcula foedus amoris."

"No

"No particular notice was taken of this appendix, worth recording, except in the passage just cited, until the year 1772, when the late learned Mr. Taylor published some very masterly remarks upon it, in a tract, entitled, "Confusion worse confounded; rout upon rout; or the bishop of G ———'s commentary on Rice, or Arife Evans's Echo from heaven, examined and exposed. By Indignatio." That this examination and exposure should follow, at so long a period from the time of the original publication, is accounted for by Mr. Taylor's not having seen the appendix to which it refers, before the preceding summer, and may be excused in the recollection that the *nullum tempus* bill is not extended to the church.

"Hitherto it should seem that Mr. Jortin had partaken of some of the ingredients which are too frequently found to constitute a scholar's wages, according to Erasmus, "short commons and little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction." He had many friends who knew how to value his learning, but none of them had hitherto successfully sought to reward it. Certain jealousies were entertained of his liberal and catholic principles, though it was very generally acknowledged that his writings would be read and admired as long as any pinnacles of good sense, solid erudition, and exalted liberality of mind should remain upon English ground. To take off, as much as might be, any reproach to his patron, the "Discourses on the truth of the christian religion" were made the ostensible motive for presenting him with the preferment designed for him. "The dangerous preface was then in its infancy," as a certain writer expresses himself, "and the outcry against

it had not reached the ulterior banks of the Thames. It has, however, been said, that the patron never heard the last of his injudicious munificence to a man, who had affronted, (as certain druids are wont to say) the establishment that maintained him."

"Be this, however, as it may, in the month of May 1751, archbishop Herring gave Mr. Jortin, unsolicited, the rectory of St. Dunstan in the East, London, worth two hundred pounds a year; "a favour valuable in itself, but made doubly so by the giver, by the manner, by being conferred upon one," as himself says, "who had received few obligations of this kind, and by settling him amongst those whom he had great reason to love and to esteem."

"Nothing could more enhance the obligation, than the public and handsome manner in which it was conferred. The account which is given of the interview between the archbishop and Mr. Jortin is, I believe, authentic, and has in it some circumstances which shew the liberal and amiable character of the prelate, and characterize the simple manners of the clerk. Mr. Jortin dined at the feast of the sons of the clergy, where archbishop Herring was present, and on being told that the archbishop was desirous of renewing his acquaintance with him, he prepared for going to the upper end of the room, by looking for his hat, among a great number which lay together in a confused manner, but being told by his friends that his hat was by no means necessary, he proceeded to the prelate without it. The archbishop complimented him on his talents and learning, and closed the conversation, by giving him, in the presence of the clergy, the rectory of

of St. Dunstan in the East. Mr. Jortin then returned to his seat, telling his friends, "I have lost my hat, but I have got a living."

"In August this year, Mr. Jortin paid a visit to his friends at Cambridge, where he had not been since the time of his quitting the university; but it is most probable that this journey, in the autumn of 1751, was principally intended as a visit to the libraries in the university; and the more so, as he was at that time much occupied in preparing the second volume of the "Remarks" for the press, and which was published the following spring.

"Mr. Jortin had the continuation of his "Remarks on ecclesiastical history" in so great forwardness for the press that he published the second volume in the spring 1752. And having been so lately patronized by archbishop Herring, he introduced it with a dedication to that worthy and benevolent prelate in language not indeed of "modern politeness, but of ancient simplicity."

"The resentment which he had incurred from the orthodox, by the catholic spirit which he had shewn in his former volume, though then fresh in his mind, and still working to his further prejudice, he did not wish to dwell upon, but rather to look on the favourable side of the contingent events of human life. In this view, I apprehend, he observes, in his dedication, that "the discourtesies which we experience, are things too common and too insignificant to deserve a place in our memory, or in our writings; it is best, says he, to bury them in eternal oblivion, and in their room to substitute the good offices of our friends, which ought to be remembered and recorded with pleasure."

"In excuse for his omitting to make a laboured display of the good qualities of his benefactor, or, as is too often the case, to ascribe to him the possession of those attainments which did not belong to him, he concludes by telling us, in true classic purity of sentiment, that it was a custom among the ancients, "Not to sacrifice to heroes, till after sun-set." And that this was not merely a happy thought, founded in fact, and applied in compliment, we may have the best proof by turning to what he says of the same great man, after his decease, and when his dignities and patronage were in the possession of a successor who was of a quite contrary spirit.

"Mr. Jortin was fond of music, and learned it after he came to reside in London in 1730. He was a good player of thorough-bass on the harpsicord. His master was Mr. Petit, a Frenchman, who is said to have been a good player of Corelli's music on the violin. But the scholar appears to have considered and attended to it as a science, as well as an amusement and relaxation from severer studies. That Milton should attune his lyre was natural, but that the rough and inflexible Luther should be a composer and performer on music is extraordinary. Jortin was led to music by genius and temper. We have before had occasion to speak of his genius and talents for poetry; we may now form a very competent opinion of his taste and judgment in a sister art, from his "Letter concerning the music of the ancients." This letter is addressed to Mr. Avifon, the author of an "Essay on musical expression," and is added, without his name, to the second edition of that Essay, printed 1753; but is given
to

to its proper owner in the third edition published 1775.

"In order to discover our author's inducement to cultivate his turn for music, we need only to read his own elegant account of its innocent and inviting charms.

"The surprising powers of music," says he, "as related by several of the ancients, may justly pass for exaggerations. When Horace tells us that a wolf fled from him, who met him in the woods, as he was chanting the praises of the fair Lalagé, we conclude either that it is a poetical fib, or that he sang so ill as to frighten the savage.

"But surely music deserves the sober compliment paid to it by the same poet, when he calls it, the assuager of cares,

Minuentur atra
Carmine curæ.

"It helps to relieve and sooth the mind, and is a sort of refuge from some of the evils of life, from slights, and neglects, and censures, and insults, and disappointments; from the wrath of real enemies, and the coldness of pretended friends; from your well-wishers, (as they may justly be called, in opposition to well-doers,) whose inclinations to serve you always decrease, in a most mathematical proportion, as their opportunities to do it increase; from

The proud man's contumely, and the spurns
Which patient merit of th' unworthy takes;

from grievances that are the growth of all times and places.

"Many things we must expect to meet with, which it would be hard to bear, if a compensation were not to be found in honest endeavours to do well, in virtuous affections, and connections, and in harmless and reasonable amusements. And why should not a

man amuse himself sometimes?
Vive la bagatelle!"

"In 1754 was published the third volume of our author's "Remarks on ecclesiastical history."

"Archbishop Herring's friendship for our author was shewn on different occasions, by rendering him substantial services, by intending others in which he was not able to succeed, and by general attentions which marked his regard and esteem for Mr. Jortin.

"In the year 1755, the archbishop conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. "I thought it too late in life," writes Jortin in a private manuscript, "as I told him, to go and take it at Cambridge, under a professor, who, in point of academical standing, might have taken his first degree under me, when I was moderator. I was willing to owe this favour to him, which I would not have asked or accepted from any other archbishop."

"But, besides the complimentary accommodation of Dr. Jortin, in sparing him a disagreeable errand to Cambridge, as he states it above, he was also excused subscribing the thirty-nine articles, agreeably to the privilege of dispensing with such subscription, which is uniformly claimed and exercised by the archbishops of Canterbury. It is not so generally known as it ought to be, that a degree in divinity is conferred at Lambeth without the previous subscription which is required by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A circumstance this, which would make it more eligible to many, than the apprehension of merely performing the academical exercise before a professor, who might have taken his first degree under the party who keeps the act.

It should not, however, be insinuated that this exemption from subscription had any weight with Dr. Jortin: he says nothing of it himself, and I am not disposed to travel into the regions of conjecture, but to relate a narrative of facts. His readily renouncing, for a time, the use of the Athanasian creed, which we are told upon the authority of Whiston; and other instances of his dislike of the use of that creed, which have been mentioned by a friend now living; together with his repeated expressions of disapprobation of subscription, in its present form at least, which are to be found in the course of his writings, raise suspicions of this kind; but they are only suspicions. And as he afterwards subscribed, more than once, on admission to his subsequent preferments, they cannot be insisted upon with any confidence; for I trust he would no more have violated the clear convictions of his conscience, for the sake of a good living, than for the purchase of an empty compliment.

"In the same year (1755) in which he was preferred to his degree in divinity, he published his *"Six dissertations on different subjects,"* which "are equally remarkable, (says Dr. Knox) for taste, learning, originality, and ingenuity."

"We must now allow ourselves a little time to recapitulate some circumstances relating to the former friendship between doctors Warburton and Jortin, and the interruption it suffered from the publication of the preceding dissertation.

"Dr. Warburton's having obtruded some extravagant and chimerical notes of his own upon the *Visions of Rice Evans*, as an ap-

pendix to the first volume of Jortin's *"Remarks on ecclesiastical history,"* has been noticed before, as also the severe but merited reproof he received from the author of *"Confusion worse confounded."*

"When Dr. Jortin was prevailed upon to accept of Dr. Warburton's hand, he very unfortunately joined him in a compliment paid to bishop Pearce.

"Dr. Warburton had anticipated the expectations of the public in favor of Dr. Jortin before his *"Remarks"* were given to the world, by telling them, that "they were composed, like his life, not in the spirit of controversy, nor, what is still worse, of party, but of truth and candor."

"The author of the *"Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated,"* had, it seems, given a visionary account of *Aeneas's* descent into hell, and his return from thence, saying that the scenery of what passed in the shades described by Virgil had reference to the Eleusinian mysteries.

"This was questioned by Dr. Jortin in his sixth dissertation, who was so far from agreeing with Dr. Warburton's account, that he gave an interpretation totally inconsistent with it, but without any reflection upon his friend, as may be seen from the foregoing extracts. This, however, being considered by Dr. Warburton, or some of his disciples, as an inimical attack upon his system, Dr. Jortin was addressed in a small pamphlet, entitled, *"On the Delicacy of Friendship."* A seventh dissertation, addressed to the author of the sixth."

"Some few months after the death of Dr. Jortin, a writer in the *St. James's Chronicle*, who signed himself *Æacus*, stated some things in the literary history of Dr. Jortin, and

and among others, that "a want of delicacy was objected to Jortin. All the world laughed at the conceit, and Jortin himself was surpris'd into a grin. How comes it, John, said a friend of his, that you should have the reputation of less delicacy than the broker?—I'll tell you, says the doctor, Rambling one day into the environs of the zodiac, instead of making my bow and my speech, I happened to turn my posteriors upon Urfa Major."

"It is now well known that Dr. Hurd, the present bishop of Worcester, was the writer of the Dissertation on the Delicacy of Friendship; but as Dr. Warburton speaks of it with such unbounded praise, in a letter to Dr. Lowth, he has so far made it his own, that his name deserves to share in the reprobation with which the learned world received this disgusting morsel, and which even its author has, though without success, endeavour'd to suppress."

"In the course of a few years this same Dissertation on the Delicacy of Friendship, by some means or other, became scarce. It was only occasionally to be seen in "the corner of a catalogue," or "caught skulking upon the shelf of a collector." We owe, however, to a subsequent editor, the reproduction of this, with other curiosities of the Warburtonian school, illustrated and illuminated with a dedication, two prefaces, and sundry notes, which will preserve from oblivion these rare productions of bishops Warburton and Hurd. The title of this combined publication is, "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian; not admitted into the collections of their works:" printed 1789.

"Dr. Jortin published the first volume of his "Life of Erasmus, in quarto, in the year 1758; and

by the publication of the second volume in 1760, he completed a work which, from the subject of it, "extended his reputation beyond the limits of his native country, and established his literary character in the remotest universities of Europe."

"The life of no author is better calculated to interest our curiosity than that of Erasmus. He lived at the first dawning of literature, and was himself one of the principal lights which dispell'd that gloom of ignorance and barbarism, which had overspread the world for so many ages. There is also some variety in the events of his life, which was more diversified than the lives of literary men commonly are; and there is the same variety in his character, that is found in his fortune: he was a genius as well as a profound scholar; and a man of wit and humour, as well as an able divine."

"The celebrated Le Clerc, whilst he was concern'd in publishing an edition of the works of Erasmus at Leyden, in ten volumes folio, drew up his life in French, collected principally from his letters, and insert'd it in the *Bibliothèque Choise*; and had the pleasure to find that it was favourably received by the public." And Dr. Jortin tells us further, in his preface, that "it is so performed, in the main, that he could not hope to do it in a better manner, and was not inclin'd to do it in another manner. It is therefore taken, as a ground-work to build upon, and is translated, not superstitiously and closely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words. He found Le Clerc's way of thinking and judging, for the most part, correspondent with his own; and seldom had occasion to declare it

different from him. But at the same time, continual additions are made, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the life of Erasmus, especially where Le Clerc grew more remiss, either wearied with the task, or called off from these to other labours. At first it was intended to distinguish his property from the rest; but it soon appeared that the thing was hardly practicable, and quite needless."

"The work before us being thus the joint produce of two very learned and very ingenious men, it is no wonder that it exhibits so ample a stock of materials, or that it is executed with uncommon diligence, skill, and accuracy." It has, however, been justly observed, that by disposing his facts and observations in the form of annals, Dr. Jortin "has rendered the narration broken and tedious;" and his digressions have also occasioned a want of perspicuity in some parts of his performance. These digressions, indeed, are so frequent, and of such a nature, that his compilation may not improperly be termed an epitome of the lives of all the eminent men, in whatever branch of literature, who adorned part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and upon the whole, "as the work now stands, it may rather be considered as an excellent collection of materials for the life of Erasmus, than the history of it."

"Dr. Jortin essentially injured his health, by his application to his Life of Erasmus, as I was assured by a very respectable friend who knew him well. In his preface to that work he addressed himself to his friends, "recommending himself to their favor, whilst he was with them, and his name, when he was gone hence; and intreating them in a wish, that he might pass

the evening of a studious and unambitious life in an humble but not a slothful obscurity; and never forfeit the kind continuance of their accustomed approbation."

"But," as is elsewhere observed, "whatever he or his friends might wish, he was to live hereafter neither so studiously, nor so obscurely, as his imagination had figured out to him: more public scenes, than any he had yet been engaged in, still awaited him."

"Dr. Hayter, bishop of London, with whom, by the way, Dr. Jortin had always been upon intimate terms, and for whom he had a great esteem, died January 9, 1762; and Dr. Osbaldiston, who was also his friend, and then bishop of Carlisle, was promoted to the see of London. So early as the 10th of March that year, Dr. Jortin was appointed chaplain to bishop Osbaldiston, and about the latter end of the same month was collated by his lordship to the prebend of Harleston, in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In the following October, the bishop gave him the vicarage of Kensington, worth about 300l. a year; soon after which he quitted his house in Hatton Garden, and went to reside there.

"In 1763, Dr. Jortin assisted Mr. Markland in correcting the proof sheets of the "Supplices mulieres" of Euripides, in quarto. He had before done the same for a little treatise by the same learned gentleman, entitled, "*De Græcorum quintâ declinatione imparisyllabicâ, et inde formatâ Latinorum tertiâ, Quæstio grammatica,*" which had been first printed in 1761, and was now annexed to the "Supplices mulieres."—Of our author, it is said in an advertisement prefixed, "Absente auctore, vicem ejus ad prelum suscepit vir doctissimus Joannes Jortinus

tinus S. T. P. cujus eruditæ curæ multum debere hanc editionem profitetur commentator.

"Bishop Osbaldiston gave a repeated proof, about a month before his death, of his determined patronage of our author, by appointing him archdeacon of London in April 1764; and it has been generally said that the bishop had offered him the rectory of St. James's, Westminster, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Nicolls in November 1763; but that he chose to continue at Kensington, that being a situation he much liked, and better adapted to his then advanced age.

"Mr. Phillips published the "History of the life of Reginald Pole" in 1764: which is, says Dr. Neve, "a laboured, plausible insult both upon the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of this country;" and which, Dr. Jortin says, was "undertaken to recommend to us the very scum and dregs of popery, and to vilify and calumniate the reformation and the reformers, in a bigoted, disingenuous, and superficial performance." This design of writing, "with a view to excite in us a favourable opinion of himself and his party, required singular qualifications." Such it seems as Mr. Phillips did not abound in. Dr. Neve and Dr. Gloucester Ridley severally undertook to vindicate the doctrine and character of the reformers from the false representations and injurious reflections of Mr. Phillips; the former in some "Animadversions" upon, and the latter in a "Review" of, the history in question, both published in 1766.

"Dr. Jortin communicated "Some remarks upon Mr. Phillips's History," to Dr. Neve, which were printed at the end of his work.

"Dr. Jortin continued to live in

the then vicarage house at Kensington, dividing his time between his pastoral functions and his study, enjoying himself with his usual serenity, till the 27th of August 1770, when he was seized with a disorder in his breast and lungs. He grew continually worse, notwithstanding all medical assistance; and without undergoing much pain, in the course of his illness, or his understanding being in the least impaired, he died the 5th of September, in the 72d year of his age. The last words of this deservedly eminent man were expressed in the answer he gave to a female attendant who offered him some nourishment, a very short time before his departure, when he said, with great composure, "No! I have enough of every thing."

"He left the following direction in writing for his funeral: "Bury me in a private manner by daylight at Kensington in the church, or rather in the new church-yard, and lay a flat stone over the grave. Let the inscription be only this:

JOANNES JORTIN
MORTALIS ESSE DESIIT
ANNO SALUTIS [MDCCLXX]
ÆTATIS [LXXII].

He was accordingly buried about nine o'clock in the morning, in the new church-yard at Kensington, and the above inscription was put on his grave stone.

"Dr. Jortin left a widow, [who died June 24, 1778, and was buried in the same grave,] and two children, Rogers Jortin, esq. of the Exchequer office, Lincoln's Inn, and Martha, married to the rev. Samuel Darby, formerly fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, and now rector of Whatfield, near Hadleigh, Suffolk.

"We have various testimonies which will lead to form a tolerably

correct

correct notion of the true character of our author, and these may well spare any laboured delineation from the present writer: and more especially as the general review of his writings, which will be found in the present pages, will qualify every reader to judge of our author for himself.

"Besides great integrity, great humanity, and other qualities which make men amiable as well as useful, this learned and excellent person," says Dr. Heathcote, "was of a very pleasant and facetious turn, as his writings abundantly shew. He had nevertheless great sensibility, and could express himself with warmth, and even some degree of indignation, when he thought the occasion warranted him so to do. For instance, he had a great respect and fondness for critical learning, which he so much cultivated; and though he knew and allowed it to have been disgraced by the manners of certain proud, fastidious, and insolent critics, such as Scaliger, Salmasius, Scioppius, &c. yet he thought the restoration of letters, and the civilization of Europe, so much indebted to it, that he could ill bear to see it contemptuously treated: and to this may be imputed the little satirical strokes which sometimes occur in his works, against those who did so contemptuously treat it.

"For the motto of his Life of Erasmus, he chose some words of Erasmus himself: "*Illud certe præfatio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius iudicaturam posteritatem: tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.*" Yet it is certain that he had very slight notions of posthumous fame or glory, and of any real good which could arise from it; as appears from what he had collected and written

about it in a note on Milton, at the end of his Remarks on Spencer. He could sometimes complain, and doubtless with good reason, of the low estimation into which learning was fallen; and thought it discountenanced and discouraged, indirectly at least, when ignorant and worthless persons were advanced to high stations and great preferments, while men of merit and abilities were overlooked and neglected. Nevertheless, he laid no undue stress upon such stations and such preferments; but entertained just notions concerning what must ever constitute the chief good and happiness of man, and is himself believed to have made the most of them."

"In addition to what has been already stated, respecting the character of Dr. Jortin, in the present chapter, and may be found incidentally mentioned in other parts of the present volume, I must be indulged with reciting, as I am persuaded my reader will be gratified by the perusal, the character of our author as drawn by the energetic pen of Dr. Parr. "Jortin," says he, "whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment, or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry. He was ingenious without the affectation of singularity. He was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism, and a friend to free enquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart, which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine and most correct, he

united the artless and amiable negligence of a school boy. Wit without ill-nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject; and in every book, the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man:

—ut omnis

Votiva pateat tanquam descripta tabella
Vita senis.

Hor. Sat. i. lib. 2.

“ His style, though inartificial, is sometimes elevated: though familiar, it is never mean; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either of solemnity, from fanatical cant; of profoundness, from scholastic jargon; of precision, from the crabbed formalities of cloudy philologists; or of refinement, from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

“ At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, Jortin never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path: and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he, at least, secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepossession had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He imposed not his own conjectures as infallible and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles, by dogmatical vehemence. He could support his more serious opinions,

without the versatility of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon—more than this—he could *relinquish* or *correct* them with the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded something to the arguments of his antagonists, was conscious of retaining enough to command their respect. He had too much discernment to confound difference of opinion with malignity or dullness, and too much candour to insult, where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness, which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal with, or without, the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows, as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy, and therefore, he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austerely. But invective he neither provoked nor feared; and, as to the severities of contempt, he reserved them for occasions where alone they could be employed with propriety, and where, by himself, they always were employed with effect—for the chastisement of arrogant dunces, of censorious sciolists, of intolerant bigots in every sect, and unprincipled impostors in every profession. Distinguished in various forms of literary composition, engaged in various duties of his ecclesiastical profession, and blessed with a long and honour-

honourable life, he nobly exemplified that rare and illustrious virtue of charity, which Leland, in his reply to the letter-writer, thus eloquently describes: "Charity never misrepresents; never ascribes obnoxious principles or mistaken opinions to an opponent, which he himself disavows; is not so earnest in refuting, as to fancy positions never asserted, and to extend its censure to opinions, which will perhaps be delivered. Charity is utterly averse to sneering, the most despicable species of ridicule, that most despicable subterfuge of an impotent objector. Charity never supposes, that all sense and knowledge are confined to a particular circle, to a district, or to a country: Charity never condemns and embraces principles in the same breath; never professes to confute, what it acknowledges to be just, never presumes to bear down an adversary with confident assertions; Charity does not call dissent insolence, or the want of implicit submission, a want of common respect."

"This, I cannot help exclaiming in the words of a right reverend remarker—"This is the solution of a philosopher indeed; clear, simple, manly, rational, and striking conviction in every word; unlike the refined and fantastic nonsense of a writer of paradoxes."

"The esteem, the affection, the

reverence, which I feel for so profound a scholar, and so honest a man, as Dr. Jortin, make me wholly indifferent to the praise and censure of those who vilify, without reading, his writings, or read them, without finding some incentive to study, some proficiency in knowledge, or some improvement in virtue."

"We will again adduce the general testimony of the essayist, whom we have repeatedly quoted, and with that close our present inquiry. "A review of the life of the late Dr. Jortin cannot but suggest the most pleasing reflections. As a poet, a divine, a philosopher, and a man, he served the cause of religion, learning, and morality. There are, indeed, many writers whose reputation is more diffused among the vulgar and illiterate, but few will be found whose names stand higher than Dr. Jortin's in the esteem of the judicious."—And afterwards he adds,—"The transition from an author's writings to his life, is frequently disadvantageous to his character. Dr. Jortin, however, when no longer considered as an author, but as a man, is far from being lessened in our opinion. A simplicity of manners, an inoffensive behaviour, an universal benevolence, candour, modesty, and good sense, were his characteristics."

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CHARACTER OF THE LATE
P. DODDRIDGE, D.D.

[From Dr. KIPPIS's LIFE of the AUTHOR, prefixed to the seventh Edition of the FAMILY EXPOSITOR.]

"THE view which I shall take of our author will be of his intellectual, and of his religious and moral qualities.

"I do not know that genius can be ascribed to Dr. Doddridge, taking that word in its highest signification, as implying either a great
C 2 inventive

inventive faculty in science, or that boldness of imagination which is productive of original imagery and combinations. In a lower and more popular sense of the term, he might be said to have been a man of genius; for he had a quick conception and a lively fancy. He had a comprehension of mind that enabled him to proceed with celerity and vigour in the acquisition of knowledge; and that activity of his mental frame, which put it into his power to learn much in a little time, was happily accompanied with an invincible resolution and perseverance in the prosecution of his studies. In consequence of his uncommon application, he might even with moderate abilities have laid up a large stock of various learning; and therefore it is not surprising that this should be the case with him, when it is considered that he was endued with a quickness of apprehension, and a remarkable strength of memory. So extensive was his acquaintance with books, that there were few on the general subjects of literature which he had not perused with attention; and he could retain and easily recollect what in them was most worthy to be remembered. Of ancient knowledge he had a considerable store. With regard to the learned languages, if he could not be called a profound linguist, he was sufficiently versed in them to read the most valuable pieces of antiquity with taste and pleasure. This is apparent from his paraphrase and notes on the New Testament, in which he has frequently illustrated the force and beauty of the originals with great judgment, and in the true spirit of criticism.

"Dr. Doddridge was well acquainted with the Greek philosophers and orators; among the last

of whom he was particularly devoted to Demosthenes. To the poets of Greece he was far from being a stranger; but he was not, I think, deeply conversant with its tragedians. I remember, while I resided with him, his having read Pindar with much admiration. With the Latin classics he was largely acquainted. As became a divine and a theological tutor, he diligently studied the ancient fathers, especially of the three first centuries. He paid particular regard to the apologists for christianity, and was a great master of Origen and Eusebius. Beyond the fourth century his knowledge of this species of literature did not, I believe, widely extend, though it did not wholly stop there. With ecclesiastical history he had a large acquaintance, and civil history engaged no small degree of his attention. To this he applied not only to enrich his memory with facts, but to make such reflections upon them, as tended either to promote his insight into human nature, to exemplify the interpositions of Providence, or to explain and illustrate the sacred writings.

"Though Dr. Doddridge's disposition rather led him to cultivate the more polite than the abstruser parts of science, he was far from being a stranger to mathematical and philosophical studies. The system of Algebra which he read to his pupils was of his own composition. But the favourite object of his application, and that in which his principal excellency lay, was divinity, taking that word in its largest sense. Whatever could tend to strengthen the proofs of natural or revealed religion, to assist our conceptions of the divine Nature, or enable us more perfectly to understand the doctrines and discoveries

discoveries of scripture, he thought deserving of the most attentive regard. To the evidences of the Jewish and Christian revelation he had paid uncommon attention, and how complete a master he was of the subject is apparent from his lectures. Perhaps there were few men who had more carefully studied the different systems of theology, or who could point out their several defects with greater accuracy and judgment. While he was not one of those who affect to treat with contempt the labours of the wise and the learned who have gone before them, but was always ready to receive whatever light they could afford him, nevertheless, without a slavish regard to human schemes, he took the sacred oracles for his guide, and always referred to them for the proofs of the doctrinal sentiments which he maintained. Upon the whole, I entirely agree with Mr. Orton, that, though others might exceed him in their acquaintance with antiquity, or their skill in the languages, he was surpassed by few in the extent of his learning, and in the variety of useful and important knowledge of which he was possessed.

"With these stores of information, it was a great advantage to Dr. Doddridge that he had an uncommon facility of speaking and writing. He used to descant, in his lectures, on the subjects treated of, with surprising perspicuity and freedom; and the same perspicuity and freedom attended him when he took the pen in hand. This was owing to the orderly disposition in which things lay in his mind. As his own ideas on the points he had studied, were clear and distinct, so his method of arranging his thoughts was uncommonly just and natural. There

are, perhaps, few discourses in our language which excel those which were usually delivered by our author, either in the accuracy of the divisions, or the adaptation of the sentiments to the subject discussed. According to the fashion that now prevails, he may possibly be thought to have sometimes laid down and recapitulated his scheme in too formal a manner. But if he rather exceeded in this respect, his error had the advantage of assisting the memory, and contributing to the instruction of his hearers and readers.

"Though Dr. Doddridge's invincible perseverance in study has already been mentioned, I am desirous of enlarging a little farther upon it. Literary diligence is a matter which I have always earnestly wished to press on every young man of liberal education with whom I have had acquaintance. When accompanied with original genius, it is the parent of all that is great and valuable in science; and where there is not much of original genius, provided there be a tolerable capacity, it is endued with the power of producing valuable attainments, and of rendering eminent services to the learned world. Of this diligence Dr. Doddridge was a striking example. The smallest portions of time were precious to him; and he was eager to seize every moment, even while he was waiting for dinner, company, or his pupils assembling together, that he might make some advance in any work in which he was engaged. So solicitous was he for continual improvement, that one of his students generally read to him when he was shaving and dressing. This was a benefit to the pupils, as he took occasion to instruct them, by remarking on
C 3 their

their manner of reading, and pointing out the excellencies and defects, either in sentiment or language, of the book before them.

When he was upon a journey, or on occasional visits to his friends, where he spent the night, he took his papers with him, and employed at least part of the morning in carrying on some one or other of his important designs. From the time that he began to write his Family Expofitor, something was done every day in it towards preparing it for the prefs. To all this it may be added, that his employments as an author and a tutor, never obstructed his most abundant labours as a minister and a pastor.

“ But what places Dr. Doddridge’s diligence in a still more conspicuous point of view, is the extent of his correspondence. This alone would have been almost sufficient to have employed the whole time of an ordinary person. Besides his correspondence with the parents and guardians of his pupils, he had a number of letters to write, in answer to questions of moment which were proposed to him by his brethren, and especially by those who had studied under him. These last naturally applied to him for advice and direction, under the various difficulties which occurred to them in their respective situations. Many were the congregations that had recourse to him for ministers, or upon other accounts. His judgment, likewise, was frequently desired by learned men, concerning critical questions, or works which they were preparing for the prefs; and his own publications gave occasion for enquiries of this nature. Several foreign gentlemen and divines, who had heard of his character, and perused his writings, sought his epistolary

acquaintance; and to correspond with them in Latin or French, was an object that demanded particular attention. It is, indeed, surprising to find how many hundred letters were received and answered by him in the space of a single year.

“ A very honourable part of Dr. Doddridge’s correspondence was that which he maintained with some of the brightest ornaments, both among the clergy and laity of the established church. This is apparent from the Collection of Letters lately published. We there see how much he was esteemed, and how highly he was thought of, by the first religious and literary characters of the age. In the collection referred to, the letters of Warburton make a distinguished figure, and shew that great man in a new and very amiable light. They display not only his learning, but the piety, benevolence, and goodness of his mind. The severity, or rather the arrogance, with which he treated his literary antagonists, must undoubtedly have afforded too just cause for leaving an unfavourable impression of him in the estimation of the world. But in private life he appears in a far more agreeable point of view. The only time I had ever the honour of being in his company, which was an hour and a half in his own study, I found him remarkably condescending in his manner, and admirably instructive and entertaining in his conversation.

“ Dr. Doddridge’s correspondence was, I think, in some instances, carried to an extent that might have been spared; and it is now certain that his friend Mr. Neal was so far of the same opinion, as to give him a gentle rebuke upon the subject. There were people, whose good intentions were superior to their wisdom,

dom, and who had very little valuable to communicate, that were proud of writing letters to him, and of receiving his answers; and such was the easiness of his disposition, that he was more profuse in his returns to their kind affections, than convenience or even a regard to his health would admit. Sometimes he lightened his burden, by making use of the pen of his pupils, to whom he dictated his letters, while he himself went on with his Family Expositor, or any other work in which he was employed. I was not unfrequently either his amanuensis on these occasions, or read to him while he answered his correspondents.

"I am next to take a survey of Dr. Doddridge in his religious and moral character. And here the prime and leading feature of his soul was that of devotion. This was the pervading principle of his actions, whether private or public. What Dr. Johnson has observed with regard to Dr. Watts, that as piety predominated in his mind, it was diffused over his works; and that whatever he took in hand was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to theology, may with equal propriety be applied to Dr. Doddridge. The greatest pains were taken by him to keep up an habitual sense of the Supreme Being; to maintain and increase the ardour of religion in his heart; and to furnish himself, by devout exercises, for the important labours of his station. Nor was it to his secret retirements that his piety was limited; it was manifested in every part of the day, and appeared in his usual intercourse with men. In the little vacancies of time which occur to the busiest of mankind, he was frequently lifting up his soul to God. When he lectured on philosophy,

history, anatomy, or other subjects not immediately theological, he would endeavour to graft some religious instructions upon them, that he might raise the minds of his pupils to devotion, as well as to knowledge; and in his visits to his people, the Christian friend and minister were united.

"Dr. Doddridge entertained a high idea of the efficacy of prayer. It is a point upon which I would speak with great humility and deference; but I cannot avoid thinking that, in this respect, he carried his sentiments somewhat farther than reason and truth will warrant. Of the importance of prayer, as a natural and just tribute to the Deity, as an admirable method of cherishing the virtues of the religious life, and as connected with the divine approbation and favour, no one, I trust, can be more truly sensible than myself. My views of the matter have lately been so fully displayed, that they cannot be liable to any misconstruction. But still I am obliged to observe, that Dr. Doddridge did not, in my apprehension, sufficiently limit his notions of the efficacy of prayer. He appeared to ascribe to it such an immediate influence upon the Supreme mind, and to expect from it such interpositions, as are scarcely consistent with the regular order of Providence, and the stated course of events in the world. If, however, he erred upon this head, he has erred with many wise and good men who have gone before him, and by whom he has been succeeded. Perhaps Dr. Price and Dr. Ogden may be added to the number.

"The piety of Dr. Doddridge was accompanied with the warmest benevolence to his fellow creatures. No one could more strongly feel

that the love of God was to be united with love to man. Nor was this a principle that rested in kind wishes and pathetic feelings for the happiness of others, but was manifested in the most active exertions for their welfare. No scheme of doing good was ever proposed to him into which he did not enter with ardour. This was apparent from many circumstances that might copiously be enlarged upon, did it comport with my present purpose. His Sermon for the benefit of the County Hospital at Northampton has been spoken of before; and it may here be added, that he not only contributed generously to that hospital, but spent much time in ripening the design. He often reflected, with great satisfaction, on the pains he had taken to establish this charity, and on the good effects which it had produced, both in relieving many objects of distress, and in promoting a social and catholic spirit among persons of different parties and persuasions. It was at his own expence that he printed and distributed his "Friendly Letter to the Private Soldiers of a Regiment of Foot." During the rebellion of 1745, he was remarkably zealous in the cause of his king and his country, and contributed to the raising of a regiment under the command of the Earl of Halifax, by his own liberality, as well as by his influence over others. In the case of a poor Irishman, whom he thought to be unjustly condemned for murder, he exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner, though without success. But the generosity of his mind was the most displayed when any schemes for propagating religion, and for spreading the gospel among those who were strangers to it, were proposed.

In every thing of this kind he was always ready to take the lead, and was ardent in endeavouring to inspire his friends with the same spirit.

"No one could be more amiable than Dr. Doddridge was in his private virtues and manners. It would be needless to enlarge on the tenderness of his affections as a husband, a father, and a relation: nor is it necessary to insist upon his conduct to his pupils. If he occasionally distinguished any one of them by his particular favour, this did not hinder his behaving to all of them with the kindness of a parent; and his regard to them was never abated, excepting from their own fault. In the character of a friend he shone with distinguished lustre. Of friendship he entertained a sublime idea, and his heart was admirably fitted for discharging all the offices, and relishing all the delights, of this endearing connection. It was the happy lot of his life to be honoured with many valuable and faithful friends; and how sensible he was of his felicity in this respect was displayed in every return of gratitude, esteem, and affection. His deportment in company was strikingly polite, affable, and agreeable; and in conversation he greatly excelled; his discourse being at once instructive and entertaining, and not unfrequently rising to the splendid.

"The candour of Dr. Doddridge's mind, relative to his sentiments of other persons merit, was carried to the highest pitch, and indeed was sometimes so excessive as to lead him to form a far better opinion of several of his acquaintance than in fact they deserved. This fault was gently and pleasantly touched upon by Mr. Barker, in one of his letters. "But are you

awake?

ware," says he, "what a creature you are? I love you beyond expression, and admire your abilities, furniture, spirits, &c. more than you imagine; and not a man in the world rejoices more in your usefulness than I do; and yet I often make myself merry with your character and conduct. You are so entirely devoted to God, to truth, and holiness, that it is very easy to impose upon you under the appearance of any of these. And you are so perfectly made up of civility, candour, and good nature, that a pious enthusiast, or a godly dunce, is welcome to your table, arms, and heart. You are so good yourself, that you think every body ten times better than they are; see merit in the darkness of midnight; cannot see faults without a noon-day sun; forgive injuries before they are confessed; and confer favours as a reward for affronts." With such a disposition of mind, it is not surprising that Dr. Doddridge should frequently be unable to resist the arts of deception: and yet this did not proceed from a general ignorance of the world. He was well acquainted with men and with manners, and could often enter into, and discriminate, with no small degree of penetration, the characters of mankind. But, at the same time, so ardent were the feelings of his piety, and such was the suavity of his temper, that he could not easily persuade himself that any persons were insincere, who made a profession of religion and goodness. There is a considerable difference between a speculative and a practical knowledge of the world. A man may possess much of the former, and yet, from a certain flexibility and tenderness of mind, have little of the latter. In particular instances, he may have sagacity

enough to suspect deceit, while he refuses to indulge the suspicion, lest it should lead him to err in his judgment, and be a motive for obstructing the exertions of his benevolence. Such was the case with Dr. Doddridge, and such, also, was the case with George Lord Lyttelton. They would both of them rather have chosen to be mistaken, than to have lost an opportunity of contributing to the relief of real distress.

"In his sentiments of those who differed from him in religious opinions, Dr. Doddridge exercised great moderation. He never confined truth or goodness to one particular sect; and he behaved with the utmost candour to the members of the church of England. Of the established religion of his country he always spoke with respect; and he never made any petulant objections to its worship or discipline, or uttered against it any severe or unkind reflections. His correspondence with various clergymen of the highest rank and merit has heretofore been noticed. It was deeply lamented by him, that a separation from the establishment was, in his apprehension, and that of many other good men, rendered so necessary; and he sincerely wished and prayed for a greater union among Protestants. A like candid and friendly spirit he endeavoured to promote among his pupils; and he did it with success; for few of them, I believe, can be mentioned, who have not, in this respect, followed the instructions, and imitated the example of their tutor. With all Dr. Doddridge's moderation of temper, he did not in every case meet with a suitable return. Some time after he had set up his academy at Northampton, a prosecution was commenced against

against him in the ecclesiastical court, by the instigation of several dignitaries of the church. The step, however, was totally disapproved of by many other eminent members of the establishment. Nevertheless, the persons who had engaged in the business seemed determined to carry it on with vigour; and as the laws then stood, they must have succeeded in their design, had not an application been made to King George the Second, who received, from some gentlemen of rank and influence, such a just representation of the Doctor's loyal, peaceable, and moderate principles and character, as induced his Majesty to give an express order for putting a stop to the prosecution.

"That candour of mind which Dr. Doddridge exercised towards the members of the established church, was cultivated by him with regard to his dissenting brethren, of different denominations. He was solicitous to be upon friendly terms, as far as possible, with all of them; and by the generality of them he was held in high estimation. If this was not the case without exception, it will not appear surprising to those who reflect upon the diversities of sentiment that are found among the Dissenters. There were a few among them who even went so far as to charge him with insincerity. The accusation they brought against him was, that he used some particular phrases in his writings, in a sense different from that in which he himself understood them, in order to please a party. A friend having acquainted him with this charge, he answered as follows: "My conscience doth not tell me that I am at all to blame on the head you mention. I write for the public (as I would also do in

every private correspondence) as in the presence of God, and in the views of his judgment. I would not purchase that phantom, popularity, which is often owing to the very worst part of a man's character or performances, by any compliances beneath the dignity of a Christian minister: an office, of which I think so highly, as to be deeply sensible how unworthy I am to bear it. On the other hand, I do indeed desire to give as little offence as I honestly can; and I have high authorities for it: and though I am, and always declare that I am, in my judgment, greatly against the imposition of human phrases, yet, as some can hardly be avoided on the one hand or the other, I choose to adopt and use some that are ambiguous, in what I take to be a fair sense, though not the only sense they might bear; and by declaring it, to endeavour to fix a good idea to them, rather than absolutely to declare against, or even totally to disuse them. Others, wider by far in their sentiments than I, are indulged in this, and even applauded for it: I have the misfortune (I cannot use the word more properly) to be condemned." Whilst I have a full conviction of Dr. Doddridge's sincerity in this matter, I cannot agree with him in opinion. Offensive expressions may justly be avoided; but surely, ambiguous ones should never designedly be adopted. The language we use, in delivering our views of things, ought to be natural, clear, and capable only of one signification.

"The charge I have mentioned against Dr. Doddridge with regard to his writings, has been extended to his preaching. By some of his enemies it was asserted, that he was a trimmer in the pulpit. The fact, I am satisfied, was precisely as follows.

lows. When he preached in different places, he so far accommodated himself to the dispositions of the people before whom he discoursed, as to avoid giving offence. If a congregation consisted of persons who were of free sentiments in religion, his sermon was entirely of a practical nature. On the other hand, in preaching before a Calvinistical society, it was customary with him to choose what was called an evangelical subject. In neither case did he deliver any thing that was contrary to his sincere opinion. His accusers did not sufficiently recollect that he was far more devoted to what were deemed the orthodox doctrines than they were ready to imagine; and he had an undoubted right to be believed, when he declared, as he has done in the letter before cited, "On the whole, I know assuredly, that I have not on any occasion belied the real sentiments of my heart." The persons who were most disposed to find fault with Dr. Doddridge, with respect to the point in question, were those who are entitled the rational Dissenters. They could not easily persuade themselves that a man of such abilities, and general liberality of mind, could entertain very different opinions from their own; and they wished to have him rank more explicitly among them. It cannot be denied, that in one or two instances they had some reason to complain of his timidity: but, at the same time, there were many occasions on which he behaved with a very becoming fortitude. Once, I remember, some narrow-minded people of his congregation gave him no small trouble on account of a gentleman, in communion with the church, who was a professed Arian, and who other-

wise departed from the common standard of orthodoxy. This gentleman they wished either to be excluded from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, or to have his attendance upon it prevented. But the Doctor declared, that he would sacrifice his place, and even his life, rather than fix any such mark of discouragement upon one, who, whatever his doctrinal sentiments were, appeared to be a real Christian. When our author happened to be in company with persons of rank and fortune, he never suffered the least tendency to profaneness or licentiousness to pass unnoticed; but manifested his dislike to them, with the freedom of the divine, accompanied with the politeness of the gentleman. A correspondent having charged him with unsoundness in one of his publications, his only answer was, *Quod scripsi, scripsi*; "What I have written, I have written."

"How sincerely Dr. Doddridge detested the want of integrity in character, was displayed in the following fact. One of his pupils was in the habit of making a jest of what is called orthodoxy, and of ridiculing those who adhered to it: and this he continued to do, up to the time in which he began to preach. Then, to the no small surprise of his intimate acquaintance, it was rumoured, that in the congregations where he had officiated in the neighbourhood of Northampton, he had appeared highly Calvinistical, and indeed much more so than almost any other of his fellow-students. For obvious reasons he declined ever preaching at Northampton. At length, the affair was brought before the Doctor; and both parts of the charge having been proved by decisive evidence, the young man

man was dismissed. Being a person of some fortune, he was not involved by his disgrace in any pecuniary difficulties.

"With that impartiality which is the duty of every biographer, I have mentioned, in the course of my narrative, the instances wherein it appeared to me that the character of Dr. Doddridge was shaded with some degree of imperfection. The same impartiality obliges me to add, that, at times, he had too ostentatious a manner of speaking concerning the multiplicity of his employments, engagements, and correspondences; and that he was fonder of applause, from every quarter, than was desirable in one who was so justly entitled to it, where applause was an honour. I have often thought that in certain points he had a resemblance of Cicero. He resembled him in the love of fame, and in not possessing what may be called the sternness of fortitude. He resembled him likewise in more estimable qualities; in the copiousness, diffusion, and pathos of his eloquence; and in the sensibilities and tenderness of his mind, especially as displayed in the loss of a daughter.

"When all Dr. Doddridge's imperfections are collected together, they will be found to have been very trifling in comparison with his excellencies. One or two more of his virtues I shall touch upon before I conclude. Few have exceeded him in the exercise of humility, both with relation to God and man. With respect to God, it was apparent in the deepest expressions of concern for the defects of his improvements and his services; and with regard to man, it was manifested in his condescension to the meanest persons, in his behaviour to his pupils, and in the

patience with which he submitted to the words of reproof. He was even highly thankful to his friends for pointing out to him what they judged to be amiss in his conduct. The language of humility that was used by him, though undoubtedly sincere, was sometimes carried to an excess. In a letter to Dr. Wood of Norwich, he thus expresses himself: "Pity me, and pray for me, as you do, in the midst of so many hurries. Oh, my poor, poor attempts of service! They shame me continually. My prayers, my sermons, my lectures, my books (in hand), my letters, all daily shame me." Nothing can vindicate such humiliating terms from the charge of affectation but the remembrance that the letter was written under a peculiar depression of spirits, united with that strong sense which Dr. Doddridge always entertained of the ardour, zeal, and diligence, with which the duties of life ought to be performed.

"Among the Doctor's other excellencies, I might insist upon the resignation, serenity, and cheerfulness, with which he submitted to the distresses of the present state. One of his afflictions, and it was an affliction that called for the exercise of his meekness and patience, was the unkind treatment which he sometimes met with from those who owed him a far different kind of behaviour. Few men less deserved to be evil spoken of; but to pass through the world without reproach is not the lot of the purest virtue. Some of his pupils were angry with him, and set themselves to misrepresent his character, because he would not recommend them to places they wished for, but for which he conscientiously judged them to be unqualified. His kind behaviour to them in other respects

did

MEMOIRS of the LIFE and WRITINGS of JOHN WHITEHURST. [45]

did not compensate, in their estimation, for the wound he had given to their self-opinion. This is a difficulty which has been experienced by others, who, from their situations among the Dissenters, are supposed to have any influence in recommending to vacant congregations. Dr. Doddridge was even aspersed in the case of a guardianship, where he had acted with the utmost probity, friendship, and benevolence. Whatever was the ill usage to which he was exposed, he sustained it with mildness, and was always ready to manifest a forgiving temper. Nothing could be farther from his character than a resentful disposition.

“Upon the whole, Dr. Doddridge was not only a great man, but one of the most excellent and useful Christians, and Christian ministers, that ever existed. The impression of his numerous and amiable virtues will not be effaced from my mind so long as it retains any sense of feeling or reflection. So far will be the impression from being lost upon me, that I shall always cherish it with the utmost ardour; and I esteem it as no small felicity of my life, that I have been preserved to give this testimony of duty, gratitude, and affection, to the memory of my benefactor, my tutor, my friend, and my father.”

MEMOIRS of the LIFE and WRITINGS of JOHN WHITEHURST, F.R.S.

[Prefixed by Dr. HUTTON to the Works of that Philosopher.]

“JOHN Whitehurst, whose philosophical and mechanical researches have met with such universal attention, was born at Congleton in Cheshire, April 10, 1713: his father was John Whitehurst, clock and watch-maker, in that town.

“Of the early part of his life little is known; he who dies at a very advanced age, leaving few behind him to communicate anecdotes of his youth. On his quitting school, where the education he received was certainly very defective, he was bred up by his father to his own profession, in which, as in other mechanical and scientific pursuits, he soon gave intimations of future eminence.

“It was very early in life, as he himself tells us, that from his vicinity to the many stupendous phenomena in Derbyshire, which

were constantly presented to his observation, his attention was excited to inquire into the various causes of them. His father, who was a man of an inquisitive turn, encouraged him in every thing that tended to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge, and occasionally accompanied him in his subterraneous researches.

“At about the age of twenty-one, his eagerness after new ideas carried him to Dublin, having heard of an ingenious piece of mechanism in that city, consisting of a clock with certain curious appendages, which he was extremely desirous of seeing, and no less so of conversing with the maker. On his arrival, however, he could neither procure a sight of the former, nor draw the least hint from the latter concerning it. Thus disappointed, he thought of an expedient

dient for the accomplishing of his design: and accordingly took up his residence in the house of the mechanic, paying the more liberally for his board, as he had hopes from thence of more readily obtaining the indulgence wished for. He was accommodated with a room directly over that in which the favourite piece was kept carefully locked. Nor had he long to wait for his gratification. For the artist, being one day employed in examining his machine, was suddenly called down stairs; which the young inquirer happening to overhear, softly slipped into the room, inspected the machine, and, presently satisfying himself as to the secret, escaped undiscovered to his own apartment. His end thus compassed, he shortly after bid the artist farewell, and returned to his father in England.

"About two or three years after his return from Ireland, he left Congleton, and entered into business for himself at Derby, where he made the clock at the town-hall, in order to his being enrolled a burgess, which took place on Sept. 5, 1737. The clock and chimes in the beautiful tower of All Saints church were also executed by him. But his great reputation as a clock and watch-maker has been long so universally established, that the mention of it is superfluous.

"On Jan. 9, 1745, he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Gretton, rector of Trusley, and Daubery, in Derbyshire; a woman ever mentioned with pleasure by those who knew her best, as among the first of female characters. Her talents and education were very respectable; which enabled her to be useful in correcting some parts of his writings. He had only one child by her, and that died in the birth.

"Being appointed Stamper of the Money-weights, when the act passed in 1775, for the regulation of the gold coin (an office conferred upon him, altogether unexpectedly, through the recommendation of the duke of Newcastle) he removed to London. While resident in the country, always strictly attentive to his own immediate and very extensive business, he had been consulted in almost all the undertakings in Derbyshire, and in the neighbouring counties, where the aid of superior skill in mechanics, pneumatics, and hydraulics, was requisite; but, on his settling in town, his house became the resort of the ingenious and scientific at large, of whatever nation, or rank; and this to such a degree, as very often to impede him in the regular prosecution of his own speculations.

"In 1778, he published his "Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth;" of which a second edition appeared in 1786, considerably enlarged and improved; and a third in 1792. It was the labour of many years; and the numerous investigations necessary to the completing of it, were in themselves of so untoward a sort, as at times, though he was naturally of a strong constitution, not a little to prejudice his health. When he first entered upon this species of research, "it was not altogether with a view to investigate the formation of the earth, but in part to obtain such a competent knowledge of subterraneous geography, as might become subservient to the purposes of human life, by leading mankind to the discovery of many valuable substances which lie concealed in the lower regions of the earth." This work has been now for a considerable time in the hands of the public,

lic, whose very favourable attention it has engaged; and it will in all likelihood remain a lasting monument of his genius and industry.

"He was elected and admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society, May 13, 1779. He was also a member of some other philosophical societies, which admitted him of their respective bodies without his previous knowledge; but so remote was he from every thing that might favour of ostentation, that this circumstance was known only to a very few of his most confidential friends. He of course used no other addition than that of F. R. S. an addition which he judged sufficiently honourable. Before he was admitted a member, three several papers of his had been inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, viz. Thermometrical Observations at Derby, vol. 57, n^o. 28; An Account of a Machine for raising Water, at Oulton in Cheshire, vol. 65, n^o. 24; and Experiments on Ignited Substances, vol. 66, n^o. 38.

"In the summer of 1783, he made a second visit to Ireland, with a view to examine the Giant's Causeway and other northern parts of that island, which he found to be almost entirely composed of volcanic matter: an account and representations of which are inserted in the latter editions of his Inquiry. During this excursion, he erected an engine, for raising water from a well to the summit of a hill, in a bleaching ground, at Tullidoi, in the county of Tyrone: it is worked by a current of water, and for its utility, perhaps, unequalled in any country.

"In 1787, he published "An Attempt toward obtaining invariable Measures of Length, Capacity, and Weight, from the Menfu-

ration of Time." His plan is, to obtain a measure of the greatest length that conveniency will permit, from two pendulums whose vibrations are in the ratio of 2 to 1, and whose lengths coincide with the English standard in whole numbers nearly. The numbers which he has chosen, shew great ingenuity. On a supposition that the length of a seconds pendulum, in the latitude of London, is 39.2 inches, the length of one vibrating 42 times in a minute, must be 80 inches; and of another vibrating 84 times in a minute, must be 20 inches; and their difference 60 inches, or five feet, is his standard measure. By the experiments, however, the difference of the length of the two pendulum rods was found to be 59.892 inches, instead of 60, owing to the error in the assumed length of the seconds pendulum, 39.2 inches being greater than the truth.

"The apparatus, by which the difference of the pendulums was determined, is of curious construction, and is fully explained in the ingenious work itself. But we must here observe one very curious circumstance relative to the pendulum. It consists of a spherical leaden ball, two inches in diameter, weighing 25 ounces, 10 pennyweights, 11 grains troy, suspended by a flat, tempered, steel wire, 80 inches of which weigh only three grains. The extreme fineness of this wire almost passes credibility. Its length and breadth are not given; but, by calculation, 80 inches in length weighing three grains, and the specific gravity of tempered steel being 7.704, its thickness, was it a square rod, would be only the 228th part of an inch. It nevertheless supports above two pounds of lead; which

is a surprising instance of the attraction of cohesion. The construction of the whole of this apparatus cost upward of twenty pounds. After his death it went into the possession of Dr. George Fordyce.

“The experiments seem to have been made with the utmost care and accuracy. In a word, while the mechanic admires the author’s ingenuity in contriving the apparatus, the philosopher will approve his judgment in successfully applying it. He has fully accomplished his design, and shewn how an invariable standard may, at all times, be found. He has also ascertained a fact, as accurately as human powers seem capable of ascertaining it, of great consequence in natural philosophy. The difference of the length of the rods of two pendulums whose vibrations are known, is a *datum* whence the true lengths of pendulums, the spaces through which heavy bodies fall in a given time, and many other particulars relative to the doctrine of gravitation, the figure of the earth, &c. &c. may be obtained. See the Appendix, by the editor, at the end of the treatise. The work concludes with several directions, shewing how the measure of length may be applied to determine the measures of capacity and weight; and with some tables of the comparative weights and measures of different nations; the uses of which, in philosophical and mercantile affairs, are self-evident.

“Though Mr. Whitehurst for several years felt himself gradually declining, yet his ever active mind remitted not of its accustomed exertions. Even in his last illness, before being confined entirely to his chamber, he was proceeding at intervals to complete a Treatise on Chimnies, Ventilation, and the

construction of Garden-stoves, announced to the public in 1782; and containing, I. Some account of the properties of the air, and the laws of fluids. II. Their application and use in a variety of cases relative to the construction of chimnies, and the removal of such defects as occasion old chimnies to smoke. III. Modes of ventilating elegant rooms, without any visible appearance or deformity; calculated for the preservation of pictures, prints, furniture, and fine cielings, from the pernicious effects of stagnant air, the smoke of candles, &c. IV. Methods of ventilating counting-houses and work-shops, wherein many people, candles, or lamps, are employed: likewise hospitals, jails, stables, &c. V. A philosophical inquiry into the construction of garden-stoves, employed in the culture of exotic plants. VI. A description of some other devices tending to promote the health and comfort of human life.—The manuscripts and drawings, since his death, have been in the hands of several of his friends, but not one of the articles is found sufficiently perfect for publication; and it is supposed, that in burning several papers during his last illness, he inadvertently destroyed part of the fair transcripts instead of the rough copies.

“He was at times subject to slight attacks of the gout, and in November 1787, he had a regular fit. On the 5th of December following, after incautiously exposing himself to cold, he had a sudden attack of the same disease in his stomach. This complaint presently became serious, and more especially so, as it was accompanied with an obstinate constipation of the bowels. Aphthous ulcerations afterward succeeded, extending apparently through

through the whole alimentary canal. His illness was long and painful. He was attended throughout by Dr. David Pitcairn, Dr. Austin, Dr. Willan, and Mr. Champney, whose endeavours, at length, procured some alleviation of the symptoms. About the middle of January, he was removed to a friend's house at Chelsea, for the benefit of the air: at which time it was proposed, that he should take a journey to Bath, if his strength could be sufficiently restored to bear the fatigue of travelling. After a week's stay at Chelsea, not finding the advantage which was expected, and being alarmed with some return of his complaints, he was anxious to be removed back to his own house. After his return thither his strength began to fail more rapidly, by a strong febrile paroxysm which now commenced, and recurred constantly every night. He was by this time become extremely emaciated. He was sensible himself of approaching dissolution: he met it with perfect resignation; and, on Monday, February 18, 1788, in the 75th year of his age, terminated his laborious and useful life. His death, which happened at his house in Bolt-court, Fleet-street (the very house in which another celebrated self-taught philosopher, Mr. James Ferguson, had recently lived and died) was lamented not only by his numerous friends, but by every lover of science and virtue. He was buried the Monday following in St. Andrew's burying-ground in Gray's-Inn-lane, where Mrs. Whitehurst had been interred in November 1784. He left two younger brothers; James, a clock and watch-maker at Congleton, and George, who lived at Repton in Derbyshire. To his nephew and executor John, son of the

1792.

above James, and who succeeded him in the business at Derby, he bequeathed the greatest part of his property, and a small estate at Congleton, which had been in the family ever since the Conquest.

"How respectable soever Mr. Whitehurst may have been in mechanics, and those other parts of natural science which he more immediately cultivated, he was of far higher account with his acquaintance and friends on the score of his moral qualities.

"To say nothing of the uprightness and punctuality of his dealings in all transactions relative to business, few men have been known to possess more benevolent affections than he, or, being possessed of such, to direct them more judiciously to their proper ends. He was a philanthropist in the truest sense of that word. Every thing tending to the good of his kind, he was on all occasions, and particularly in cases of distress, zealous to forward, considering nothing foreign to him as a man that relates to man. Though well known to many of the great, to whose good graces flattery has been found in general the readiest path, it is to be recorded to his honour, that he never once stooped to that degrading mode of obtaining favour, which he regarded as the lowest vice of the lowest mind. He had indeed a settled abhorrence, not of flattery only, but of every other deviation from truth, at whose shrine he may be said to have been a constant worshipper. The truth of these things he was daily more or less employed in investigating, and truth of action he exemplified in the whole tenor of a long, laborious, and singularly useful life.

"As to his person, he was somewhat above the middle stature, rather

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ther thin than otherwise, and of a countenance expressive at once of penetration and mildness. His fine gray locks, unpolluted by art, gave a venerable air to his whole appearance. In dress he was plain, in diet temperate, in his general intercourse with mankind, easy and obliging. In company he was cheerful or grave alike, according to the dictates of the occasion; with now and then a peculiar species of humour about him, delivered with such gravity of manner and utterance, that those who knew him but slightly were apt to understand him as serious, when he was merely playful. Where any desire of information on subjects in which he was conversant, was expressed, he omitted no opportunity of imparting it. But he never affected, after the manner of some, to know what he did not know; nor, such was his modesty, made he any the least display of what he did know. Considering all useful learning to lie in a narrow compass, and having little relish for the ornamental, he was not greatly given to reading; but from his youth up he observed much, and reflected much; his apprehension was quick, and his judgment clear and discriminating.

Unbiaffed from education by any early adopted systems, he had immediate recourse to Nature herself; he attentively studied her, and, by a patience and assiduity indefatigable, attained to a consequence in science not rashly to be hoped for, without regular initiation, by minds of less native energy than his own. He had many friends, and from the great purity and simplicity of his manners, few or no enemies; unless it were allowable to call those enemies, who, without detracting from his merit openly, might yet, from a jealousy of his superior knowledge, be disposed to lessen it in private.

"In short, while the virtues of this excellent man are worthy of being held up as a pattern of imitation to mankind in general; those in particular, who pride themselves in their learning and science, may see confirmed in him, what among other observations they may have overlooked in an old author, that lowly meekness, joined to great endowments, shall compass many fair respects, and, instead of aversion or scorn, be ever waited on with love and veneration."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Of the DOMESTIC LIFE, and of the DRESS and FASHIONS of the ARABIANS.

[From the Second Volume of NIEBUHR'S TRAVELS through ARABIA, &c.]

ARABIA affords no elegant or splendid apartments for the admiration of the traveller. The houses are built of stone, and have always terrace roofs. Those occupied by the lower people are small huts, having a round roof, and covered with a certain herb. The huts of the Arabs on the banks of the Euphrates are formed of branches of the date-tree, and have a round roof covered with rush mats. The tents of the Bedouins are like those of the Kurdes and Turcomans. They have the aspect of a tattered hut. I have formerly remarked, that they are formed of coarse stuffs prepared by the women.

"The palaces and houses of Arabians of rank display no exterior magnificence. Ornaments are not to be expected in the apartments of men who are strangers to all luxury, except what consists in the number and the value of the horses, servants, and arms which they keep. The poor spread their floors with straw mats, and the rich with fine carpets. No person even enters a room, without having first put off his shoes. A Frenchman boasts of having maintained the honour of his nation, by wearing his shoes in the governor of Mecca's hall of

audience. It is just such another boast, as if an Arabian envoy should vaunt of trampling on the chairs of an European lord.

"The men of every family always occupy the fore part of the house, and the women the back part. If the apartments of the men are plain, those of the women are, on the contrary, most studiously set off with decorations. Of this I saw a specimen in a haram, which was nearly finished for a man of rank. One room in it was wholly covered over with mirrors; the roof, the walls, the doors, the pillars, presented all so many looking-glasses. The floor was to be set with sofas, and spread with carpets.

"Arabians, in circumstances which admit not of their having separate apartments for the females of the family, are careful, whenever they carry a stranger into the house, to enter before him, and cry, *Tarick*, retire. Upon this notice, given by the master of the house, the women instantly disappear, and even his very best friends see not one of them. A man must, indeed, deny himself this sight; for it is reckoned highly impolite to salute a woman, or even to look her stedfastly in the face. To avoid receiving strangers in their

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houses, shopkeepers and artisans expose their wares, and follow their respective trades, in the open streets.

"The retired life of the women disposes them to behave respectfully to the other sex. I met a Bedouin lady, who, purely out of respect, left the road, and turned her back upon me; and I saw her do the same to other men. I several times have seen women kiss the hands of a man of distinction, or kneel to kiss his feet.

"The great often have in their halls basins with *jets d'eau*, to cool the air. I have mentioned that which we saw in the Imam of Sana's hall of audience. The edges of the basin were coated with marble, and the rest of the floor was covered with rich carpets.

"As the people of the East wish to keep their floors very clean, they spit very little, although they smoke a great deal. Yet to spit is not reckoned a piece of impoliteness. I have seen some persons of rank use a spitting-box, and others spit on the bottom of the wall, behind the cushions on which they sat.

"As the floors are spread with carpets, and cushions are laid round the walls, one cannot sit down, without inconvenience, on the ground: and the use of chairs is unknown in the East. The Arabians practise several different modes of sitting. When they wish to be very much at their ease, they cross their legs under the body. I found indeed, by experience, that this mode of sitting is the most commodious for people who wear long clothes, and wide breeches, without any confining ligatures. It seems to afford better rest, after fatigue, than our posture of sitting upon chairs. In presence of superiors, an Arab sits with his two knees touching each other, and

with the weight of the body resting upon the heels. As in this position a person occupies less room than in the other, this is the posture in which they usually place themselves at table. I often tried it, but found it extremely uneasy, and could never accustom myself to it. In many parts of Arabia, there are long low chairs, made of straw mats; but they sit cross-legged on them, as well as on the carpets.

"The life which the Arabians lead in their houses, is so vacant and unvaried, that they cannot help feeling it irksome. Their natural vivacity prompts them to seek amusements out of doors. They frequent coffee-houses and markets, and are fond of assembling in public meetings as often as possible. Yet they have not the same means of diversion as other nations. What I have formerly said concerning the amusements of the inhabitants of the East, respects the Arabians only in part. They are often obliged to take up with sedentary and domestic amusements, which to Europeans appear very insipid.

"It is, no doubt, to divert the tedium of a sedentary life, that the people of the East make so much use of tobacco. The Arabians, notwithstanding the natural dryness of their constitution, and the warmth of their climate, smoke still more than the inhabitants of the northern provinces of Asia. They use the long Persian pipe, which I have already described. A custom peculiar to Arabia, is, that persons of opulence and fashion carry always about them a box filled with odoriferous wood. They put a bit of this wood into any person's pipe, to whom they wish to express particular respect; and it communicates to the tobacco a fragrant smell, and a very agreeable taste.

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"I never saw the Arabians use opium, like the Turks and the Persians. Instead of taking this gratification, they constantly chew kaad. This is the buds of a certain tree, which are brought in small boxes from the hills of Yemen. Persons who have good teeth chew these buds just as they come from the tree: for the use of old men it is first brayed in a mortar. It seems to be from fashion merely that these buds are chewed; for they have a disagreeable taste; nor could we accustom ourselves to them. I found likewise that kaad has a parching effect upon the constitution, and is unfavourable to sleep.

"The lower people are fond of raising their spirits to a state of intoxication. As they have no strong drink, they, for this purpose, smoke *haschisch*, which is the dried leaves of a sort of hemp. This smoke exalts their courage, and throws them into a state in which delightful visions dance before the imagination. One of our Arabian servants, after smoking *haschisch*, met with four soldiers in the street, and attacked the whole party. One of the soldiers gave him a sound beating, and brought him home to us. Notwithstanding his mishap, he would not make himself easy, but still imagined, such was the effect of his intoxication, that he was a match for any four men."

Of the Food of the Arabians, and their Manner of eating.

"As the people of the East squat themselves upon the ground when they sit, so their manner of eating at meals is conformable to this way of sitting. They spread a large cloth in the middle of the room, put upon this cloth a small table

only one foot high, and upon the table a large round plate of tinned copper. Upon this are set different copper dishes, neatly tinned within and without. Instead of table napkins, Arabians of rank use a long linen cloth, which those at table put under their knees. Where this linen cloth is wanting, every one uses a small handkerchief of his own. They use no knives nor forks. The Turks have sometimes wooden or horn spoons; but the Arabians use their fingers with great dexterity, and eat all dishes with the hand.

"Were we to judge them by the standard of our own manners, the people of the East behave very indecently at an European table. I could not help being much struck by the behaviour of the first Turk I saw eat, who was the comptroller of the customs of the Dardanelles, in company with whom I happened to sup at the French Consul's table. That Turk tore his meat in pieces with his fingers, and wiped them with his napkin. My surprise at this mode of eating ceased when I became more familiar with the manners of those people. They know not the use of table napkins, and suppose them to be handkerchiefs, with which they are to wipe themselves. They are much at a loss when a piece of meat is to be cut; for they think it indecent to make use of the left hand in cutting it, as with it they perform their ablutions. They manage better when the meats are, after their own fashion, cut into small bits, before being set down on the table. We Europeans were at first shocked to see so many hands in the dish together. But, as the Mahometans are obliged, by the laws of their religion, to pay the utmost attention to personal cleanliness, and are habituated to it,

there is in reality little difference, in point of delicacy, between their mode of eating and ours.

"The more eminent Schiechs in the desert eat of nothing but *pilau*, or boiled rice. It is served up in a very large wooden plate. The company sit down and eat, one after another, till the whole contents of the plate be exhausted, or they are satisfied. In the houses of persons of distinction in the towns, several of these plates are set, one upon another, in a pyramidal form. When the masters rise, the servants sit down at the same table, and eat up what remains.

"The meal was served up in a different style at *Merdin*, where I dined with fifteen of the *wairwode's* officers. A servant stood in the middle of the company, to set down and remove the dishes which were brought in by the other servants. Hardly was a plate set down upon the table, when sixteen hands were thrust into it, all at once, and soon emptied it of its contents, especially when this was pastry, which the inhabitants of the East, whose drink is water, are passionately fond of. They eat with amazing quickness in the East. At *Merdin* we emptied more than fourteen plates within less than twenty minutes.

"The Mussulmans in general, and particularly the Arabs, repeat always a short prayer before sitting down to a meal, "In the name of the most merciful God." When any one has done eating, he rises, without waiting for the rest, and says, "God be praised." They drink little while they eat; but, as they rise from the table, after washing, they drink some cold water, and a cup of coffee.

"The Arabians, in the eastern part of this country, are not less fond than the Turks of coffee,

which they also call *kahwe*. They prepare it in the manner which we have adopted from them. The only difference between their mode of preparing it and ours, is, that they, instead of grinding their coffee-beans, pound them in a mortar. We carried a coffee-mill with us into Arabia, but soon found the taste of the pounded coffee much superior to that of the ground, and left off using our mill. The pounding seems better to express the oily parts of the bean, which give the coffee its peculiar relish. The people of the East always drink their coffee without either milk or sugar.

"It is odd enough that, in Yemen, the proper country of which the coffee plant is a native, there should be so little coffee drunk. It is there called *bunn*, and is supposed to have heating effects upon the blood. The favourite drink of the Arabians of this province is prepared from the husks of coffee-beans, slightly roasted, and pounded. It is called *kahwe*, or more commonly *kischer*. It tastes like tea, and is thought refreshing. People of distinction drink it out of porcelain cups, and the lower sort, out of cups of coarse earthen ware.

"Although the Mussulmans are forbidden the use of all intoxicating liquors, yet many of them are passionately fond of these, and drink them privately, and at night, in their own houses. Our physician saw, in the house of a rich merchant at *Loheya*, all the necessary instruments for distilling brandy. On the frontiers of Arabia, where there are Christians, both wine and spirituous liquors are to be found; but in Arabia, none of these are to be obtained, except from the Jews of *Sana*, who have great plenty, and that of excellent quality. They supply their countrymen; but

but having no casks, they are obliged to carry their wine and brandy in copper vessels, which renders the use of them dangerous to the health. The English, too, sometimes bring *arrack* from India to Mokha.

"At Loheya, we bought a sort of wine, prepared from an infusion of dry grapes in water, in a pot which is buried in the ground, to make the liquor ferment. We had also offered to us a thick, white liquor, called *busa*, which is prepared from meal mixed with water, and brought into a state of fermentation. It is used at Basra, and is still more common in Armenia, where the inhabitants keep it in large earthen pots, half buried in the ground, and draw it out for use by the insertion of reeds. A proof of the permanency of national customs is, that Xenophon found this same liquor used in Armenia, and preserved in this very manner.

"The Arabians are, in general, a sober, frugal nation, which is probably the cause of their leanness, and seemingly stunted growth. Their usual articles of food are rice, pulse, milk, butter, and *keimak*, or whipped cream. They are not without animal food; but they seldom eat of it; for it is thought very unwholesome in these hot countries. Mutton is the most common species of animal food used here; and on it the Arabians of the Desert chiefly live. As the castration of animals, though not forbidden by the Mussulman law, is little practised here, wedder-mutton is never used by the Arabians.

"The common people in Arabia have little other food, but bad bread made of *durra*, a sort of coarse millet, by kneading it with camel's milk, oil, butter, or grease. I could not eat of this bread at first,

and would have preferred to it the worst bread I had ever eaten in Europe; but the people of the country, being accustomed to it, prefer it to barley bread, which they think too light.

"The modes of baking bread are different in different places of Arabia. In the ship in which we sailed from Jidda to Loheya, there was a sailor, whose task every afternoon was to prepare *durra* for next day's bread. He broke and bruised the grain between two stones, one of which was convex, the other concave. Of the meal thus prepared, he formed dough, and then divided it into small cakes. In the meantime, the oven was heated; but it was simply an earthen pot glazed; and a fire of charcoal was kindled up within it. When the oven was sufficiently heated, the cakes were laid against the sides of the pot, without removing the coals, and in a few moments the bread was taken up half-roasted, and was eaten hot.

"The Arabians of the Desert use a heated plate of iron, or a gridiron, in preparing their cakes. When they have no gridiron, they roll their dough into balls, and put it either among live coals, or into a fire of camels dung, where they cover it till it is penetrated by the heat. They then remove the ashes, and eat the bread, while it is scarcely dry, and still hot. In the towns, the Arabians have ovens like ours; their bread is of barley-meal, and of the form and thickness of our pancakes; but they never give it enough of the fire.

"It is singular that the Arabs, who are no strangers to the invention of mills, should still continue the old and troublesome practice of bruising their grain with stones, without machinery. But I suspect

that they find bread made of meal prepared in this way to taste more agreeably than that which is made of meal that has been ground in a mill. The negroes, of certain countries in Africa, are said to prefer the mode of bruising their maize upon a stone, even after they have lived long among Europeans."

Of the Dress and Fashions of the Arabians.

"When speaking of the dress of the inhabitants of the East in general, I communicated some idea of the dresses used by the Arabians. I described the dress of people of distinction in Yemen, when I had occasion to mention the dress of ceremony with which I was favoured by the Imam of Sana. But there is a great variety in the national dresses of the Arabians, and various fashions prevail among them, which I must not leave unnoticed.

"Nothing can be more inconvenient or expensive than the head-dresses worn by Arabians of fashion. They wear fifteen caps, one over another, some of which are indeed of linen, but the rest of thick cloth or cotton. That which covers all the rest is usually richly embroidered with gold, and has always some sentence of the Koran embroidered upon it. Over all these caps they wrap a large piece of muslin, called a *sasch*, ornamented at the ends, which flow loose upon the shoulders, with silk or golden fringes. As it must be very disagreeable, in a hot country, to have the head always loaded in this manner, the Arabians, when in their own houses, or with intimate friends, lay aside this useless weight, all to one or two of the caps. But, before persons whom they are obli-

ged to treat with ceremony or respect, they dare not appear without their turbans. Those who desire to pass for men of learning, discover their pretensions by the bulk of their turbans.

"Arabians of rank wear one piece of dress, which is not in use among the other inhabitants of the East. This is a piece of fine linen upon the shoulder, which seems to have been originally intended to shelter the wearer from the sun and rain, but is now merely ornamental.

"The common class of Arabs wear only two caps, with the *sasch* carelessly bound on the head. Some have drawers and a shirt; but the greater number have only a piece of linen about their loins, a large girdle with the *jamea*, and a piece of cloth upon the shoulders; in other respects they are naked, having neither shoes nor stockings. In the highlands, where the climate is colder, the people wear sheep skins. The scanty clothes which they wear through the day, are also their covering by night; the cloth swaddled about the waist serves for a mattress; and the linen garment worn about the loins is a sheet to cover the Arab while he sleeps. The highlanders, to secure themselves from being infested by insects, sleep in sacks.

"Persons in a middle rank of life wear, instead of shoes, sandals, being merely single soles, or sometimes thin pieces of wood, bound upon the foot with a strap of dressed leather. People of better fortune use slippers, like those worn through the rest of the East; and this is also the dress for the feet worn by the women.

"The ordinary dress of the Arabs is indeed simple enough; but they have also a sort of great coat,

coat, without sleeves, called *abba*, which is simpler still. I was acquainted with a blind taylor at Basra, who earned his bread by making *abbas*; so that they cannot be of a very nice shape, or made of many pieces. In Yemen they are worn only by travellers: but in the province of Lachsa, the *abba* is a piece of dress commonly used by both sexes.

"In several places in Arabia, the men wear no drawers; but these with a large shirt are all the dress used by the lower women. In the Tehama, women of this class wrap a linen cloth about their loins in the manner of drawers. The women of Hedsjas veil their faces, like those of Egypt, with a narrow piece of linen, which leaves both the eyes uncovered. In Yemen, they wear a larger veil, which covers the face so entirely, that the eyes can hardly be discerned. At Sana and Mokha, they cover the face with a gauze veil, which is often embroidered with gold. They wear all rings on their fingers, arms, nose, and ears. They stain their nails red, and their hands and feet of a brownish yellow colour, with the juice of the plant *elhenne*. The circle of the eyes, and even the eye-lashes, they paint black, with a preparation of lead ore called *kochhel*. The men sometimes imitate this mode of painting the eyes with *kochhel*; but persons of sense laugh at so effeminate a practice.

"This mode of staining the skin of a brown colour, is possibly used by the women of the low country, in consequence of the natural fallowness of their complexion. They fancy, that, when the whole body is brown, the peculiar darkness of the countenance will escape observation. I conjecture this much concerning the women, from

the practice of the men; they going almost naked, rub the body all over with *elhenne*, and thus become entirely brown.

"The women of Yemen also make black punctures in their face to improve their beauty. Their natural complexion is a deep yellow; but among the hills, are persons of fair complexions and fine faces, and there even among the peasantry. In the towns, these women, who think themselves handsome, lift up their veils to shew their beauty, whenever they think they can do it unobserved.

"Fashion shews its influence, in a particular manner, in the modes in which the hair and beard are worn in Arabia. In the Imam of Sana's dominions, all men, of whatever station, shave their heads. In other parts of Yemen, all men, even the Schiechs, preserve their hair, wrap it in a handkerchief, and knot it up behind; caps and turbans are not in use there. Some of the highlanders keep their hair long and loose, and bind the head with small cords.

"Every body, without exception, wears the beard of its natural length; but the Arabs keep their mustachios very short. In the highlands of Yemen, where few strangers are ever seen, it is disgraceful to appear without a beard. Our servant wore only his mustachios; and those good highlanders fancied that we had shaven him by way of punishment for some fault.

"The Turks, on the contrary, shave their beards, and keep only their mustachios long. Among this nation, the beard is an ensign of honour and dignity; and therefore the slaves and domestic servants of great men are obliged to keep themselves close shaven. The Persians wear long mustachios, and

and clip their beards in an aukward enough fashion. The *kurdes* shave their beards, but preserve their mustachios, with a list of hair upon each cheek.

"The Arabians have all black beards. Some old men, when their beards are whitened by time, dye them red; but this practice is generally disapproved. The Persians blacken their beards, although naturally black, and continue to do so, till a very advanced age. Turkish gravity could not endure the use of this fashion of ornament. Some young noblemen are indeed beginning to imitate this Persian mode, in order to disguise the whiteness of their beards; for this colour of their hair is more common in Turkey than in the southern regions of Asia. A white beard is thought by the Turks to be very unbecoming for a man of rank.

"When Turks, who have had themselves shaven in their youth, determine upon suffering their beards to grow, they observe the ceremony of pronouncing a *fatha*, which is considered as a vow to preserve their hair untouched by a razor through the rest of life. The Mahometans perhaps fancy, as some travellers have represented, that angels occupy their beards. It is at least certain, that a man who cuts his beard, after having once determined to preserve it long, is severely punished for the breach of his vow. At Basra, he would be condemned to receive three hundred blows with a stick, but might indeed, for a round sum, escape the punishment. An inhabitant of that city, who had, twelve years before I visited it, shaven himself in a drunken fit, fled to India, and durst never return, for fear of the disgrace, and the punish-

ment, which he had merited both by his shaving and his drunkenness.

"The Jews, through all the East, preserve their beards from their youth. They wear the beard not in the same form as the Mussulmans and Christians, shaving none of it about the temples and the ears. To distinguish themselves still more from the rest of mankind, they retain two tufts of hair hanging over their ears. These Jews of Arabia resemble those of Poland; only they have a more decent and less beggarly aspect. They dare not wear the turban, but are obliged to content themselves with a small bonnet. Neither are they suffered to dress in any colour but blue; all their clothes are of blue cloth. They are also forbidden the use of the *jamea*.

"As there are many *banians* settled in Arabia, I shall add a few words respecting their dress. It consists of a turban of a particular form, a piece of linen upon the shoulders, another piece of linen fixed by a string about their loins, and slippers. Some also wear over these pieces of dress a long white robe, which plaits upon the haunches, and sits close upon the body and the arms. These Indians used to dress entirely in white; but they received some years since, an order from Sana, enjoining them to wear red clothes. To obtain a dispensation from this change of dress, they paid a considerable sum to the Imam, and the order was revoked. They were soon after enjoined, by another edict, to wear a red, instead of a white turban: but, not choosing to buy off in this instance, they obeyed, and now wear a red turban, with the rest of their dress white.

CUSTOMS and MANNERS of the MONSELEMINES, Inhabitants of BILIDULGERID.

[From VOYAGES to the Coast of AFRICA, by Messrs. SAUGNIER and BRISSON.]

BILIDULGERID, in the part I have travelled through, is inhabited by a people known by the general name of Monselemines. They differ in their religion and customs from the Moors their neighbours, and from the Mongearts, inhabitants of the Desert. This variation however is hardly perceptible. The parts that confine on Morocco follow the customs of that empire, unless in one singular particular. They that are in the vicinity of the Desert, and do not turn their attention to trade, adhere more closely to the prejudices of their nation.

“ This Arabian tribe, no doubt, derives its origin and name from the sectaries of Moseilama, a cotemporary of the great prophet. They have the same love of liberty as the ancient Arabs, and follow, in all respects, the customs of the people who lived in the remoter ages. Like the Mahometans, they have the greatest respect for the prophet, but they are far from believing that he was infallible; that his descendants are all inspired by God, that their will is a law, and that it is impossible to be a good Mahometan, without giving faith to such ideas.

“ This nation, in the part washed by the Atlantic, occupies a space of land of various qualities, from about twenty leagues from *St Croix de Barbarie* to the distance of about thirty beyond Cape Non. The limits of their possessions are indicated by lofty columns, placed at distant intervals towards the De-

sert. This they have done as they have thought fit, the inhabitants of the Desert never interfering, and even inhabiting, unmolested by any body, the spots where the pillars stand.

“ Some people pretend that these columns were erected by the emperors of Morocco, to mark the bounds of their empire. However it may be, the country is inhabited by an assemblage of true Arabs, descended from the ancient Arabs, and of fugitive Moors from the empire of Morocco.

“ The government is republican. They defend themselves with great courage, choose new chiefs every year, and pass for invincible in the eyes of the Moors, as well on account of the difficulty of penetrating into their country, surrounded as it is on every side by steep and arid mountains, as from their courage, and the obstinate resistance they oppose to the efforts of their enemies.

“ This nation, more civilized than those that inhabit the Desert, is not for ever wandering from region to region; but is settled in towns that are all situated upon the declivity of hills. Their houses are built of stone and earth, and are of a construction similar to those of the Moors; they are low, and covered with terraces that are laid sloping, to carry off the water. The heavy rains that prevail in this country for three months of the year, are greatly prejudicial to this kind of habitations; inasmuch that they are obliged to change their abode every

every fifteen or twenty years. The towns are inhabited by the artisans, and opulent people, as well as by the Jews, who are occupied in a variety of work. The Monselemine have mosques, where they assemble to pray on Fridays. Although that day is consecrated to religious duties, it does not prevent them from working: it is the day of their principal market, when the country people and Arabs of the Desert repair thither to trade. There are public squares for the sale of merchandise, the inhabitants alone having little shops to expose their goods to sale. As to the others, they merely spread them out upon the square. If any disputes arise, the old men judge without appeal, and the suit is immediately terminated.

"More industrious and more laborious than their neighbours, the Monselemine nation cultivates the earth. The chief of each family having chosen the ground that appears to him most proper, they slightly turn up the surface of the earth with a kind of crook, and then throw in the seed. They take care to surround the field with bushes, to indicate the spot that has been cultivated, and to keep off the cattle of the wandering Arabs. The crop is ripe three months after the sowing of the seed, generally at the end of March: they cut their corn at about six inches from the ear, and make it up into little bundles. Every body then goes to work from morning till night without intermission. The corn is brought before the tent, threshed, winnowed, and then laid by. As soon as the harvest is over they set fire to the straw that remains standing, and abandon the field for two or three years.

"Their method of keeping their

corn is exactly similar to that of the inhabitants of Barbary. They make for the purpose a great hole in the earth, in the form of the *frustum* of a cone, and fill it with wood, to which they set fire: this operation over, they clean the cavity, and there deposit the half-winnowed corn: they then take strong planks, lay them close to one another, and cover the whole with earth. By these means, it is rendered impossible to cut off their supplies in time of war, the enemy marching, without knowing it, over heaps of corn.

"The inhabitants of the plains make a stop in seed-time, and return at the moment of the harvest: every one knows the spot he has cultivated, and reaps the crop. When they have done so, they lay by the corn in the manner I have just mentioned, and go wandering about in all directions with their cattle, only taking with them what is absolutely necessary. When they find that their stock is nearly exhausted, several individuals, well armed, set off with their camels, and go to the magazines of the horde to fetch a supply. Every one shares in proportion to the number of men he employed in labouring for the common advantage.

"The laws of hospitality are generally observed among the wandering tribes; and here, as in the Desert, the traveller pays nothing for his entertainment. It is not the same in the towns, where the multitude of strangers that frequent the market, oblige them to exact payment, otherwise the inhabitants would ever be poor, since on the market days, and those of assembly, they would have an infinite number of aliens to support. As to lodgings, the country Arabs always sleep upon the terraces in the open air, the inhabitants permitting none but

but their kinsmen, friends, or chiefs of hordes, to enter their houses. The negro slaves belonging to them, carefully examine the number of persons that ask for victuals, give it them at the door according to their number, adding a sufficient quantity of water to quench their thirst. There is a separate yard for the horses; but unless their masters stay all night, nothing is given them. When they do, three pounds of barley are distributed to each horse at the close of the day, and that is all they get for four and twenty hours. I have dwelt a little upon this article; because when I lived with Hali Laze, to whose house the country people used to come for food, I have seen all this put in practice several times.

"Those who reside in the towns have in general no cattle, but profess some trade, such as weaver, shoemaker, goldsmith, potter, &c. The principal ones, however, do not apply to any of these occupations. They have a great many cows, horses, camels, sheep, goats, and poultry of every kind: their negroes have a great deal of work to do, and are harshly treated. Those who tend the cattle are undoubtedly the most happy; but those who are kept at home for domestic occupations, have much to undergo. They must take care of the repairs of the building, supply the house with wood and water, and prepare the corn. The negresses reduce it to meal, making use for that purpose of stone mills, like those that are used in France to grind pepper and mustard: they also dress the victuals, and are incessantly employed from morning to night. The negro shepherd, on the contrary, knows no care but that of his flock; always finds his repast ready, is well clothed and well

armed; and has a little retreat for himself and his family.

"This country is well peopled, and would be more so, but for the continual wars its inhabitants are obliged to support against the Emperor of Morocco. It is improperly said that this nation is in rebellion against him; for they never were his subjects. When a Moorish army takes the field, the inhabitants of Bilidulgerid, who have many of their countrymen settled in the Morocco dominions, are speedily apprised; hold themselves prepared, and all the inhabitants of the country cantons being well mounted, they compose formidable bodies of cavalry, take possession of the passes, and massacre without mercy any troops that may have the temerity to adventure within them. No prisoners are made on either side. The women and the slaves, escorted by a sufficient number of warriors for their defence, quit their habitations, and retire to the interior parts of the country; sometimes they even retire to the Desert. The liberty these people enjoy, encourages them to support the greatest fatigue. They consider it as the first of all blessings, and fight to the last extremity to preserve their rights. The trade between Barbary and Zaara, of which they have the exclusive possession, renders them opulent, and accordingly they are sure to hold out, and terminate the war to advantage. As this country is the retreat of the rich Moors, who wish to withdraw from the Emperor's tyrannic sway, they have always many among them, who being acquainted with the Moorish customs, enable them by their counsels to guard against all surprise. There is no danger of their being betrayed by these fugitives, who have been plundered and condemned

demned to death in their own country. So far from it, they always fight with obstinacy; and rather choose to die with their arms in their hands, than to let themselves be taken, and executed before the eyes of the whole nation.

"The Monselemine, richer than any of the people that inhabit the provinces subject to the dominion of Morocco, is always well clothed and well armed. He pays no tribute, enjoys the fruit of his labour and of his commerce; and having nothing to contribute to the charges of the state, every thing he can acquire is his own. There is this difference between the fugitive Moors and the natives, that the latter are always armed, whether residing in the country, resorting to the markets, present at the assemblies of the nation, or paying visits: the fugitive Moors, on the contrary, even be they princes, never bear arms but in the country, when they take the field.

"The women are no more slaves than those of Zaara. Those of the towns remain in a kind of seraglio, each man having as many as he can maintain. The most respected are they who bear male children. Although their apartment is distinct from that of the men, admittance to them is not forbidden. They are well clothed, and the husband not being jealous, they may be seen, may walk about the town and visit their friends. When they go out they have a veil, which covers them entirely, but which is useless, nay, even inconvenient, since they take it off, whenever they meet any one to whom they wish to speak. They are more humane than those of Zaara, and are not like them for ever liable to blows. They think it is possible for their husbands to love them, without giving them

such solid proofs of their fondness. Their nails and face they paint with red and yellow, and stain the edges of their eye-lids with black. When they paint only one side of their face, they have no communication with the men; a custom that is common to all these nations, even to those who inhabit the banks of the Niger.

"The children are brought up with the greatest care; but they have not, like those of Zaara, any proofs of courage to give to be considered as men. Age alone, their dexterity in the management of their horses and arms, and their labour in harvest time, suffice. When they marry, a portion is given them, consisting of apparel, arms, and cattle; and they afterwards become whatever their industry or opportunities may permit. Those who have a knowledge of their religion turn priests, marry as well as the rest, and practise all the exercises of their countrymen. They are, however, more respected, and in their old age become the judges of the nation. If they meet with misfortunes they are supported, whereas those who are not of that holy profession, find no resource but in their industry, in the plunder for which they adventure on the territory of their neighbours, the Moors, or in the profit of the caravans.

"The horsemen are more respected than the rest, having no employment but the use of arms, and being for ever in the practice of it, both in peace and war. In the field they behave courageously; in time of peace they exercise themselves in the management of their horses, and in a variety of military evolutions. They also escort the caravans, for which service they receive pay, being obliged to buy and keep

keep their horses themselves. They are easily known; for being almost always on horseback, and wearing no boots, they have a callous lump on that part of the leg that comes in contact with the iron of the stirrup. These people are the most formidable robbers in the world: they rush with unequalled rapidity on those they mean to plunder, and without giving them time to stand on their defence, carry off every thing that comes in their way. Their horses, which they break in an admirable manner, and for the wants of which they are always able to provide, are the best in existence. They are taken the greatest care of, know their master, are obedient to his voice, and will not bear to be backed by any other man.

"The chief, in time of war, is chosen indiscriminately from among the natives, or the fugitive Moors. His authority lasts no longer than the campaign; but during that time it is absolute. When it is expired, he gives an account of his actions to the old men assembled, and is rewarded or punished, according to his success or his conduct. His successor is then appointed, and he serves in the army, undistinguished from the common mass of individuals.

"These people have a chief priest, whom they treat with a respect bordering on admiration. His name is Sidy Mohammed Moussa, and his ordinary residence at about fifteen leagues from Cape Non, near the town called Illeric. Although this man has no troops at his command, he is nevertheless the most powerful of all Africa; his authority is indeed without bounds. If he order war to be made upon the emperor of Morocco, war is proclaimed: if he wish it to cease, the war is at an end.

Though he has no property of his own, every thing is at his disposal. Every family makes him a yearly present, vying with one another in the richness of the gift. He administers justice to every one; submits all accusations to his council, and a few days after, pronounces a definitive sentence. He requires nothing from any body, and yet all are inclined to give. Widely different in his principles and conduct from the emperor of Morocco, he does not pretend to be inspired by the prophet; nor has he the audacity to make his people believe so; he listens on the contrary to the advice of the wise and experienced, and gives judgment in conformity with their opinions. His dominion extends over all the nations of Bilidulgerid and Zaara. The very Moors respect him; and the emperor himself, all-powerful as he is, has never dared to make an attack on this man's authority, nor to send his troops towards the place he inhabits. This ought to convince him that the authority which proceeds from the love of the people, is a thousand times greater than that conferred by terror, or a warlike force.

"The Jews, dispersed in the different parts of the country, live only in the towns, and never cultivate the earth, although much remains unoccupied. They all turn their attention to trade, work in a variety of ways, and are obliged to purchase the necessaries of life. This nation, among the Monselemine, is what the slave is in Barbary. They are made to work according to the pleasure of the Arabs, nor are they even allowed the wretched liberty of complaining. A Jew never carries arms: if he had the misfortune to do so, and should defend himself against

an Arab, he would be punished with death; the vengeance may even extend to his family. The free exercise of their religion is however left them, which, joined to the avarice that descends from one generation to another of this wandering nation, makes them suffer all the indignities that a man of the least feeling would revolt at.

"Different from their neighbours, the Mongearts and the Moors, the Monselemines never endeavour to make profelytes. When they have a Christian slave, they treat him with humanity, let him want for nothing, and put him to no painful task. Money, their darling idol, is the cause of this indulgence. They detest the Christians, but they love money; and fear that the ill-treatment of their slaves might occasion their sickness or death, and thus rob them of the expected ransom: it is to money that the Christians, whose evil star conducts them to that country, owe the little comfort they experience there.

"Among the Mongearts, a Christian who should chaunt the prayer, or suffer circumcision, would have his liberty and the rank of citizen; the family to which he might have belonged, would give him cattle to enable him to live like them. A Christian at Morocco, whose curiosity should carry him within a mosque, would be put to death, or forced to assume the turban. But among the Monselemines he would have nothing to fear; money there takes the lead of religion; they would content themselves with turning him out, without even giving him a blow; but they would make him pay as much as his means might permit.

"Among the Moors, a Christian who should be caught with a wo-

man of the nation, would be forced to turn Mahometan to avoid death; but among the Monselemines the woman alone is punished. She is put into a sack, and thrown into the sea: the Christian has nothing to apprehend; money is his saviour.

"If in a dispute, a Christian slave defend himself against his master, the crime is punished with death among the neighbouring nations; but among the Monselemines it remains unpunished, or is at most repaid with a few stripes. The money expected for his ransom protects him: that is the touchstone that puts every thing to the proof.

"If an Arab kill a Jew, or a man of his own nation, a small fine to the Jew's family saves him; but he is obliged to pay a large sum to that of the Arab. This insatiable thirst of gold is the more inconceivable, as the inhabitants of these countries hardly make any use of it. They hoard it up with care, and often deny themselves the necessaries of life, rather than spend the smallest piece of money: when a father of a family dies, although he has accumulated a great deal during his life, none is ever found among his effects; he has buried it in the earth unknown to every body. He hopes, no doubt, to be the better for it after his death, and to be respected in the other world, according to the quantity of specie he shall have had in his possession. Misers should go to that country; they would there learn means of economy that would shew them, that in comparison with the Arabs, they are perfect prodigals.

"The Mongearts have not near so great a lust for gold or silver: they employ those metals only to make

make trinkets for their women, when they procure any by a shipwreck or the sale of their productions; and will willingly exchange it for gunpowder or other articles useful to their existence, or pleasing to their fancy.

"The country of the Monselemines is very fertile, producing all the necessaries of life, almost without cultivation. The plains are watered by an infinite number of streams that render them fruitful. Palm, date, fig, and almond trees abound. They have also large quantities of oil, wax, and tobacco, which they sell at the public markets, the merchandize of the country being carried to Mogador. Very good grapes are cultivated in the gardens, are dried by the Arabs, and converted into brandy by the Jews.

"This abundance enables the inhabitants to live better than those of Zaara: in the country, however,

their frugality approaches that of the Desert: for as the Arabs of Zaara are often obliged for want of corn to content themselves with milk, so the Monselemines, that they may not make such frequent visits to their magazines, eat only in the evening. In the towns they live well, making two meals a day, one at about ten o'clock, and the other at the setting of the sun, which gives a great deal of occupation to the negresses; for they are almost incessantly employed in grinding the corn, and dressing the victuals. The inhabitants of the small towns also sleep in a more comfortable manner; they spread mats on the floor of their apartments, make use of linen, and rest quietly, without being exposed to the night air.

"Their ways of treating wounds and diseases are precisely the same as those of the inhabitants of the Desert."

Some ACCOUNT of the BUGGESSES, Inhabitants of the Island CELEBES.

[From FORREST'S Voyage from CALCUTTA to the MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO, &c.]

"THE Buggesses in general are a high-spirited people; they will not bear ill usage. They are also great merchants: their prows, called *paduakan* go as far west as Atcheen, Salengore, and Queda, being very numerous, where in 1763 they took many Chulia ships. I never learnt truly how the affair was, but the gentle Indostaner of Porto Novo, where the Chulias of Queda generally fit out, resisted but faintly the bold Buggess. They deserve the character given of Malays in general, by monsieur Poivre, in his travels of a philosopher, "fond

of adventures, emigration, and capable of undertaking the most dangerous enterprizes." The word Buggess has become amongst Europeans consonant to a soldier in the east of India, as sepoy is in the west.

The Dutch, in their quarrels with the Buggesses have always played off one power against another, and have long lost all confidence with the natives in general. They keep what they possess on Celebes chiefly on account of its being the west frontier to the Spice Islands, and seem afraid of extend-

ing their commerce so much as they might, for fear of innovation of sentiment among the natives; or, rather, wish to discourage their commercial exertions, which formerly were very considerable. There are many other entrances to the Spice Islands, besides Salayer Strait (the Buggeroons) where the Dutch generally have cruisers, and the Buggesses often find their way there in spite of their vigilance.

"I have seen, 25 years ago, 15 prows at a time, at Bencoolen, loaded with a mixt cargo of spices, wax, cassia, fandle wood, dollars, and the cloths of Celebes called cambays.

"The Dutch have also the address to make the places held by them on Celebes, not only maintain themselves, but produce a clear profit, from trade and tribute, in gold, wax, rice, sago, slaves, &c. The supreme government of Batavia supplies the different settlements with the cloths of Indostan, at $33\frac{1}{2}$ advance on the prime cost; whatever these cloths sell for more is the profit of their servants; they also sell a great deal of Bengal opium, Porto-novo blue and white cloth, fine Bengal cassiaes and hummums, and much iron, steel, and cutlery, as has been said.

"The inhabitants of Celebes are very industrious, weaving a deal of cotton cloth, generally cambays, which they export to all Malay countries; it is red chequered and mixed with blue; they also make beautiful silk belts, in which they fix their cresces.

"On the coast of Coromandel they make a cloth in imitation of cambays, not so well wove, but of brighter colours, called the *chaw* (a red colour). The Buggesses also often import cotton from the island Bally, both raw and spun into yarn.

At Bally they do not understand packing cotton, as at Bombay, but stuff it into baskets.

"The Buggess cambay, though only one garment, which shrowds from head to heel when the wearer sleeps, is often sold from six to ten Spanish dollars a piece: some are fine as cambric, very strong wove, but dull coloured: being chequered, it much resembles tartan, and is often wore like a sash gathered up on one shoulder over a tight waistcoat, and breeches that reach within a span of the knee. Altogether a Buggess resembles much a Scotch highlander, when the ends of the plaid are sewed together; his arms are, sword, lance, dagger (dunk) and target, sometimes a musquet and bayonet, or blunderbuss, instead of the lance; but then he is attended by a lad, who, himself armed, carries several lances.

"Their exportation to Bencoolen, of cambays, is such that they have been obliged, lately, to lay a heavy duty on that article, as it interfered with our own importations from Indostan, and of cambays and lungys from Bengal. The Buggesses also manufacture, from the inner bark of a small tree, a kind of paper, in which they wrap their fine cambays; they often dye this paper of various colours, and export much of it even to Manilla, and various other places: it resembles the Otaheité clothing.

"They build their *paduakans* (which in general we call prows at Bencoolen) very tight, by dowsling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a cask, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which swells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at Bombay, but do not rabbet (as it is called) the planks, as at Bombay. In Europe we build reversely;

versely; we set up the timbers first, and fit the planks to them afterwards; the largest never exceeds fifty tons; they are bigoted to old models and fixtures in fitting their vessels.

"The paduakans have their bow lowered or cut down in a very awkward manner; a bulk head is raised a good way abaft the stem, to keep off the sea, and the fore part is so low as to be often under water; they are unfit to encounter a gale of wind, not being decked.

"They make fire-arms, but cannot make gun locks; they also cast small brass guns, which they call *rantakka*, and are curious in fillagree work, both in gold and silver: the larger *rantakka* is about 6 feet long, and carries a half pound ball, like marshal Saxe's amulette. They get many *rantakkas* from Borneo Proper, where they are expert in making them.

"At a place called Kyly or Kyela, north of Macassar, and in the Mandar division, there is said to be a spacious harbour; there are also said to be some hills free from wood, and covered with grass, near the harbour, and many sheep are bred there: this is unusual in a Malay country, where trees in general have possession of the soil, and sheep are therefore universally scarce. Goats much more plenty.

"There are two or three harbours on the east coast of Celebes, and two on the north coast, Koandang and Amoran, as I am told; but I never was in any place but Macassar Road, Bontyn, and Bulocombo, where there are no harbours.

"The Malays write their language in the Arabic character from right to left. The Buggesses write their language in a character peculiar to themselves, something like

the Rejang and Batta on Sumatra, as we do from left to right, of which Mr. Marsden has given a specimen. Navarette, who visited Macassar in 1650, says they had a library of European books. I take them to be a very ancient people, but whose history is lost; at least the many Buggesses I have conversed with, seemed all to be of that opinion, and told me many stories of a former great king, called *Rajah Lout*, (king of the sea) who usurped the throne of Goa. He was admiral of his sovereign's sea forces, and succeeded in dethroning his master about 200 years ago. The Buggesses on the sea coast universally speak the Malay tongue, and they have many Malay phrases in their language, even whole sentences.

"They are fond of sea charts; I have given many to certain *Noquedas* (commanders of Prows) for which they were very grateful, and often wrote names of places in their own language, which I read to them on the charts; and they were always very inquisitive about Europe, and Neegree Telinga (Indostan). Their prows have not yet crossed the Bay of Bengal, whatever they may do hereafter, whilst, doubtless, Arabian ships from the gulfs found their way to Celebes, as well as to Camfoo (the city of Arabian traders), which was, perhaps, Canton, long before the passage round the Cape was discovered; and in those days, before Dutch oppression, the Buggesses certainly traded largely to most of the eastern islands in their own manufactures, and held many of them in subjection. The Dutch made peace with the Buggesses in 1667, on condition they should expel all the Portuguese.

"The laws of the inhabitants of
E 2 Celebes

Celebes are administered according to old customs handed down from their ancestors, and retained in the memory of their old men (Oran Tuo), and many are committed to writing in Goa, Warjou, Bony, and Mandar, and considered as the law of the land; in dubious cases they refer to the Koran, if applicable.

" Their religion is Mahometan, with this laudable custom, if a man marries his equal, he takes but one wife; if below him, he may take four. I have been told by several Buggesses, that they sail in their paduakans to the northern parts of New-Holland, possibly Carpentaria Bay, to gather swallow (biche de mer), which they sell to the annual China junk at Macassar; they say also, gold is to be got there. I make no doubt but that our settlements in New-Holland will soon be visited by Buggesses, when the English extend from port Jackson further north into a warm climate.

" When I was at Passir, in the year 1772, on my way to Balam-bangan with John Herbert, esq. we found it a place of great trade, with two fathoms water on the muddy bar of a river which led up to the town forty-five miles; the tide running a good way up above the town, which consisted of about 300 wooden houses on the north side of the river, mostly inhabited by Buggesses, all of them merchants. The sultan, a Malay prince, had his house and wooden fort on the south side, a very little way from the river.

" Whilst the Hon. Company's ship *Britannia* lay about 15 miles off the river's mouth, in six fathoms muddy ground, Mr. Herbert, and most of the gentlemen who came with him from Bencoolen, civil

and military, about twelve or fourteen in number, went up to town. They were received by Buggesses and a few king's guards, who by firing of musketoons, &c. (small arms) as is their custom, though in an irregular way, did our chief what honour they could. We were then lodged by the king's order, in a decent house, on the opposite side of the river to where he lived in his wooden fort. Next day Mr. Herbert and several gentlemen waited on the sultan. On the 5th day after our arrival we were all to dine with the sultan by invitation. The head-man of the Buggesses, whose name was Teroway, and several of his nation, was also invited. We accordingly repaired to the palace on the day appointed about noon, in hopes of meeting the Buggesses, but not one appeared. A long table was spread in the European manner, with china plates, knives and forks, and benches on each side were placed for a great number of expected guests. After waiting a considerable time, and no Buggesses, nor even message from them, appearing, the sultan sat down at the head of the table with several of his courtiers and relations on his left hand, whilst Mr. Herbert and the English gentlemen sat on his right hand. The sultan spoke but little; a very good dinner was provided, and amongst many dishes of fish and fowl, there was some excellent mutton, that, as I was told, came from Kyly, on the opposite coast of Celebes. At dinner, we Christians drank wine which Mr. Herbert had provided: the sultan and Malays drank sherbet, and some of them a very little wine. At six o'clock, after drinking tea and coffee, we took leave, each forming his own conjecture.

" Next day we heard there was a mis-

a misunderstanding between the sultan and the Buggesses about the collection of port duties; the latter insisting on what for many years they had enjoyed, and for which they had always defended the freedom of the port from Dutch influence. At this time we had landed many bales of long cloth white and blue, iron and lead, from the *Britannia*, which Mr. Edward Coles, the appointed resident, was disposing of. Mr. Herbert, however, took the alarm, and went on board the *Britannia*, at the same time sent me to reconnoitre the little Pater-nosters, a group of 13 small islands already mentioned.

"I was about four days gone, and on my return found that three days after Mr. Herbert went on board the *Britannia*, Teroway, a Buggess orancayo, and his men had surrounded the sultan's fort, and forced him to leave Passir, and retire to another river about 100 miles south of it. He was allowed to take with him all his property without the least restraint. I was next day sent on shore by Mr. Herbert to bring off the Company's goods. I found the greatest tranquillity in the place, as if nothing had happened, notwithstanding the recent revolution.

"Teroway behaved with the greatest civility to Mr. Coles and myself, and lamented our intended departure. Mr. Coles, after sending off the Company's goods, embarked on the *Britannia*, by Mr. Herbert's positive order, though much against his own opinion and wishes, as at this very time a number of Buggess prows entered the

river loaded with rich cargoes, and we had purchased a good deal of opium of captain Clements, from Bengal, of which these prows were in great want. Passir, as a factory, would certainly have been very advantageous to the Company, its situation being very central; and, as I was only a spectator in this business, I must own, in my opinion, Mr. Coles was right, and Mr. Herbert was rather impatient and ir-resolute. The revolution being quietly brought about without bloodshed, and there being not the least danger of another, was the moment for us to fix, under the protection of the Buggesses, and without any charge of guard and garrison, quietly trade as in China (paying only a moderate duty of five per cent. but no port duty or measurement whatever, as in China), in a plentiful country of great resort.

"From Passir, the *Britannia* went to Sooloo, where opium is not in great demand, Celebes being its great mart. From Sooloo, the *Britannia* went to Balambangan, the capture of which place by the Sooloos, under a sturdy baron called Dattoo Teting, is related in my voyage to New Guinea, in February 1775.

"I have thought proper to mention the above incident at Passir, as it shews something of the character of the Buggesses. They are by far men of the most honour of any of the Malay cast I ever met with, are really a distinct people, and have something free and dignified in their manner superior to other Malays.

CHARACTER of the MODERN TURKS.

[From the Second Volume of WATKINS'S TRAVELS through SWITZERLAND, ITALY, SICILY, &c.]

"THERE is no people in Europe whose manners are so barbarous as those of the Turks. This is the effect of their religion, which, to preserve itself by the ignorance of its disciples, teaches them that to relinquish the customs of their ancestors is apostacy, and to adopt those of the Christians, sin. The refinement of the Greeks whom they conquered and enslaved was despised; so that they are still as rude and illiterate as in the time of Othman. Their better qualities do not proceed from reason and a sense of moral rectitude; for although they think justice and charity necessary virtues, they confine the exercise of them to themselves, believing (as their histories will inform you) that no treaties with infidels are binding. Their charity indeed to brute animals, or I should rather say the abuse of it, is productive of the greatest nuisance in Constantinople, which swarms with dogs. These animals are not the property of individuals, but nourished by all, and their litters are never destroyed. I remember to have seen a man at Basil in Switzerland, whose only occupation was to feed the cats of the town, a considerable income being left by a charitable old lady for that purpose. Last week, as I stood on a wharf of Tophannah, a Turk came up to an Italian sailor who had a canary bird in a cage for sale, and having considered it attentively, enquired the price. The Italian saw that he intended an act of charity, and in consequence *all-Italiana*, made a most exorbitant

demand. The Mussulman was indignant, and left it; but he had not proceeded far ere he stopped and reflected, turned suddenly about, gave the sailor the money and the bird its liberty. I was not altogether convinced of the utter barbarism of this people until I found they had no music among them. That sweet science, which bears such irresistible dominion over the passions of most men, is to them unknown. They abhor Italian harmony, and have no other instruments than a pipe and great drum, the sounds of which are most discordant and noisy. Painting and statuary are forbidden by their law, and you will suppose how little poetry, or indeed any other literary composition is cultivated, among a nation in which learning is thought of so little consequence, that the Capoudan Pasha can neither read nor write. When I first beheld the Turks sitting at their doors inattentive to every thing but their coffee and pipe, I considered them an indolent people; but soon found that in employment no men could be more active. They are a nation of good horsemen, but not so good as the Arabians, who teach them the art of riding. In their mock combats between two on horseback, called *jerid*, the greatest address is displayed in wheeling on full gallop, retreating, pursuing, and darting their sticks at each other. I really think that in a skirmish of cavalry, they would vanquish any troops in the world. Their religion, which commands them to abstain from wine,

wine, and to wash themselves before prayers, has made them temperate and clean. The predestinarian faith it inculcates, inspires them with contempt of danger, in so much that the true Mussulman is at all times ready to rush into battle, or to carry in his arms one infected with the plague, believing that an hour is appointed, before which his existence cannot terminate. Every Turk has an idea that fate may make him vizier, and indeed when you recollect that there are no hereditary honours but in the sultan line, and that ministers are often taken from the lowest classes, the probability of the event makes the supposition not unreasonable. They have little or no society but their women. Every man may have as many wives and mistresses as he can maintain: I was much surprised at the appearance of their females, who seem stuffed in bags of green cloth. To conceal their faces, they wear two white handkerchiefs, one tied round their heads from the chin to the eyes, and another to cover the forehead, &c. When they pass a Frank, they often pinch, and call him *jawr*. Of this I was previously advertised, and cautioned not to look at them. The other day, however, having followed a poor creature in the plague to the doors of the hospital, I walked into one of the burying grounds (of which there are so many, that the environs of the city are covered with tomb stones). As I stood there enjoying the incomparable prospect, two Turkish women came up to look at me, and having gazed

some time, took off and examined my hat. One of them was young, and by her eyes seemed beautiful. They talked to me, but I made signs that their language was unintelligible, and fearful of my situation from the jealousy of the Turks, bowed and hastily retired. You will readily believe that the minds of a nation, so unenlightened, so bigoted, and so prejudiced as the Turks, are loaded with those bad qualities that debase human nature, particularly pride, contempt of foreigners, oppression, and avarice; the last of these surprized me more than any other, because I found the people opulent, and possessed of Greek slaves to do all their menial work; but so it is, that every one of them, from the highest to the lowest, may be corrupted by money. I lament these evils the more, because they are the effects of religion and ignorance. Were it possible to annihilate their faith, and introduce a spirit of enquiry and the love of learning among them, they would become as great and powerful in these enlightened times, as they were in the fifteenth century. They would new-model their government, mix in the politics of Europe, send ambassadors to foreign courts, and give discipline to their fleets and armies, instead of being as they are the slaves of a despot and his ministers, ignorant of all transactions but their own, watched and betrayed by strangers, and vanquished by their enemies, to whom they in vain oppose numbers without order, and valour without prudence.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the COCHINCHINESE.

[From the ABBE ROCHON's Voyage to MADAGASCAR, and the EAST INDIES.]

Manners and Customs.

“THE Cochinchinese, compared with the Indians, are brave, active, and industrious. They are fond of truth, and closely adhere to it when they know it. They are, however, poor and ignorant; but extremely polite to each other, and to strangers. They have a great esteem for the Chinese, on account of their learning; and they call their empire *Moedaiminh*, or the *kingdom of light*: but since the missionaries have resided amongst them, they seem to have a greater respect for the Europeans. The king, above all, is very fond of them; and encourages them to frequent his ports for the sake of carrying on commerce with them. The Cochinchinese are much addicted to women; and polygamy is allowed amongst them. A man generally has as many wives as he can maintain; and the law gives him great authority over them, as well as over his children. Women convicted of infidelity to their husbands are condemned to be exposed to the fury of elephants. The women, who are not remarkable for their modesty, go quite naked to the middle; and they publicly bathe, without any ceremony, in the view of every body. In their persons, the Cochinchinese have a great resemblance to the Chinese, except that they are more tawny: their women are beautiful and very fair. Their dress is the same as that which was used in China before the irruption of the Tartars. The Mandarins of letters in Co-

chinchina have adopted the Japanese dress. They preserve their hair, on which they set great value, and particularly the women, some of whom have it so long that it reaches to the ground.

Religion.

“The religion of this country is the same as that of China. The people frequent pagodas erected in honour of *Fo-hi* and *Tchoua*, and their mandarins of letters go to the temple of *Confucius*, who is their master, as well as that of the Chinese. At present the Christian religion is tolerated, and makes great progress. Some princes and mandarins of the first rank are Christians. We may reckon that there are about sixty thousand people in the whole kingdom who have embraced the Christian religion.

Literature.

“All the learning of the Cochinchinese consists in their being able to read Chinese books, and in acquiring a knowledge of the morality which they contain. It is this knowledge which qualifies them for becoming mandarins.

Woods and Forests.

Cochinchina is only a chain of mountains, the valleys and plains between which are well cultivated. The eminences are abandoned to tygers, elephants, and other animals of various kinds. The mountains, though uncultivated, are covered

vered with woods and forests, the timber of which is of great utility. The Cochinchinese procure from them rose-wood, ebony, iron-wood, sapan, the cinnamon-tree, calembouc, sandal-wood, and in general all those kinds of wood which are used in India for constructing houses, barks, and furniture; or from which gum, balm, and perfumes are extracted. I have even heard it asserted by some of the natives, that the clove-tree is to be found in these mountains.

Gold Mines.

"The Cochinchinese procure also from their mountains various other productions, such as honey, wax, rattans, and gamboge. They find there likewise, ivory, and even gold, in pretty large quantities. Mines of this metal are very abundant. The most celebrated are those of the province of *Cham*, situated in a place called *Phunrae*, where the French missionaries have a church, and where there are a great number of Christians. This place is about eight leagues distant from *Faifo*. There are other famous mines in the province of *Nanlang*. Every body, even foreigners, are allowed to work these mines; and they would be very productive, did the inhabitants of the country give themselves the trouble to dig them; but there are few people who choose to apply to this labour, and those who do so are very ignorant of the art of mining. They never dig deeper than the height of a man. In the place where I saw them at work, masses of pure gold, perfectly free from the mixture of extraneous bodies, and weighing two ounces, are sometimes found. This gold, collected in dust or small fragments, is after-

wards formed into cakes, and carried to market, where it is sold like other merchandise. The usual price of it, according to the Chinese value, is an hundred and thirty *quans*; but it has been sold sometimes for an hundred and seventeen. A great many mines of iron, which in this country is sold at a dear rate, are found also in the mountains.

Other Productions of the Country.

"Land in Cochinchina, when cultivated, is extremely fertile, and the people reap every year two crops of rice, which is sold almost for nothing. This country abounds with all the fruits of India, such as ananas, mangoes, citrons, oranges, and with many others peculiar to itself. It produces also plenty of pepper, together with arec and betel. Arec, in several provinces, forms the principal riches of the inhabitants; and large quantities of it are every year sold to the Chinese, who come hither to procure it. They have also a abundance of cotton; but they are not acquainted with the art of making it into fine cloth. They cultivate mulberry trees, upon which they feed silk-worms, and manufacture a kind of coarse silk-stuffs. They do not, however, succeed but in some kinds of satin. Raw silk is here sold at a very dear rate: a Cochinchinese foot costs sometimes two hundred *quans*. The Cochinchinese sugar is undoubtedly the finest in India, and this article alone brings immense sums from the Chinese merchants, who carry cargoes of it from *Faifo* to Canton and Japan, where they gain at least four hundred per cent. by it. The best is sold for four *quan*: the Cochinchinese foot. It is almost all made in the province of *Cham*, near *Faifo*

Faifo. The Cochinchinese cut their canes before the end of three years, and have a crop annually in the autumn. None of those kinds of grain which we have in Europe grow in Cochinchina, except maize, or Turkey corn. It produces neither wheat, barley, nor rye, and even few pease or beans. It is indeed very ill supplied with those vegetable productions which form the riches of our kitchen gardens; and this, perhaps, is owing to the people being bad gardeners.

Agriculture.

"The Cochinchinese employ buffaloes only in cultivating their lands. These animals are stronger than oxen, and support themselves better among the mud of the rice-fields. They have, however, a great many oxen; but they are small, lean, and almost of no use. They have no sheep, and their butchers' shops are very ill supplied with provisions. To make up for this deficiency, they are rich in poultry: fowls, ducks, and pigeons are sold cheap, and game may be procured for little or nothing. These people never eat fish, though they have them excellent, and in great plenty: their rivers, as well as the sea, abound with them.

Commerce.

"With regard to the commerce of this country, it may be observed, that the Cochinchinese are neither rich, nor well acquainted with the nature of trade. As to foreign trade, they never carried on any, except with the Chinese and the people of Japan; but the latter, about twenty-five years ago, gave up all intercourse with them, by order of their sovereign, who for-

bade his subjects to go out of the kingdom. The like prohibition was made in Cochinchina; and, on that account, the Cochinchinese are obliged to be contented with such merchandize as the Chinese bring to them. The inhabitants of Cochinchina, however, are far inferior to the Chinese in acuteness; and the latter, therefore, find very little difficulty in over-reaching them. The articles brought them from China are generally tutanag; yellow, red, and white copper; tea, porcelain, embroidered silk stuffs, drugs, and medicines of every kind; such as rhubarb, birthwort, ginseng, celandine, spices, and a great many roots, of which the Chinese sell large quantities. The Chinese carry thither also a-bundance of paper, which is used for burying the dead; gilt and coloured paper for their pagodas and sacrifices; and a little nankeen, together with paintings of all kinds, vermilion, azure, orpiment, and canvas, and cotton cloth. *Sommes*, a kind of Chinese vessels, go from *Honang*, loaded with all sorts of earthen-ware and kitchen utensils, for which they find a ready and profitable sale. Those *sommes* which come from the eastern coast of China, or from *Emony*, or *Ning-po*, bring sometimes with them the merchandise of Japan, which they dispose of to great advantage, and particularly copper and sword-blades.

"The *sommes* which come from the coasts of *Camboja* and *Siam* bring worked copper, drugs, cardamom, peltries, &c.

"The articles of merchandise which the Chinese import from Cochinchina, are gold, ivory, eagle-wood, sugar-candy, arec, wood for cabinet work, and for dying, pepper, musk, a certain kind of salt-

the fish, birds nests, and drugs, which the Cochinchinese procure from their mountains, such as the horns of the rhinoceros, gamboge, &c. The Chinese *sommes* take in return gold, sugar, and horses: these animals are sold at a cheap rate in Cochinchina. The manner in which the Chinese carry on trade in Cochinchina is as follows: As soon as they arrive in sight of the harbour, they find Cochinchinese pilots, who conduct them in. These pilots, who are of the rank of mandarins, have orders to be always in readiness to afford this assistance to strangers. When they have come to anchor, the captain, with some of his officers, goes on shore, and repairs to court with a general list of his goods, and such presents as are designed for the king. It may be proper here to observe, that business and contracts of every kind begin and terminate with presents; and it is of great importance to bring such as may be agreeable to the sovereign; because, if he is satisfied, he exempts the vessel from paying the duties of anchorage, which are considerable, and which are higher or lower according to the nature of the merchandise with which it is loaded. The Chinese pay ten per cent. agreeable to an ancient tarif, which determines the price of all commodities imported. On his return from court, the captain unloads his vessel, and transports his goods to a factory, which is visited by the mandarins who preside over the customs, in order

to see whether they can meet with any thing curious, or that might be agreeable to the king, or the principal mandarins of the kingdom. These mandarins of the customs present a list of what they wish to buy; and if they find among the cargo any of the articles in their list, they separate them from the rest, and settle the price with the captain, who must be contented with a bill payable in two or three months. Before this visit, the captain can dispose of nothing: he must also be very exact, and make no omission in the list which he presents to the king on his arrival; for if the mandarins of the customs should find any thing not mentioned in the list, the consequences might be very disagreeable. He must, likewise, give some presents to the minister, and to the principal commissioner of the customs, who, in Cochinchina, is always a powerful mandarin, and styled *Onlaibotao*. With regard to the sale of their merchandise, the Chinese apply to some of the mandarins, who readily become merchants when any thing is to be gained, and who purchase the dearest and most valuable articles. For objects of less importance, there are trusty women, well acquainted with commerce, who each take charge of a few lots, on receiving a small sum for their trouble. An European captain who might go to this country, would easily find rich christian merchants to assist him."

MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the MUSCOGULGES, MEMBERS
of the CREEK CONFEDERACY.

[From BARTRAM'S TRAVELS through NORTH and SOUTH CAROLINA,
GEORGIA, &c.]

“THE youth of both sexes are fond of decorating themselves with external ornaments. The men shave their head, leaving only a narrow crest or comb, beginning at the crown of the head, where it is about two inches broad, and about the same height, and stands frized upright; but this crest tending backwards, gradually widens, covering the hinder part of the head and back of the neck: the lank hair behind is ornamented with pendant silver quills, and then jointed or articulated silver plates; and usually the middle fascicle of hair, being by far the longest, is wrapped in a large quill of silver, or the joint of a small reed, curiously sculptured and painted; the hair continuing through it terminates in a tail or tassel.

“Their ears are lacerated, separating the border or cartilaginous limb, which at first is bound round very close and tight with leather strings or thongs, and anointed with fresh bear's oil, until healed: a piece of lead being fastened to it, by its weight extends this cartilage an incredible length, which afterwards being craped, or bound round in brass or silver wire, extends semicircularly like a bow or crescent; and it is then very elastic, even so as to spring and bound about with the least motion or flexure of the body: this is decorated with soft white plumes of heron feathers.

“A very curious diadem or band, about four inches broad, and ingeniously wrought or woven, and curiously decorated with stones,

beads, wampum, porcupine quills, &c. encircles their temples; the front peak of it being embellished with a high waving plume of crane or heron feathers.

“The clothing of their body is very simple and frugal. Sometimes a ruffled shirt of fine linen, next the skin, and a flap which covers their lower parts; this garment somewhat resembles the ancient Roman breeches, or the kilt of the Highlanders; it usually consists of a piece of blue cloth, about eighteen inches wide; this they pass between their thighs, and both ends being taken up and drawn through a belt round their waste, the ends fall down, one before, and the other behind, not quite to the knee; this flap is usually plaited and indented at the ends, and ornamented with beads, tinsel lace, &c.

“The leg is furnished with cloth boots; they reach from the ankle to the calf, and are ornamented with lace, beads, silver bells, &c.

“The stillepica or moccasin defends and adorns the feet; it seems to be an imitation of the ancient buskin or sandal, very ingeniously made of deer skins, dressed very soft, and curiously ornamented according to fancy.

“Beside this attire, they have a large mantle of the finest cloth they are able to purchase, always either of a scarlet or blue colour; this mantle is fancifully decorated with rich lace or fringe round the border, and often with little round silver or brass bells. Some have a short cloak, just large enough to cover the

the shoulders and breast; this is most ingeniously constructed, of feathers woven or placed in a natural imbricated manner, usually of the scarlet feathers of the flamingo, or others of the gayest colour.

"They have large silver crescents, or gorgets, which being suspended by a ribband round the neck, lie upon the breast; and the arms are ornamented with silver bands, or bracelets, and silver and gold chains, &c. a collar invests the neck.

"The head, neck, and breast, are painted with vermillion, and some of the warriors have the skin of the breast, or muscular parts of the body, very curiously inscribed, or adorned, with hieroglyphic scrolls, flowers, figures of animals, stars, crescents, and the sun in the centre of the breast. This painting of the flesh, I understand, is performed in their youth, by pricking the skin with a needle, until the blood starts, and rubbing in a blueish tinct, which is as permanent as their life.

"The shirtings loose about their waist, like a frock, or split down before, resembling a gown, and is sometimes wrapped close, and the waist encircled by a curious belt or sash.

"The dresses of the females is somewhat different from that of the men: their flap or petticoat is made after a different manner, is larger and longer, reaching almost to the middle of the leg, and is put on differently; they have no shirt or shift, but a little short waistcoat, usually made of callico, printed linen, or fine cloth, decorated with lace, beads, &c. They never wear boots or stockings, but their buskins reach to the middle of the leg. They never cut their hair, but plait it in wreathes, which are turned up, and fastened on the crown, with a silver broach, forming a wreathed top-

knot, decorated with an incredible quantity of silk ribbands, of various colours, which stream down on every side, almost to the ground. They never paint, except those of a particular class, when disposed to grant certain favours to the other sex.

"But these decorations are only to be considered as indulgencies on particular occasions, and the privilege of youth; as at weddings, festivals, dances, &c. or when the men assemble to act the war farce, on the evening immediately preceding their march on a hostile expedition: for usually they are almost naked, contenting themselves with the flap and sometimes a shirt, boots, and moccasins. The mantle is seldom worn by the men, except at night, in the winter season, when extremely cold; and by the women at dances, when it serves the purpose of a veil; and the females always wear the jacket flap and buskin, even children as soon or before they can walk; whereas the male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes: this ensign of wisdom and divination they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image sits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are always distinguishable from the other people, by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the towns.

"These

"These people, like other nations, are fond of music and dancing: their music is both vocal and instrumental; but of the latter they have scarcely any thing worth the name; the tambour, rattle-gourd, and a kind of flute, made of a joint of reed, or the tibia of the deer's leg: on this instrument they perform badly, and at best it is rather a hideous melancholy discord than harmony. It is only young fellows who amuse themselves on this howling instrument; but the tambour and rattle, accompanied with their sweet low voices, produce a pathetic harmony, keeping exact time together; and the countenance of the musician, at proper times, seems to express the solemn-elevated state of the mind: at that time there seems not only a harmony between him and his instrument, but it instantly touches the feelings of the attentive audience, as the influence of an active and powerful spirit; there is then an united universal sensation of delight and peaceful union of souls throughout the assembly.

"Their music, vocal and instrumental, united, keeps exact time with the performers or dancers.

"They have an endless variety of steps, but the most common, and that which I term the most civil, and indeed the most admired and practised among themselves, is a slow shuffling alternate step; both feet move forward one after the other, first the right foot foremost, and next the left, moving one after the other, in opposite circles, i. e. first a circle of young men, and within a circle of young women, moving together opposite ways, the men with the courie of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raise

their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately.

"To accompany their dances they have songs, of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian, and amorous; which last, I must confess, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral songs, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

"Some of their most favourite songs and dances they have from their enemies, the Chahtaws; for it seems these people are very eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances, and by a custom amongst them, they must have at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual bask.

"The young mussee, who came with me to the Mucclawes from Mobile, having Chahtaw blood in his veins from his mother, was a sensible young fellow, and by his father had been instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and could speak English very well. He took it into his head to travel into the Chahtaw country: his views were magnanimous, and his designs in the highest degree commendable, nothing less than to inform himself of every species of arts and sciences that might be of use and advantage when introduced into his own country, but more particularly music and poetry. With these views he privately left the nation, went to Mobile, and there entered into the service of the trading company to the Chahtaws, as a white man; his easy, communicative, active, and familiar disposition and manners, being agreeable

to that people, procured him access every where, and favoured his subtilty and artifice: at length, however, the Chactaws hearing of his lineage and consanguinity with the Creeks, by the father's side, pronounced him a Creek, and consequently an enemy and a spy amongst them, and secretly resolved to dispatch him. The young philosopher got notice of their suspicions and hostile intentions, in time to make his escape; though closely pursued, he kept a head of his sanguinary pursuers, arrived at Mobile, and threw himself under the protection of the English, entered the service of the trader of Mucclasse, who was then setting off for the nation, and notwithstanding the speed with which we travelled, narrowly escaped the ardour and vigilance of his pursuing enemies, who surprised a company of emigrants, in the deserts of Schambe, the very night after we met them, expecting to intercept him thereabout.

"The young traveller having learned all their most celebrated new songs and poetry, at a great dance and festival in the Mucclasse, a day or two after our arrival, the youth pressed him to give out some of his new songs; he complied with their entreaties, and the songs and dance went round with harmony and eclat. There was a young Chactaw slave girl in the circle, who soon after discovered very affecting sensations of affliction and distress of mind, and before the conclusion of the dance, many of her companions complimented her with sympathetic sighs and tears, from their own sparkling eyes. As soon as I had an opportunity, I inquired of the young Orpheus, the cause of that song being so distressing to the

young slave. He replied, that when she was lately taken captive, her father and brothers were slain in the contest, and she understanding the sense of the song, called to remembrance the tragical fate of her family, and could not forbear weeping at the recital.

The meaning of the chorus was,

All men must surely die,
Tho' no one knows how soon.
Yet when the time shall come.
The event may be joyful.

"These doleful moral songs or elegies have a quick and sensible effect on their passions, and discover a lively affection and sensibility: their countenance now dejected, again, by an easy transition, becomes gently elevated, as if in solemn address or supplication, accompanied with a tremulous, sweet, lamentable voice: a stranger is for a moment lost to himself as it were, or his mind, associated with the person immediately affected, is in danger of revealing his own distress unawares.

"They have a variety of games for exercise and pastime; some particular to the men, some to the female sex, and others wherein both sexes are engaged.

"The ball-play is esteemed the most noble and manly exercise. This game is exhibited in an extensive level plain, usually contiguous to the town: the inhabitants of one town play against another, in consequence of a challenge, when the youth of both sexes are often engaged, and sometimes stake their whole substance. Here they perform amazing feats of strength and agility. The game principally consists in taking and carrying off the ball from the opposite party, after

after being hurled into the air, midway between two high pillars, which are the goals, and the party who bears off the ball to their pillar wins the game; each person has a racquet or hurl, which is an implement of a very curious construction, somewhat resembling a ladle or little hoop-net, with a handle near three feet in length, the hoop and handle of wood, and the netting of thongs of raw hide, or tendons of an animal.

"The foot-ball is likewise a favourite, manly diversion with them. Feasting and dancing in the square at evening ends all their games.

"They have besides, feasts or festivals almost for every month in the year, which are chiefly dedicated to hunting and agriculture.

"The busk, or feast of first fruits, is their principal festival; this seems to end the last, and begin the new year.

"It commences in August, when their new crops of corn are arrived to perfect maturity: and every town celebrates the busk separately, when their own harvest is ready.

"If they have any religious rite or ceremony, this festival is its most solemn celebration.

"When a town celebrates the busk, having previously provided themselves with new cloaths, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn-out cloaths, and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all

the remaining grain and other provisions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in the town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed, and malefactors may return to their town, and they are absolved from their crimes, which are now forgotten, and they restored to favour.

"On the fourth morning, the high-priest, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame.

"Then the women go forth to the harvest field, and bring from thence new corn and fruits, which being prepared in the best manner, in various dishes, and drink withal, is brought with solemnity to the square, where the people are assembled, apparelled in their new clothes and decorations. The women and children solace themselves in their separate families, and in the evening repair to the public square, where they dance, sing, and rejoice during the whole night, observing a proper and exemplary decorum: this continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighbouring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves."

PARTICULARS concerning the HOTTENTOTS in the Neighbourhood of the CAPE of GOOD HOPE.

[From the Third Volume of DE PAGES'S TRAVELS round the World, in the Years 1767, 8, 9, &c.]

THE following particulars concerning this race of men, are equally applicable to the free and enslaved Hottentots; and are facts which I believe, having either seen them with my own eyes, or obtained them from the report of reputable creoles who reside in the interior parts of the country.

"The Hottentot is of a middle stature, well proportioned, active, and possesses great agility in running; the upper part of his face is broad, with high cheek bones, but the lower part is slender and draws to a point at the chin; he has the nose and lips of the negroe: a large prominent eye with a considerable degree of vivacity; his hair is less crisped than the hair of the negroe, and approaches nearer to that of the natives of Madagascar; he is at much pains to anoint it with grease, and as he wears a bonnet which covers the whole forehead, it gradually loses its frizzled texture and becomes entirely straight. It is far from being thick—it rather has the appearance of having been pulled out by small tufts. His complexion is naturally brown, but, from its being constantly exposed to the sun, and anointed with the fat of his cattle, gradually deepens into a dusky black.

"These facts give countenance to the observations I made on this subject in the Deserts of Arabia: I mean that heat of climate, co-operating with the influence of a dry parched soil, may account for the complexion of the negroe, as well as the crisped and woolly na-

ture of his hair. The Hottentots, whom it would be very improper to call negroes, are, however, surrounded by them on all sides, and I have no doubt, are of the same extraction. The high antiquity of their first emigration, and their long residence on a more humid soil, and under a milder and more temperate climate than their own, have produced, in my opinion, the circumstances which distinguish their present appearance from that of their negroe ancestry. The Hottentot wraps himself in a large skin, and deposits his privates in a small bag adorned with a piece of strong leather of an oval form. This case or codpiece is likewise embellished with small brass nails, and a border of little rings of the same metal, which, owing to the motion of his body, produce a tinkling sound like that of the sheep-bell. They have the art of extracting the metal from their mountains, as well as of manufacturing it for different uses. The breast and neck are adorned with mock pearls, garnets, or small pieces of bone. Their chaplets and necklaces are, of the same materials, and you frequently meet them with the intestines of their cattle tied round their ancles. Strings of garnets, hanging down on the hinder part of the neck, are attached to the hair on the crown of the head.

"The heads of families receive much honour and consideration from the community, while the youth are not even allowed access to the national council. Previously

to their being admitted to this privilege, they must be declared men, and have entered into a state of wedlock—honours which are conferred at the same time, and by the same ceremony. When a young man has attained the age and other qualities which fit him for accompanying his countrymen to the war, to the chase of wild animals, and, in short, for discharging the duties of a husband and parent, he makes choice of a wife, and convokes an assembly of his tribe. The bride and bridegroom are conducted thither by their respective relations, and receive an harangue on the reciprocal duties of the married state; after which a Hottentot, appointed to the office, binds a piece of intestine about the arms of the bridegroom, and urines across his shoulders, when the candidate for public honours being declared invested with all the rights and prerogatives of a married man, may henceforth assist in council, as well as in the pursuits of the fields. The women are chaste in their morals, and live in a state of great subordination to their husbands. A man may have a plurality of wives, but marriage is never permitted between brothers and sisters. I was assured, by persons of whose information and veracity I could not doubt, that the apron of the female Hottentot is a mere fiction of travellers. From every thing I could learn respecting the manners of the Hottentots, from the custom of urining on the shoulders in the nuptial ceremony, from their anxiety to adorn the parts of sex in the male, as well as from the very abject condition of the woman, we seem warranted to infer that they have a peculiar veneration for age, sex, and all the qualities of manhood—qualities of

essential moment in the defence and perpetuity of the species.

“The Hottentots, denominated Caffres, despising agriculture and tillage, give their whole time to their herds and flocks. Their oxen serve for riding as well as for beasts of burthen. They live not in tents like the Arabs, but in huts made of bullrushes, or the skins of animals; and as the country abounds in pasturage, they are less addicted to a wandering and desultory manner of life than either the Arabs or the Tartars. Though prone to indolence, they are swift of foot, dexterous and active in their persons. In the chase of the lion and tiger, as well as in their wars with the Dutch and Dutch Hottentots, (the last of whom they despise,) they give eminent proofs of courage and intrepidity. Their arms consist of the bow and arrow, the dagger, a species of javelin, and a short massy club pointed at each extremity with brass, which they have the art of throwing at the enemy with particular address. I have seen a similar weapon among the Egyptians, and the inhabitants of Palestine, and it is by no means improbable that the use of the club may have gradually migrated hither from Egypt or Abyssinia. They take much pleasure in dancing, and the sound of musical instruments; and some of them, in their leisure hours, touch a species of guitar. Their first appearance is not prepossessing, but after a little acquaintance, one discovers a countenance, that from its variety, and the vivacity of the eyes, seems to indicate something lively and intelligent. I have seen them play a game of combination with an address which would import any thing rather than that gross stupidity vulgarly

ably attributed to the character of the Hottentot. If they, nearly in the simplest state of human life, find amusement in what gives exercise to the powers of the understanding, we cannot, without being charge-

able with ignorance or injustice, impute to them a turn of mind peculiarly stupid and insensible. Though I do not think their natural temper sad or melancholy, it seems to be of a serious cast.

OCCURRENCE in the RHÆTIAN ALPS; with the GENERAL CHARACTER of the TYROLESE.

[From TRAVELS through the RHÆTIAN ALPS, in the Year 1786, from Italy to Germany, through Tyrol, by ALBANIS BEAUMONT.]

I Propose relating an occurrence which happened to me during the present excursion. It will, I hope, not be deemed an improper digression, as it will shew the natural simplicity and character of the inhabitants.

"I have already acquainted my readers, that at my first setting out in the morning, the appearance of the atmosphere gave me reason to apprehend that there would be a storm in the course of the day: my fears were realised, and indeed earlier than I expected.

"By nine o'clock, I had walked upwards of twelve miles; and, not perceiving the carriage, I gave myself up entirely to the pleasure of admiring the innumerable beauties which surrounded me, both in respect to botany and lithology. At every step I took, some curious plant or other attracted my notice; among which were discernible the elegant gentiana purpurea, the gentiana punctata, the epilobium alpinum, and the campanula carpatica of Linnæus; as also the humble tussilago alpina flore-evanido of Chusio, &c. The rocks were tremendous, shelving over on all sides.

"The different species of strata of which these rocks were composed, and their extraordinary appearance, took up all my attention:

some of them were a mixture of quartz and mica, of the 164th species of Wallerius, which he terms *saxum mixtum anaticum*; and here and there I found their strata, or beds, nearly perpendicular; others were composed of heaps or pieces of granite, piled upon one another, intermixed with marbles of various colours, and banks of hornstone, of the 143d species of Wallerius, named *corneus fissilis*: it is, therefore, not to be wondered at, if I was insensible of the danger that threatened me, surrounded as I was by such a variety of natural curiosities, and in a valley, which, all the way from the small village of Antlas, was so remarkably contracted by the shelving rocks on each side, that I could only see a small portion of the sky. I was, however, suddenly roused from my contemplations, by a whirlwind which carried clouds of dust along the valley, and covered me in an instant; the sky darkened, and large drops of rain fell with such impetuosity, that I took it for hail; whilst the thunder, rumbling at a distance, and re-echoed by the surrounding rocks, appeared to threaten immediate destruction. That moment was certainly the most awful I ever experienced: finding myself alone, and a perfect stranger in a country, where I could but

indifferently speak or understand their language, which is in general German, yet I still succeeded with hasty steps, not knowing whither I was going, or where to find an asylum. The tempest increasing, and the horrors accumulating, I gave myself up for lost; when, fortunately, I perceived one of the hermitages I have already described, which was neatly cut in the rock, resembling a cave, sufficiently large to afford protection to the affrighted traveller. Those who have crossed the Alps will easily conceive that my fears were not imaginary, as they must have encountered similar danger, and know the fatal consequence.

"Having precipitately entered the hermitage or cave, supposing myself quite alone, I was startled at hearing a sigh, which seemed to issue from the extremity of it; and, turning hastily, I saw a young woman at her devotions, seemingly supplicating an image which represented the Virgin Mary, and in the act of crowning it with a wreath of flowers, while a taper burned on each side of it. Whether owing to the unexpected surprize of seeing me, or because the image was beyond her reach, I could not determine; but she was obliged to give up the attempt. I ventured to approach and offer her my assistance, at the same time, fearing that I might alarm her, I explained, in the best manner I could, the cause of my taking refuge in a place which appeared to be allotted entirely to acts of devotion. As soon as she had sufficiently got the better of her astonishment, she related an affecting tale in terms full of candour and simplicity. She told me, that her name was Anna; that she lived in the village of Sander, near the valley of Zargin; that she came

every year to accomplish a vow she had made for her father's recovery, who was a miner, and had been taken from under one of the galleries, where he was at work, apparently dead. She added, that she was fifteen when the accident happened, which was three years since, and that she had never missed coming at the stated period. I was so enchanted with this good girl's simple narrative, that I again entreated her to let me place the wreath of flowers on the Virgin's head; but she modestly declined, saying, that she expected her brother, who was gone to Zimerlehen, a village not far distant; that he had promised her faithfully to return before the tapers were expired; then, casting a wishful look at them, and heaving a sigh, she said, that she feared the storm had detained him, but that she hoped no harm would happen to him.

"The thunder still continued rumbling over our heads in a most terrific manner: the flashes of lightning were more frequent, appearing incessantly as if crossing the defile, and nearly entering our place of refuge; whilst the rain falling in torrents from the rocks, carried with it immense pieces of stone, which, from the velocity with which they fell, shivered into a thousand pieces, and added greatly to the horror of the scene. Anna, perceiving that the lights were nearly out, and that she should be prevented from accomplishing her vow, requested me, at last, to assist her in placing the flowers, which I had just accomplished, when we heard the approach of a carriage, which proved to be the one I expected. I had, however, the satisfaction of gaining some intelligence, from the post-boy, of her brother, who had passed him on the

the road: I was, therefore, released from the painful necessity of leaving that poor and amiable girl by herself in so solitary a situation, which the storm rendered still more distressing.

"Happy people! whose morals are as pure as their ideas are innocent. Their hands will never be sullied with the blood of their fellow creatures; for their offerings to the Divinity are of the purest kind, conceiving that religion was meant to diffuse happiness and comfort among mankind, ignorant of the abuses which cruel policy has introduced!

"The Tyrolese in general, as well as most of the inhabitants of the Alps, are not opulent, yet there are scarcely any poor among them. I have travelled through several of their vallies, which extend upwards of ten miles, and have not met with the least appearance of wretchedness.

"Each individual cultivates his own land; and when that is not sufficient for the maintenance of his family, he has recourse to that industry and activity which is natural to them all; and endeavours to procure work in the mines, or different manufactories: if not successful, they quit Tyrol in the quality

of hawkers, and convey into other countries the produce of their own.

"Such are the little pleasurable barterers of life, when life is governed by simplicity alone, and the estimation in which objects are held is only proportioned to their real utility.

"They are tall, strong, and robust, as mountaineers are in general; remarkably chearful, with great mildness and honesty of character; but keen, with an uncommon share of natural understanding. They are Roman Catholics, and excessively devout, placing not only in the roads, but on their habitations, a number of images, according to the forms of their religion; yet the generality of them are not bigots, for they appear to esteem, indiscriminately, all strangers who visit them, without attending to their different opinions on religion: like most mountaineers, they are particularly attached to their prince and to their country.

"In short, whether we consider the inhabitants of this part of the world, or the country itself, a traveller will not find it easy perhaps to visit any spot where more circumstances concur to gratify a love of natural history, to enlarge the mind, or to interest the feelings."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM,

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS on the STYLE of DEMOSTHENES.

[From the Sixth Volume of Lord MONBODDO, on the ORIGIN and PROGRESS of LANGUAGE.]

“ I Come now to speak of the style of Demosthenes, which, if it be answerable to his matter, must make his orations the finest of all rhetorical compositions. Style consists of single words, and the composition of these words: and it is either a plain and simple style, such as is used in common discourse; or it is a style of art, such as is not commonly used. The words are varied from common use by what are called *tropes*, and the composition by what are called *figures*; of both which I have elsewhere spoken at some length.

“ As to the words of Demosthenes there is nothing remarkable, or what we would call ornamented or *fine*: for they are either the common words of the language, or or words of business appropriated to the government in Athens, or to judicial proceedings, which may be called *verba forensia*; nor is there much of metaphorical language in him, or great use of epithets, with which we so much adorn our prose as well as our poetry. But his style, as far as respects the words, is perfectly simple; and it is the composition only which distinguishes it from common language, and, I may say, from the style of every other author: for as to the beauty and variety of composition, he exceeds all that ever wrote in prose.

“ And in the first place, he is perhaps the only author that has excelled in the two kinds of compositions I have mentioned, diametrically opposite to one another; first the simple, plain, and unornamented; and, secondly, the artificial, elaborate, and such as is as different from common idiom, as the art of composition can make prose. Of the first kind are some of his orations in private causes, such as that against Conon, and another against Olympiodorus, the style of both which is so different from that of his public orations, that I should not believe that they were his, if it were not universally so reputed. The Halicarnassian has spoken at some length of the oration against Conon, and has told us that it was written in imitation of Lyfias's manner. If so, I think we must allow that he has outdone his master; for there is nothing of Lyfias that is so perfectly simple. In this kind of composition every appearance of art is avoided, and yet I am not sure but that the style of it cost Demosthenes as much pains as that of any of his orations in public causes. For, though it seem very easy, and such as any one might imitate, yet, upon trial, one will be soon convinced that it is of the kind which Horace mentions;

ut sibi quivis
 Speret idem; fudet multum, frustra-
 laboret,
 Ausus idem: tantum series juncturaque
 pollet.

A. P. v. 140.

The other, against Olympiodorus, is in the same style: and as it was spoken by the party, though written by Demosthenes, it is admirably suited to the character of the speaker, who being no orator, but a vulgar illiterate man, in the very beginning declares himself unable to speak; and more than once, in the course of his pleading, puts the judges upon their guard against the artificial arguments of orators, which his adversary had used. It would therefore have been very unnatural if he had spoken in the same artificial manner, and would have entirely taken away that air of truth and ingenuity which runs through the whole oration, and must have had a great effect upon the judges.

"The difference of the style of these orations from that of his public orations, shews that he understood perfectly

Descriptas servare vices, operumque colores,
 and could suit his style to his subject; than which nothing shews more judgment and taste in a writer.

"And here we may observe in passing, that these orations are a proof, among many others which might be produced, that the artificial arrangement of words which we observe in the Greek orators and other elegant writers, was not the common language of the people of Athens, of which the two orations above mentioned were undoubtedly an exact imitation. Neither was it their ordinary style of business, or of their public acts, as is evident

from several decrees of the senate and people, which we have in the orations of Demosthenes, and particularly in the oration about the crown. Only there is one decree of the people, drawn up by Demosthenes himself, mentioned in that oration, which I think is an exception to this rule; for, in the first place, it is very much longer than any other decree mentioned in that or any other oration; and, secondly, has a great deal of the rhetorical composition, and also of rhetorical argument: and it is more severe against Philip, than any of the orations we call Philippics, in which he often finds more fault with the Athenians than with Philip.

"But we are to consider that this decree was written upon a great occasion, the taking, by Philip, of Elataea, a town of Boeotia, upon the confines of Attica. Upon this occasion it was proper to excite the people of Athens to join with their enemies the Thebans, in a confederacy that was necessary for the preservation of both states, and of the liberties of Greece. And I have no doubt that this decree contained the substance of Demosthenes's speech upon the occasion, in consequence of which the decree was made.

"His other kind of style is, as I have said, in respect of the composition, very artificial. It is the style of his Olynthiaks, his oration about the crown, and, in general, all his public orations, to which he thought a style, much more elevated and more raised above common speech than that which he used in common causes, was suitable.

"But it was not by metaphorical, poetical, and dythyrambic words, as they called them, that he raised his style in those orations, (for, as I

have observed, his words in all his orations are either terms of business or of common use), but it was by figures of composition.

"These figures of composition are of three kinds: for they are either figures of the syntax, of the sense, or of the sound. In these three ways language is wonderfully varied, and styles formed exceedingly different from one another. Of the two first I have spoken pretty fully in another volume of this work; and I shall only add here, that with respect to figures of syntax, there are very few of them to be found in Demosthenes, unless we call by that name certain elliptical expressions, which produce a brevity very remarkable in the Attic writers, by which they both express their meaning in fewer words, and arrange these words in a manner different from what is practised by other Greek writers. If to these expressions you give the name of figures, Demosthenes certainly abounds with them. And it is in the use of them, that a great part of the *divorce* of his style consists; for by them, his matter is more condensed, and makes a greater impression upon the mind of the hearer, or reader, than it could otherwise do. And as to the figures of the sense, Demosthenes has none of those poetical figures which Cicero uses, such as *exclamation* and *prosopeia*. His figures of that kind consist chiefly of what Cicero calls the *conformatio sententiarum*; by which he arranges his arguments in all the different ways by which he thinks they will have the greatest weight and force. There is one very common figure of this kind, which Demosthenes uses very often, and I think to very good purpose, I mean *interrogation*: and which is com-

monly in very short sentences, whereby he not only varies his composition very agreeably, but infuses his arguments. As to the figures of sound, having said very little of them in any other part of this work, I think it is proper to explain them here at some length, more especially as I do not find that done in any ancient grammarian or rhetorician: and yet I think they vary the composition very much, and constitute a great part of the florid and ornamented style in Greek; and which, as I shall shew in the sequel, Isocrates has used very immoderately, but Demosthenes properly and moderately.

"These figures are all produced by certain similarities which affect the ear, in the sound of the composition. Under this definition will be comprehended all the different figures of this kind mentioned by the Halicarnassian.

"To distinguish exactly from one another all these figures, which the Halicarnassian mentions, would be a work of some trouble, and, I think, not worth the pains; and therefore I shall only observe, that the figure which he calls *antithesis*, is commonly reckoned to belong to the sense, as it relates to the meaning of the words which are set in opposition to one another: but it is also a figure of the sound, as it gives the same form and structure to the periods and their several members, and so produces a similarity of sound.

"But, besides these figures of sound, the whole composition of Demosthenes, particularly in his public orations, must have given the greatest pleasure to the ears of his hearers. I have spoken already of the beauty of his melody, and of his rhythm. This indeed is a beauty,

of which we may form an idea, but of which our ear has no perception. But the artificial arrangement of his words is what I think must please the ear of every scholar and man of taste; and it is by this chiefly, that I think his style is distinguished from that of every other Greek orator.

"To be convinced of this, we need only compare his style in these public orations with the style of Lyfias, or even with his own in the orations above mentioned against Conon and Olympiodorus, where the words are in so simple an order, that they might almost be translated into English in the order in which they stand; or with the style of other orators of the same age, and particularly with the style of an oration, intituled, *περὶ Ἀλόνου*, which is published among the orations of Demosthenes: but we know certainly that it does not belong to him, and by no mark more surely than the inartificial structure of the words; and it very probably is the work, as Libanius conjectures, of Hegesippus, who took the same side in politics that Demosthenes did, and particularly in that matter of Halonessus.

"This artificial structure of words, especially if it be diversified, as it often is, by parenthesis, or by genitives absolute, which detach that member, where they are used, from the rest of the sentence, as much as a parenthesis does, makes the style appear very obscure to a man who is not a good Greek scholar, or has not made a particular study of Demosthenes. I therefore did not wonder when I heard the late Dr. Johnson say, that it was impossible that the orations of Demosthenes could have been understood by the people of Athens, if they had been spoken as

we have them written. But if they should appear obscure to a better Greek scholar than Dr. Johnson, it will not from thence follow, that they would not be intelligible to so acute a people as the Athenians, who certainly understood their own language better than any man now living, and who besides were accustomed to that artificial arrangement, and short way of expressing things, more than any other people in Greece, these two qualities of style, in a greater or less degree, being remarkable in all the Attic writings. For my own part, I have studied Demosthenes's style so much, and have become so fond of it, that to me it is so far from being obscure, that what appears a disorderly arrangement of words, conveys the sense to me more forcibly, and I think I understand it better, than if it was written in plain English, especially if it be well read to me: for all the compositions of Demosthenes clearly bear the mark of having been written to be spoken. There is therefore to me not the least obscurity in his orations, except what arises from our ignorance of particular customs, laws, and forms of proceeding in judicial matters. But these must have been all perfectly known to the people of Athens, who were so much accustomed to hear speeches upon all subjects, deliberative and judicial; and were themselves judges in all causes, public and private. And indeed it is impossible that they could have praised and admired him so much, if they had not perfectly understood him. At the same time they must have perceived that he did not speak to them a common language, but a language so artificially composed, that, at the same time that it pleased their ears, it conveyed the sense
more

more forcibly to them, than it could otherwise have been conveyed; as I think I have shewn in the dissertation upon the composition of the antients, which I have annexed to the second volume of this work.

“And here it may be observed, that the ordinary way, in this artificial composition, is to begin the period with a noun in the genitive, or any other oblique case, and then to go on for several lines, and at the end of the period to give us the verb or the noun by which the noun in the beginning is governed: and by this means the sense is suspended, and the reader or hearer is obliged to carry on his attention to the end of the period, when the whole sense comes upon him at once, and consequently must make a greater impression than if it were frittered down into small detached sentences. Of this kind of composition the public orations of Demosthenes are full of examples.

“The next peculiarity of his style that I observe is connected with the former. It is the frequent use of hyperbatons and parentheses, by which the period is drawn out to a great length, and the reader obliged to carry on the sense a long way, and to connect words at a great distance from one another. In this respect I know no author that that can be compared with him, except Thucydides, whom it appears Demosthenes imitated very much in the style and composition, as well as in the matter and method of his harangues. But Thucydides carried this far-fetched and implicated construction so far as to make his style obscure; while Demosthenes has used it more temperately, so much only as to raise his style much above common speech, and to give to his periods that weight of matter closely com-

packed together, which makes what is called the *διωργος*, or, as it may be not improperly translated, the *density* of his composition.

“The third peculiarity I observe is also near a-kin to the last mentioned. It is a roundness and constriction, if I may use the expression, in the form and structure of his periods, which have nothing redundant or deficient, and are equally remote from the loose flow of the historical period, and the pompous and panegyric periods of Isocrates, and other orators of the epideictic kind. The way in which he commonly gives this roundness to his period, is, as I have observed, by beginning them with a word, one or more, of which we cannot discover the connection with the other words of the period till we come to the end. In this way we are necessarily obliged to connect the beginning with the end of the period, without which the period is not intelligible; and the great skill in pronouncing such periods, is to mark, by the voice, the connection between the beginning and the end of the period, which, according to Aristotle's definition of a period, are essential to it. But, without being marked by the voice, it may be a period as it is written, though not as it is read or spoken. It is this composition in periods, pronounced as they were by him, which made his style so fit for business and action, and gave to it the *το δεικνύον* and *παρανοήον*, which, the Halicarnassian observes, is a peculiar characteristic of his style. And it is so much fitted for speaking, that the words themselves, as they are composed, shew how they are to be pronounced.

“The next thing I am to observe in the style of Demosthenes, is concerning the figures of sound which

which he has used. All these figures, as I have observed, consist of a certain similarity of sound. Of this similarity there is one very common among the moderns; and that is, the similarity of like endings in their rhyming poetry. Of this I shall speak at some length in the next volume, the subject of which is to be poetry. But at present it may be proper to observe, that there may be rhymes in prose as well as in verse; when periods, or members of periods, are concluded by words terminated by the same syllables, one or more. Of words so terminated there are very many, both in Greek and Latin: for all the nouns of the same declension must necessarily have the same termination in the several cases: and verbs of the same conjugation in their several tenses, persons, and numbers, must also have the same termination of perhaps two or three syllables; and likewise the particles of verbs of the same conjugation, in their several numbers and cases.

"That these like endings, were accounted an ornament of prose as well as of verse, is evident from the practice of Isocrates and others, who have studied the florid and pleasurable style. The Halicarnassian, in his treatise upon the subject of Isocrates's style, cap. 20, has given us sundry examples from Isocrates of this ornament of style: and particularly, he has mentioned one period, where he has used three words rhyming to one another, viz. *πιχειρομένη, τραπομένη, εισπλευσομένη*: and he has given to this ornament the name of *παισῶσαις*: and then he observes, that there are in this period three members of the same length; and this figure he calls *παρομοιωσις*: for not only does the ear perceive a similarity of sound,

when the periods, or members of periods, terminate with the same syllables; but also, when the periods, or the members of the periods, are of the same length, and of the same form and structure.

As Isocrates has made more use of those figures of sound, of both the kinds I have mentioned, than any other author I know, I will give more examples from him, of this kind of rhyming composition: and I will take them from his *Panegyric*, an oration upon which, it is said, he bestowed ten years, and some say fifteen; and where, consequently, every thing he thought ornamental in style, must have been most diligently studied. The first example I give is from p. 132, (Basil edition, anno 1594) where you have a string of eight sentences, all of which, and their several members, are nearly of the same length, and of the same form and composition, and most of them rhyming to one another. Another example is in p. 170, where you have a string indeed of no more than three short sentences, but all of the same form and structure, and all in rhyme. And in p. 188, you have likewise three short sentences of the same, or nearly the same length, and each of them terminated with the double rhyme of *μένης*, in the words *στρατηγουμένης, ἀδελφικουμένης, and ἀκτιμπομένης*. And here it is to be observed, that it is not the juxta position of words of like ending that makes this rhyming, which is accounted an ornament by such writers as Isocrates; but it is the placing those rhyming words in the same place of a sentence, or a member of a sentence, and where the sense requires that an emphasis should be laid upon them, which makes the above mentioned ornament that they call *παρομοιωσις*; where there is a concurrence of such words together,

it makes the figure which the Halicarnassian, in the passage above quoted, calls *παρονομασία*; but it appears to me not to be practised by any good writer in Greek, not even by Isocrates. And indeed it seems to be nothing but an insignificant jingle, which could not please the ears any more than the understanding of such men as the Athenians.

"As to the other figure, called by the Halicarnassian *παρομοίωσις*, which makes the sentences, or their members, nearly of equal length, and gives the same structure and form of composition to the words, there is no doubt a certain concinnity and prettiness in it, which may please, if not too often repeated; but which I think is used much too frequently by Isocrates, as appears from the examples I have given. And if the reader wants more examples of the same kind, he may have many more of them in Dionysius's dissertation upon Isocrates, cap. 14; where he shews a most wonderful similarity of style, studied by Isocrates, both in the sound, and in the antithesis of words to one another. But he observes, that of these pretty little ornaments he abated much in the last orations he wrote, when he was become old and his judgment more mature.

"But in his earlier speeches, particularly one *περὶ τῆς εὐνομίας*, where he has compared the manners of the Athenians of his time with those of their ancestors, an oration, upon which he valued himself very much, he has shewn that he abounds in those puerile ornaments of the *παρονομασίας* and *παρομοιώσεις*, and particularly the last, beginning his periods, or the members of them, with the same words; such *Εξιστοῖ μὲν γὰρ—ἡμεῖς δέ, —Τοῦτο μὲν, and τούτο δέ*. And that he abounds

also very much in antithesis, which, as I have already observed, though it be a figure relative chiefly to the sense, yet has a great effect likewise upon the sound, if the antithetical words are contrasted with one another in the same parts of the period or members of the period.

"There is another similarity in the composition of Isocrates, and which, I think, may be reckoned a species of the *παρομοίωσις*; and that is the too frequent termination of his sentences with a verb. This is a fault which I have elsewhere observed in the Latin composition; and that it applies also to the composition of Isocrates, any person will be convinced, who will take the trouble to compare accurately his style with that of Demosthenes, who has much more variety in this, and in every other respect, than Isocrates. It may, however, be observed, as an apology for Isocrates and the Latin writers, that, by terminating the sentence with the governing verb, the beginning and the end are often connected together, by which the sense of the whole is brought altogether to the mind of the reader or hearer. But though it often serve this purpose, it ought not to be constantly used; otherwise it gives a tedious uniformity to the composition, which to me is offensive. And yet this is the case of almost all the composition in Latin, both oratorical and historical. Of the practice of it in their historical style, I have spoken in the passage above quoted from vol. 4th of this work. And as to the oratorical, we have but to read one oration of Cicero, to be convinced that he uses it much too frequently; and from a passage in the end of his *Orator*, he very plainly tells us, that the composition is defective, if the period is not concluded

cluded in this way. The passage is so remarkable, that I will give it in Cicero's words.

"Quantum, autem sit apte dicere, experiri licet, si aut compositionem oratoris bene structam collationem dissolvas permutatione verborum, corrumpatur enim tota res, ut et haec nostra in Cornelia, et deinceps omnia: 'neque me divitiae movent, quibus omnes Africanos et Laelios multum venalitii mercatoresque superarunt,' immuta paulum, ut sit, 'multi superarunt mercatores venalitiique;' perierit tota res, et quae sequuntur: 'neque vestis, aut caelatum aurum et argentum, quo nostros veteres Marcellos Maximosque multi eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque vicerunt.' Verba permuta sic, ut sit, 'vicerunt eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque.' Adde tertium: 'neque vero ornamenta ista villarum, quibus L. Paulum et L. Mummium, qui rebus his urbem Italiamque omnem refererunt, ab aliquo video persaepe Deliacum aut Syro potuisse superari.' Fac ita, 'potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliacum.' Videsne, ut ordine verborum paulum commutato, iisdem verbis stante sententia, ad nihil omnia recidant cum sint ex aptis dissoluta?"

"In this respect, too, as well as in every other, that variety which characterizes the style of Demosthenes, and distinguishes it from every other, is preserved: for though he very often terminates his periods with a verb, as in many cases it is no doubt proper, he likewise often concludes them with a noun, as in that little short period which Longinus celebrates so much, *Τουτο το ψήφισμα τον τότε τη μολεη περιστάντα κινδυνον, παρελθον επισησει ωσπερ νεφος.* P. 171. *Morelli.* And the last sen-

tence of his famous oration *De Corona*, is concluded with the adjective *ασφαλῆς*; and often he concludes with a participle, and sometimes with a pronoun or an adverb. But he always gives that place to a word significant of something principal in the period, and tending to combine and to give an unity to the several parts of it.

"There are two passages, one from Isocrates, and another from Demosthenes, both upon the same subject, and therefore very properly compared together. The subject, too, is very important, and very interesting. It is the comparison of the character and manners of the Athenians in former times, with their character at the time when Isocrates and Demosthenes lived. The passage of Isocrates upon this subject, you have in the 17th chapter of this treatise, and in the three following chapters you have a most accurate criticism upon it, where the author not only shews that the composition of Isocrates is flat and languid, and not sufficiently condensed and rounded; but he shews how it might be made better, which is the most instructive of all criticisms, and indeed it is teaching the reader, as I am persuaded he taught his scholars. And he concludes with saying, that it is full of that puerile figure above mentioned called *παρισωσις*, which, he says, serves to divert the attention of the reader from the subject: and all his periods, he adds, are antitheses to one another, beginning, as I have said, with the words *Εχεινοι μιν γαρ*, —then *ἡμεῖς δὲ*, and with a *Τουτο μιν*, and a *τουτο δὲ*.

"The passage from Demosthenes, too, upon this subject, is likewise given at length, and both for matter and style it is wonderfully superior. And indeed I think I never

read a finer composition upon any subject. There are very few periods that are figured in the same way: and he enlivens his stile greatly, both in this and his other compositions, by using some short sentences without any period at all: these are commonly interrogations, by which he excites very much the hearer or reader. At the same time he has not avoided altogether those figures of sound which Isocrates appears to have studied chiefly; for he has used them sometimes, but never where it is improper, or where they do not serve to enforce his arguments: as where he sums up what he had said of the noble actions of their ancestors, both in peace and war, he has these words: *Εκ δε του Ἑλληνικα πιστως, τα προς τους Θεους τω δ' εν αυτοις ισως διοικειν, μεγαλην εικοτως εκικτηντο ευδαιμονιαν.* Here we have two members of the period concluded, each, with an adverb of the same termination: in the third member there is also an adverb of the same termination, but the member is concluded with the verb *διοικειν*. And the whole period is concluded, not with a verb, as Isocrates's periods always are, but with the noun *ευδαιμονιαν*. As to the matter of this composition, it does not belong to my present subject to speak of it: but I think that, in the matter, it exceeds Isocrates still more than in the stile. And I do not wonder at what the Halicarnassian says, that, he could not read the orations of Demosthenes, without feeling most sensibly all the several passions which he wants to inspire, such as fear, contempt, hatred, anger, envy, pity, and the rest. And that he was agitated by a kind of enthusiasm, like those who were initiated into the mysteries of the great goddesses. And if we, he adds, so far removed

from those times, and having no concern or interest in them, are so much moved by his speeches, how must the Athenians and other Greeks, living at that time, and so much interested in the affairs which are the subject of those orations, have been affected by them, when spoken by him who is allowed by every body to have excelled so much in action, the first quality of an orator. It was his excellence in that art, which made Æschines observe to those who so much admired his oration *De Corona*, when it was read to them, that they would have admired it very much more if they had heard him pronounce it.

“ He next compares two orations of Plato and of Demosthenes, both on the same subject, namely, the praise of the Athenians. The oration of Plato is a *λογος επιταφιος*, that is, a speech in praise of those who had fallen in battle, fighting for their country. It is contained in that dialogue of Plato called *Menexenus*. See chapter 25th and following of the Halicarnassian, where we have a very severe criticism of the stile of Plato, shewing that he is full of these pretty little ornaments first used by Georgias, as he tells us, of *antithesis* and *pariosis*, for the sake of which he has made his stile much too diffuse, and enervated the sense of it: and he gives an example in this period: *Εργων γαρ ευ πραχθεντων, λογω καλας ενθεντι μνημη και κοσμος τοις πραξασιν γινεται παρὰ των ακουσαντων;* where he observes, that in this short period there are three words that are *καρισα* to other three, that is, of the same form and structure, each to each. Then he says that the words in the end, *viz. παρὰ των ακουσαντων*, add nothing to the sense, but serve only to give a termination to the period which pleased the ear of Plato

Plato. In another passage of this panegyric, he observes these words, *τηχισμένη δὲ καὶ ταυπηγησμένη, ἐκδέχεται τὸν πόλεμον*; where we have three words with a triple rhyme to one another. Such rhymes, as I have observed, are not uncommon in Greek; but in good composition the words should be separated from one another, and should not be put in, any remarkable place, such as the beginning or end of a period, or member of a period, so that they may appear to answer to one another. And he has given us another flower of Plato in these words: *Ὡς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πρῶτον, καὶ ἰσχυρὰ, καὶ διὰ πάντος, πᾶσαν πάντως προθυμίαν, πειρασθὶ ἔχει*; where there is a strange gingle of words. But, in order to do all justice to Plato, he has given us the conclusion of this speech at full length, which, he says, is very justly admired: and indeed, for the matter it is much better than the rest of this oration; for there is a great deal of excellent morality in it, and much said in praise of a virtuous and a noble death, such as that of those men. But Dionysius says that it is more political than rhetorical; I would add, more philosophical: and his style favours more of the Socratic dialogue than of public speaking. And, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that it is only in philosophy and dialogue-writing that Plato excels; and I think Dionysius very properly applies to him what Jupiter in Homer says to Venus:

Οὐ σοί, τέκνον ἔμμεν, δίδεται πολέμια
ἔργα·
Ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' ἰμερόντα μετιέρχῃς ἔργα
γαμοῖο.

“As the professed purpose of this work is to shew the excellency of Demosthenes's style, by comparing him with other famous ora-

tors, (for, says he, every thing is best known by comparison with other things of the same kind), he gives us a long passage from Demosthenes's oration *πρὸς στεφάνου*, upon a very fine subject, and not unlike the subject treated of by Plato in his *λόγος ἐπὶ ταφῇ*, I mean the praise of the Athenians. It is a most wonderful composition, and I cannot praise it higher, than by saying that I think it the finest to be found in Demosthenes. It is, both for the matter and style, very much superior to the passage from Plato, which he sets against it, and which, he says, is the best thing in that funeral oration. There is none of those puerile ornaments in it which I have observed in Plato, but a great variety in the structure of the periods, which are now and then intermixed with short interrogations; and sometimes a single word makes a sentence by itself. And, in the whole of the composition, there is a tone of public speaking and of contention (for he was pleading against Æschines) which distinguishes it from all other kinds of style, even from the style of a panegyric oration; I say the tone of public speaking, which is felt by every body when the orator speaks his orations: but I think it is to be perceived even in the written composition of Demosthenes.

“But to return from Plato to Isocrates. This author has taken another way, besides those I have mentioned, to smooth and polish his style; and that is, by avoiding most anxiously the gaping of vowels upon one another. And, in general, I think Plutarch gives a very good account of the eloquence of Isocrates in the end of what he has written *De Gloria Atheniensium*, where he says that he spent his time

in contriving *Ἀρτισμὸς, παρίωνσις*, and what he calls *μοιοπύκνῳ*, that is, words of like flexion, joining and folding words together, and smoothing his periods as it were with a chissel and a plane.

“ From what I have said, it is evident that Isocrates studied very much the similitude of sound in his composition. And I am persuaded he was a man of such a genius, that he spent a great part of the many years which he employed in writing his famous oration, the panegyric, in studying ornaments of that kind. And I think it was natural enough that a little minded man, such as Isocrates appears to have been, should employ himself in studying those puerile ornaments, more than the matter, or the real beauties of composition: for that he was such a man, we must believe, if the story be true which Plutarch tells of him in the passage above quoted, that being asked, when he was very old, how he lived? As well, says he, as a man can do, that is above ninety years of age, and thinks death the greatest of all evils.

“ But Demosthenes had a genius above those puerile ornaments, which can only please boys or vulgar men. There is therefore very little of the similitude of sound, of either of the two kinds I have mentioned, to be found in Demosthenes. But in place of those gingling ornaments, and that uniformity of composition so frequent in Isocrates, he studied what was of much greater value, the music of his language, and laboured to grace his composition with a noble melody and dignified rhythm, (to use an expression of the Halicarnassian), giving it also that variety which, as the same author observes, must be studied in the melody and

rhythm, as well as in every other part of the composition.

“ The Halicarnassian, in his treatise *De Admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene*, has told us, what I think must certainly be true, of a musical language, such as the Greek, that with respect to the sound of the composition, nothing has such a power to affect the ears as the rhythm: for in all music, whether it be the diastematic music, that is, what we commonly call music, or the music of language, the rhythm is most powerful, and is what affects very much, not only the ears, but the mind; for according to the antient saying, ‘Rhythm is all in music.’

“ I have said a great deal of both the melody and the rhythm of the Greek language, in the fourth chapter of the second book of this volume, where I have endeavoured to shew, that though we have no practice of them in our language, nor indeed hardly an idea how they should be applied to language and make it so beautiful, yet we ought not for that to deny that they existed in the Greek language, and made a great part of the beauty of composition in Greek. And I will only add here, that the admirers of modern times, or rather of themselves, ought to consider, that the antients were men much superior to us in all the arts, and particularly in the great art of language, the greatest, in my opinion, as well as the most useful of all the human arts. If it were not so, we should be much to blame in passing so many of the most docile years of our life in the study of their language and arts; and a classical education, for promoting of which so many foundations have been made by our ancestors of schools and colleges and universities, would be a great absurdity

hardly. Now, if this superiority be admitted, we ought not to be surpris'd that the antient languages are not only superior to any modern in the grammatical part, which is so much more perfect in them than in the modern languages, that we could not have had an idea of its perfection, if their grammatical art had not come down to us exemplified by their writings, but also in the sound, which could not be transmitted to us as their grammar has been, and of which, therefore, we never can have the practice, though we may learn a little of the science of it, by what some of their authors have told us; as much, at least, as may satisfy us of the possibility of its existence. For my own part, the more I study antient books, and the more I live in the antient world, where I live as much or rather more than in the modern, the more I am convinced of the benefit of a classical education, without which, I think, no man can excel in any art or science of any value, nor can act a great or noble part in life.

"Every work of art, though in every other respect perfect, yet if it want variety, can never please. Now Demosthenes has made his composition so various, that by variety itself he has distinguished it more from the composition of other authors than by any other mark; for in most authors there is some word, or phrase, or particular turn of expression, which marks their stile, in the same manner as any strong feature distinguishes a face. But there is nothing of this kind in Demosthenes; for there are no such words or phrases in him. There is nothing like the *esse videatur* of Cicero, with which he concludes so many of his periods; and the general colour and complexion of

his stile is as various as possible; for sometimes he composes in long periods of many members, and sometimes in short periods; the members of his periods are also of different lengths, and variously joined together; and though it be true, what Cicero says of him, that he has hardly said any thing without some particular turn or figure of one kind or another, yet these are so varied, that he has no figure recurring so often as to distinguish his stile from that of any other author; and you will hardly find in him two periods together of the same form and structure. And there is a considerable part of his composition that is not in periods; for though there can be no good rhetorical composition without periods, more or fewer, yet it would be a fault if the whole composition was in periods; for it would be too uniform, wanting that variety, without which no work of art, as I have often had occasion to observe, can be beautiful. And this is a fault which I observe in Isocrates, in whose orations you have hardly any composition without a period. Such a stile I call declamatory; for there may be declamation in the sound of the composition, as well as in the words and the figure. Now Demosthenes has avoided that, by throwing in, among his periods, short sentences, commonly in the form of an interrogation, by which he excites the attention of his hearers, and brings home to them the argument more forcibly. The short sentence *πολλοι γὰρ καὶ δι*, he uses very frequently; and he sometimes makes the single word *μηδαμῶς* stand for a sentence. At other times he throws the single word, disjoined from all the rest, into the middle of a sentence, as in the word *ἴσας*, in the

G oration

oration *De Corona*. And, in the same oration, he throws into the middle of a period these two words, *αἰνέει, ἀσέχην*? unconnected with the rest. In this way he not only varies his composition agreeably, but he takes from it altogether the air of declamation, enforcing his arguments as if he were in private conversation with his hearers; which makes his orations much more persuasive than any declamation can be.

“ The reader ought not to be surprised that I have dwelt so long upon the sound of the language in Demosthenes’s orations; which he has varied not only by melody and rhythm most agreeably, as the Halicarnassian think, nor by composition only in periods, but by that variety of arrangement of his words, which so perfect a language as the Greek admitted, but which in him is more remarkable than in any other Greek author; and which, I am persuaded, must have very much pleased the ears of his hearers. Now, to please the ears of those he speaks to, is a great part of the art of an orator: for, as I have observed elsewhere, through the ear the mind is not a little affected, even of the best judges: and as to the people, they may be said to be led by the ears: and accordingly the statue of the Gallic Hercules, who, it seems, was their God of eloquence, was represented, as Lucian describes him, drawing the multitude after him by a chain, which reached from his mouth to their ears. How much the order and arrangement of words was studied among the Romans, I have proved from a passage of Cicero quoted above: nor can we suppose that it was less studied by Demosthenes, though I think I have shewn, in what I have

written upon the composition of the antients, that he did not study it for the pleasure of the ear merely, but likewise for the sense, which is more forcibly conveyed by one arrangement of the words than by another.

“ The pleasure which an oration gives to the ear, must depend upon the pronunciation of it: and therefore I consider Demosthenes, not as a writer only of orations, but as a speaker of them. It was in this that he excelled more, I believe, than in any other quality of an orator. Such was the opinion of his enemy Æschines, who certainly was a very good speaker himself; and yet he acknowledged the superiority of Demosthenes in that branch of the art. Nor would Demosthenes have said that action, of which pronunciation is the chief part, was the first, the second, and the third quality of an orator, if he had not himself excelled in it. He learned by his own experience, as well as by the advice of his friend the player, that the best composition, if not well pronounced, could not have the effect it ought to have upon the hearers; and I have no doubt but that, in his subterraneous retreat, his chief application was to form his voice and gesture. There must have been a beauty in the pronunciation of such compositions as his, with all the various changes of voice, of countenance, and of gesture, that the subject required, and, joined to all these, the melody and rhythm of the Greek language, (with the agreeable variety too, which we are told he gave them), such as we can hardly form an idea of, but which we are sure, from the effects it produced, must have pleased and moved his audience exceedingly. The written orations of his, that have come down to us,

we may consider as only the carcases of his orations, without that life and animation which his action must have given them. And it is only the authors who spoke, that I dignify with the name of orators: for the speaking orator may be compared to Daedalus, who, it is said, gave life and motion to his statues; whereas, those who only write speeches, are like our statuary, who make statues without life or animation.

Whether Cicero excelled or not in this principal quality of an orator, we do not know with any certainty; but I should rather think that he did not: for none of the cotemporary writers speak of his being eminent in action; not even he himself, who is never deficient in his own praise; nor does Quintilian, who praises him so much, speak of his eminence in that way; and Cicero himself tells us, that it was quite neglected by the orators of his time. When this was the case, I do not think that it is probable that it was much attended to by Cicero.

As to composition, I think there is no comparison betwixt him and Demosthenes: nor do I think that he deserves at all the character which Quintilian gives of Demosthenes: "Tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia et quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum is dicendi modus, ut nec quid redundet, invenias." Now, this density or constriction, if I may use the expression, in the form and structure of the periods of Demosthenes, which have nothing in them redundant or disfluent, and are equally remote from the loose flow of the historical stile, and the pompous and panegyric periods of Isocrates, is wanting in Cicero. He is copious, indeed, but he is too

much so. He has a great deal of the *opimum* and *adipatum genus dicendi*: for he has much flesh, but it is loose, not firm, nor of a good colour. And though he studied Demosthenes much, and even translated some orations of his; yet he appears to me to have formed himself more upon the model of Isocrates, and to have imitated him particularly in the figures of sound, and even to have exceeded him, as I think I have shewn. And indeed there is a rhyming, or rather a gingling of sounds, not set at some distance from one another, as in Isocrates, but joined together, such as I am persuaded would not have been endured at Athens, not even by the boys there, though it is likely that in Rome he was admired for them, and clapped in the manner that we applaud our players. And there is in his oration for Milo, (one of the most laboured, I believe, he ever wrote) a string of *antitheses* and *pariophes*, upon the subject of self-defence, such as is not to be found in Isocrates.

It is evident, however, that Quintilian prefers him to Demosthenes, and to every other orator of Greece. But it appears to me, that it had become a piece of national vanity among the Romans, as I have elsewhere observed, to prefer their own writers to the Greek. This began as early as the days of Cicero, who has not scrupled to say, that his own countrymen had made greater discoveries than the Greeks; and what they had taken from the Greeks, they had improved. But, at the time when Quintilian wrote, the study and imitation of the Greek writers appear to have been, in a great measure, laid aside among them; and their own authors were set up as standards of perfection in every kind of writing; Cicero in

oratory, Virgil in poetry, and Livy in history.

"But matters had not gone so far in the days of Cicero; nor do I believe that there was then in Rome a man of any taste or genius who preferred Cicero to Demosthenes; nor was Cicero's stile approved of by the critics of that age. His friend Brutus, and likewise Calvus, used the freedom to find fault with his composition, even to himself; and both the Asinius did the same. Cornelius Nepos, likewise, who is himself a correct and chaste writer, differed so much from him in judgment of stile, as Cicero himself tells us, that he disapproved very much even of what Cicero thought best in his own writings. These critics thought that his stile had not the true Attic colour, and was not suited to please a people, to whose taste Cicero himself bears this testimony, that, "*eorum semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans.*" They thought his stile had the Asiatic tumor, and was florid but not pure, nor what they call *sincere*. In short, it was of that taste which, as Cicero himself tells us, prevailed in Caria, Phrygia, and Mysia, but which the Rhodians, though separated from these people only by a narrow sea, disapproved of, and which the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, utterly rejected.

"But I have said enough, and perhaps more than enough, in another part of this volume, to shew that Cicero, as an orator, cannot be compared with Demosthenes, who, I agree with the Halicarnassian, was the greatest of all the antient orators, and therefore the greatest orator that ever has been, and the greatest that ever will be: for, as I have observed elsewhere, we have

not materials in the modern languages, of which it would be possible to compose such orations as those of Demosthenes, any more than it would be possible of such rough stones as we have in this country, to build temples such as those of Athens were, built of Pentelic marble. As, therefore, he is the perfection of the rhetorical art, it was proper that I should explain as well as I was able, all the virtues of an orator which he possesses. I have for him an enthusiastical admiration, such as the Halicarnassian seems to have had; for I have studied him more than any other Greek or Latin author; and he has been my companion in my journies for many years. I have also translated a great deal from him, and in so doing have formed my stile upon him, and have made it as like to his as a didactic stile, such as mine, should be to a rhetorical. This, I know makes my stile very unlike the fashionable stile of this age; but I flatter myself that it is not unlike the stile of Milton, the best English writer, in my opinion, both in verse and prose, and who, I have no doubt, formed his stile, particularly in his speeches, by the imitation of Demosthenes.

"I will conclude this chapter with recommending to the reader, if he desires perfectly to understand the beauty of Demosthenes's composition, to study what the Halicarnassian has written upon the antient orators, and particularly his treatise *De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene*, which, both for the matter and stile, I think, is the best of his critical works. He is, of all the writers upon criticism, the best teacher I ever read; for he not only shews you what is ill written, and gives you the reasons why it is so, but he likewise shews you how

may be better written, than which nothing can be more instructive. I know no author of any reputation, of whose works the manuscripts are more incorrect; and in several of his works, particularly his treatise upon Demosthenes, as I have observed, they are, in many places, mutilated and imperfect. But there is one use the Greek scholar may make, even of the defects of the manuscripts or of the printed editions; and that is to exercise his talents of criticism, by trying to anticipate the corrections made from the Vatican manuscript, or by such excellent scholars, as Henry Stephen, Sylburgius, and Wolfius, before he looks to their conjectures at the bottom of the page. It will be for a scholar, an agreeable, and I think not an illiberal amusement.

"I will only add one observation more upon the stile of Demosthenes, which I do not think has been made by the Halicarnassian, and it is this: That of the three kinds of eloquence, the deliberative, the judicial, and the epideictic, he ap-

pears only to have practised the two first. This made him perfectly master of the stile of these two, which he has practised without any mixture of the epideictic, and of those figures with which the epideictic abounds, such as the *parisosis*, *paronomasia*, *antithesis*, and *like endings*, by which the ear may be agreeably entertained; but the stile will want entirely the nerves and the force which we have both in the matter and stile of the deliberative and judicial orations of Demosthenes. And this makes the stile of Demosthenes more the stile of business than that of any other orator I know; for business must be treated in the stile of business, not in the pompous stile of declamation. When such is the stile, we are more apt to admire the orator, and to be pleased and entertained than convinced by his arguments; and in narrative, that stile is so far from being convincing, that it rather disposes us to believe that the story told by the orator, is a work of fancy and imagination."

DIDACTIC OBSERVATIONS relative to the ELOQUENCE of the BAR.

[From the second Volume of the BARRISTER, OR, STRICTURES ON the EDUCATION proper for the BAR.]

"THE various applications to the courts of law and equity, which arise from the practice, and do not involve any point or principle of law, but respect only the *hodierna consuetudo fori*, shall be considered as of too trivial a nature to excite the eloquence of the pleader, and be thrown out of the question. In all applications of this kind, these hints will suffice—that he preserves a clear order in

his statement—that what he states be facts, well seconded by proofs—that he avoids amplification, and requests nothing more from the court, than what the customary practice authorises,

"In this particular part of the profession, the practisers are attempting to reverse the old, and to establish a new mode of doing business. It was formerly held, that the attorney of a court should

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know the practice of his court—that this knowledge was directly in the line of his duty to his employer—that on the score of his skilfulness in practice, he was entitled to certain fees, which, if such knowledge was not necessary, might as well be earned by his bag-bearer as himself; but now the the practiser is free to confess, he knows nothing of the matter, and brings his client's business to that counsel who is best versed in the duty of the attorney. A barrister must, therefore, now descend to an intimate knowledge of the practice appropriate to his client: this is new; and it is not the natural order of the court.

“The chancellor, the master of the rolls, the judges on their different benches, do not clog their memories with the practice of the attornies in their different courts; they refer for information in these matters to their respective officers, and sometimes, to a practiser of known merit and integrity, who may be present.—“*De minimis non curat lex*,” is an old adage, and may be applied to the judges, with equal propriety as to the law itself; and those who administer the law, as well as those whose office it is to explain the principles of it, are not expected to be versed in the chicanery of the practice; as such astuteness sometimes leads to conduct not strictly honest; so it is always beneath the dignity of the bar; and this devolution of the duties of office arises, together with other improprieties, from the encouragement given to attorney barristers, or bar attornies.

“However this may be, it is by no means recommended to the barrister to be ignorant of the practice, as it is certainly the part of a good workman to know not only

the use of all his tools, but also to be skilled in the knack of keeping them in order, and of using each of them to the greatest possible advantage; besides it will give him a decided preference with the practisers.

“There never was an eminent lawyer from whose pleadings it was so difficult to take a good note, as the late Charles Yorke; he possessed an unbounded fluency of words, which generally led him into unnecessary amplification, and his arguments did not always possess method: *lucidus ordo* was rarely the merit of his eloquence; the attention was jaded by a verbosity, which might have suited a draftsman's office, for there it would have been reduced into method; but being applied to the ear only, confused the memory, instead of instructing the mind. But how different was the clear, the well adapted language of the present lord Loughborough—a desire to amplify, never led him to involve himself in words; at the same time, perspicuous method gave such a clue to the attention of those who heard him, that the principles on which he reasoned, as well as his application of them, remained fixed in the memory, or clearly recorded in the note books of his auditors. This nobleman has produced to our observation, a remarkable instance of what an union of ability with industry may effect in the profession; they have placed a man, born and educated in North Britain, at the head of English eloquence; and have raised an advocate, unsuccessful at the Scotch bar, to the rank of an English nobleman, and made him chief of the most ancient and respectable common law court in the kingdom.

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"A clear arrangement of the parts of a special argument, is essential to its being clearly understood; and that the principles attempted to be enforced, may be established in the minds of those whose office it is to determine, it is necessary they should be understood, unless they will not bear examination; therefore, when the case is well founded, method is necessary to insure success.

"But it should be also in the mind of the speaker, that his duty is not only to explain what the law is; but also to enforce that interpretation of it, which bears most favourably towards the interests of his client—this is more emphatically his duty, while it remains with the court to take care, that his ingenuity does not wrest from them a determination not warranted by law.

The arrangement, therefore, of the argument, possibly, should not always tend to establish this lucid order in the minds of his hearers, although it should flow from this perspicuous view of the whole argument in his own mind—such a view as will enable the speaker, in his reply, to defend on the spot, each weakness in his argument which may be subject to be attacked; and to defend it also, with all the ingenuity of practised sophistry.

"First principles of law are sometimes the major propositions on which his argument rests, the conclusion being a judgment of the court, favourable to the client: when this is the case, a single syllogism would do the business; but it would also do, according to the popular phrase, the business of the barrister. Here, therefore, amplification is not redundancy, and a flow of words may be necessary; not to his arguments, but to his

reputation with his clients; who are too apt to conceive, that what is soon said cannot be well said; and therefore will not allow that a barrister's reputation is well supported, or a case is properly argued, by a short, although successful argument.

"Sometimes a judgment of the court, favourable to the client, must be attempted by a multiplicity of cases, collected from the various law reporters—sometimes deviations from general principles, with a view to more substantial justice, than the strict application of the principles themselves alone would warrant, will be the object of the pleader's attention; sometimes the black-lettered maxims of the law, subsequent acts of parliament, which may have altered or explained them, also numerous quotations from the reports, are altogether necessary to the argument; nay, the field is sometimes still more extended, the natural rights of man, the law of nations, the dogmas of the ancient legislators, the apothegms of their philosophers and moralists, must be had recourse to; but ever, the wider the field, and the greater the quantity of matter to be digested, the stronger is the necessity of method and arrangement.

"Method is also necessary in an address to juries; an exordium and peroration has a more striking effect on their minds, than with more instructed judges. The passions, the prejudices of mankind, are more likely to be excited by the opening or conclusion of a speech in a country excise, than within the walls of Westminster Hall; yet there, in special arguments, such an observation of the rules of eloquence among the ancients, has its peculiar grace and effect, in gain-

ing the attention of, and leaving an impression on, the minds of the judges; and, with respect to these more ornamented parts of an oration, Cicero details the best precepts in the most elegant language. On the subject of an exordium, he says, "*Oportet ut adibus ac templis vestibula et additus, sic causis principia proportionem rerum præponere.*" And to caution the speaker against offending by a pompous or pathetic appeal to the unalienable rights of man, or to the sacred or reciprocal duties, or affections of domestic life, when the cause hinges on a trifling dispute of property; he adds "*Itaque in parvis et infrequentibus causis, ab ipsâ re est exordiri sæpe commodius.*"

"These excellent hints are quoted, because they are worthy the attention of the first orators at our bar; and deserve the consideration of those who would wish to shun imperfections, which even the most successful among us have not always avoided.

"And, as the same master of eloquence informs us, that in our opening we should try to make the judges attentive, and favourable to us; or in the language of these days, get possession of them; so he also tells us, that it should be attempted by somewhat that is connected with the cause, and not like the prelude of a musician, "*tanquam citharædi præmium, affectum aliquod; sed, coherens cum omni corpore, membrum esse videatur.*"

"Quintilian must also be attended to on this subject: he insinuates the necessity of order and method throughout, and applies his observations both to the opening and to the conclusion of a speech; and seems to lay most stress on the conclusion—for he says,

"*concitare quoque invidiam, odium,*

iram, liberius in peroratione contingit."

And as it was the universal opinion and practice of the ancient orators, to impress, by the peroration, the greatest strength and weight of their client's cause; so also it is the practice of the most eloquent among the moderns; but there are some who do not, while they are pursuing this rule, bear in mind the great difficulty there is in exciting their auditors affections by the pathetic; who are not aware of the ludicrous effect arising from an abortive attempt to stir up the more tender sympathies of the mind, and strike water from the fountain of tears: such pretenders to the finer traits of eloquence, should recollect the advice of this great rhetorician of antiquity, "*Illud præcipue moneandum, nequis nisi summis ingenii viribus, ad movendas lacrymas aggredi audeat—Nihil habet ista res medium, sed, aut lacrymas meretur, aut risum.*"

"As the principal object of the exordium is to render the auditors favourable and attentive; any attempt to disperse that attention is unreasonable, and consequently, any interruption of the speaker is want of manners, and such interruption from an opponent is particularly illiberal; yet too often do we see and hear the gentlemen of the profession, rudely stopping each other in the midst of their harangues; and and in the presence of crowded courts, and to the great mirth of the vulgar, who enjoy such ludicrous instances of boyish manners, enveloped in all the dignity of gown and wig.

"An interruption of this nature, continued for some time, by those monosyllables expressive of contempt, pish! and pooh! roused at last the indignation of a learned orator, in a crowded nisi prius court at a late assize, and produced the

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the following reproof, delivered with a particular emphasis:

"Brother, you may pish and pool your heart out, I do not mind it a farthing; if his lordship had pished and poohed, there might have been something in it!" To be sure the reproof has no attic salt in it, yet it possessed one merit; the occasion demanded a reproof; but what was the effect on the minds of a crowded audience? a general sentiment of derision, amounting nearly to contempt; a feeling, which, if repeatedly excited by the gentlemen of the bar, against each other, will tend to extinguish the small degree of respect which remains in the minds of the million, for the profession of the law, and its numerous adherents.

"Make use, therefore, of wit, joke, satire, and repartee, with great caution; they are all two-edged tools; and like them, cut two ways; they wound him who handles them injudiciously, as well as the individual on whom their temper is tried; they may create enmities and dissolve friendships; but never will gain friends, or increase esteem; it is cowardly to make use of them, on those who cannot reply; and dangerous on those who can: they are also much out of place in our courts of justice; business of the greatest importance to the suitors is there to be determined on; the life, the reputation, the property of the individual, is at stake; and judgment is obtained at an immense expence: ruin to both parties is not unfrequently the consequence, even where the object in dispute does not appear to be considerable: is wit, joke, satire, or repartee, a salve for such sores? are they not rather an aggravation of the wound? The suitors, when their feelings are treated with such exas-

perating caustics, may well exclaim, with Æsop's frogs, when pelted by boys, What is play to you, is death to us.

"But still, there is such a pleasant quickness in the relish of genuine attic salt, that a speech may certainly be rendered palatable by a light sprinkling, which would otherwise pall upon the sense; let therefore the use and application of it be guided by the following, among other excellent rules of our great master: "*Omnino probabiliora sunt, quæ laceffiti dicimus quam quæ priores, nam et ingenii celeritas major est, quæ apparet in respondendo, et humanitatis est responsio: videmur enim quieturi fuisse nisi effemus laceffiti.*" It is plain, that if all were to follow strictly this maxim, there would be an end of satiric wit in our courts of justice; because none would begin the attack; and wit seems to be in some esteem with Cicero; for, speaking of it under the designation of facetiousness, he adds, "*Est plane oratoris movere risum;*" and gives the following, among other reasons, for his opinion; "*Maximèque quod tristitiam, ac severitatem, mitigat, et relaxat, odiosasque res sæpe quas argumentis dilui non facile est, joco risuque dissolvit.*"

"Any one who will run over those strictures which Cicero has given, with respect to the application of wit and satire to the eloquence of the bar, will find every idea on the subject which can assist the judgment, not only of youth, but also of experience, elucidated by the most elegant language; and in so full a manner, that it may be asserted with truth—the best practice of the moderns need only keep in view, those precepts of this ancient master of his profession, which tend to confine the application of wit, or to purify its use."

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The STUDY of POLITE LITERATURE defended against the
OBJECTION that it is USELESS, and even PERNICIOUS to
SOCIETY.

[From M. de ROSENSTEIN'S ORATION delivered before the SWEDISH
ACADEMY, translated by N. G. AGANDER.]

"FROM the four following sources are derived those arguments, the grounds of which I venture to deny: the examples recorded in history; a comparison between those periods in which polite learning has flourished, and in which it was unknown; the very nature of elegant learning; and the dispositions and conduct of those who are devoted to its pursuits.

"Examples deduced from history I mention first, well persuaded that they have long and powerfully supported the cause of error. There is not any thing, of which mankind have been more ignorant, than of the science of social life. The imperfections incident to every form of government I do not arraign. How indeed could perfection be attained, without mature consideration; and who can expect mature consideration in works produced by the fortuitous course of events, by the tyranny of circumstances? Among the ancient states, Sparta alone could boast a legislation connected in all its parts: yet, by militating against the strongest propensities of human nature, the Spartan laws excited a perpetual conflict, that ended in the destruction of that country. The governments at present subsisting may be aptly compared to Gothic edifices improved by the hand of taste.

"It may be observed, that a prudent extent of territory, a comprehensive experience, and an industrious pursuit of happiness, have contributed more to the public and

private advantage of mankind, than the most admired laws of the ancient legislators. There still, however, subsist so many fundamental defects and errors, so much opposition between different parts of the same system, that no modern form of government can be considered as a just model for imitation. Venice will perhaps be pointed out as an exception; a republic of which the constitution has survived its greatness, and a material change in the sentiments of the people. But what a constitution! Equally unshaken, Oriental despotism has a higher claim to antiquity.

"Nevertheless, history has long been considered as affording examples for the construction of forms of government. Athens, Carthage, and Rome, are objects of enquiry in France, England, and Sweden. Elevating their voice, philosophers have at length ventured to ask, if France be Athens, England Carthage, or Sweden Rome? Is it not, however, often asserted, that after having lost her simplicity, frugality, and poverty, Sparta was no more; that Athens, by encouraging public spectacles, ceased to conquer; instead of a Miltiades, an Aristides, a Themistocles, she had a Menander, a Plato, a Demosthenes? Charmed with the eloquence of Cicero, the poetry of Virgil, and Horace, the Romans supinely neglected their country's freedom. Alarming examples these! alarming, indeed, for governments like these!

But other causes sufficiently account for the destruction of liberty.

"By the frantic rage of conquest, every small community must fall a victim to its own weakness, every extensive monarchy a prey to its own grandeur. The love of peace will not shield the former from the attacks of an ambitious neighbour; unavoidable necessity compels them to combat, to conquer, or to perish. A political truth this, which will throw some light on the ruins of ancient governments.

"The Lacedæmonians, designed by Lycurgus to be protected by valour, from equality and poverty to derive peace and contentment, to possess independence by ruling only over themselves; these people lost their strength, when, instead of preserving a system of self-defence, they committed hostilities upon others; engaged in war with a superior force, they soon ceased to be independent; their happiness was alike destroyed by the consequences of victory or of adverse fortune. Athens found it impossible to support, undiminished, that vigour of mind, that heroic valour, which on the field of Marathon, and on the shore of Salamis, enabled a handful of men to vanquish armies numerous beyond the experience or the belief of modern times.

"That the decline and fall of the Roman empire was the inevitable consequence of its extravagant ambition, who can question? But why have not those acute reasoners, who pretend to trace events to their causes, shewn, whence proceeded the destruction of those states, on whose ruin Rome raised her Colossean greatness? Was it luxury and elegant learning which destroyed the Sabines, the citizens of Veji, the Volscians, and the Latins: or did not their own weakness aban-

don their destiny to the chance of war? Imperious Rome herself had, more than once, nearly seen falsified her real, or pretended dreams of eternity.

"With these events literature had not any, or at most a very slight connection. To elegant occupations Sparta paid little attention; nay, if destitute of poets and orators, Athens would have fallen like Sybaris, Capua, and unlettered Carthage. Had Rome erected her vast monarchy, without subjecting Greece; in all probability Rome would have been little acquainted with polite learning; but, most certainly, her power, like that of Persia and Macedon, must have declined.

"But should the influence of elegant learning be allowed to have been injurious to ancient states; at present, however, it cannot be considered in that light. This, the history and constitution of modern governments will sufficiently evince.

"The polite subjects of Lewis XIV. were warriors not less courageous than the ruder Germans and Spaniards, whom they opposed. This monarch, the patron of polite learning, like Augustus, riveted, it is true, the fetters of slavery on the nation: yet, at the same period, amidst the flourishing growth of science and elegant learning, the English fixed on a firm basis, their admirable constitution,

"How little the destiny of ancient governments ought, at present, to excite our alarm, every reflecting mind will easily perceive. Extent of territory and power are more equally distributed; envy and fear, the centinels of the strong, prove the guardians of the weak: restrained by finance, war is less calculated for conquest, than for de-

defence; knowledge is applied to the advantage of society. Without opposing the moderate claims of the human passions, their excess only is consigned to punishment; the demands of liberty seek an equality in natural, rather than in acquired, privileges; rather private security, than political pre-eminence. An uniformity of conduct will then secure modern governments against all those calamities, which flow not from foreign and external causes. But, perhaps, I have examined, too minutely, an argument which the more intelligent adversaries of literature will not very strenuously defend.

"To enforce our reasoning, we need not, they will alledge, have recourse to history, nor exhibit instances of extreme danger, to shew the necessity of condemning the effects of elegant learning. It is enough, if mankind be more effeminate, more criminal, than in former times. If, from our own degeneracy, we have reason to expect a progeny still more corrupt than ourselves; is our improvement in knowledge to be considered as advantageous? By giving new play to the affections, have not the pursuits of elegant learning, materially contributed to produce the evils of which we now complain?"

"Prevented, as I am, by a want of leisure, not by a dread of the weight of my opponent's arguments, from replying at large to objections, on the minds of many very deeply impressed by the deluding colours of eloquence; yet a concise view of the progress of society will evince, that no comparison has been made between the advantages and evils; that, if a change of manners be a calamity,

it is an unavoidable one; and that a mere effect has been preposterously mistaken for a cause.

"Amidst the variety of human conditions, there is none which can boast advantages, unconnected with disadvantages. These, on the contrary, will seldom be found unalleviated, if we set aside the unnatural situations of despotism on the one hand, and of slavery and oppression on the other. The state of savages, their gradual progress in civilization, I forbear mentioning. It will not be necessary to refute those, who delight in declaiming on the felicity of barbarism, if it be considered with what difficulty savages provide for their sustenance, what ceaseless hostility they exercise against each other, and that languor clouds, and frequently shortens their monotonous lives.

"Taught to depend no longer for subsistence on the destruction of animals, or on the spontaneous productions of the earth, but obliged to cultivate the ground, mankind fixed on a determinate spot, though not without danger of being expelled by invaders more powerful than themselves. Such a situation the dawn of society presents to our view: but how gloomy is yet the prospect! Turning our eyes from states destroyed in their infancy; from nations, either long since buried in their ruins, or still groaning under oppression, let us, excluding circumstances merely casual, and attending to general causes, contemplate some of those people who have passed through all the several stages from barbarism to refinement.

"After the means of subsistence are provided, the next desire of man, is for personal liberty. Dismantling the bonds, which prevent mankind from employing their faculties

erties for the promotion of their happiness, liberty does not desist from her claims, till all unnecessary restraints are removed. Property once secured, produces inequality of circumstances; inequality affording a scope to man's natural propensity to ease, engenders luxury, a subject productive of much contention among philosophers and politicians.

"This natural progress of society, is frequently retarded or accelerated, by accidental causes. These causes exhibit a people, struggling under internal or foreign restraint, regaining lost freedom, again sinking under a superior force, until at length human nature becomes impatient of bondage, and every thing recovers its stated course. Amidst these different situations, national manners, depending on the different degrees of civilization, will undergo material changes. At first, rude and barbarous, then simple and unpolished, afterwards enlightened, lastly arriving at the highest pitch of politeness, mankind become prudent in their conduct, delicate in their conversation, and refined in their sentiments.

"From this ordinary progress, there will, however, be deviations. A people exerting all their force to defend or enlarge their territory, display actions wonderful, laudable, and frequently honoured with the name of heroism. But this enthusiasm soon subsides. At other times happy or untoward circumstances have an extraordinary effect. To such a degree of corruption the morals of men may arrive, the human mind may become so debased and effeminate, so willing to submit to the first yoke which shall be imposed, as to allow despotism to annihilate every idea of public virtue.

"Hence it appears, that the changes, which take place in society, are of two kinds: either proceeding from accidental causes, or inevitably derived from the very nature of civil communities.

"If the former be productive of greater inconveniences than advantages, they may properly be arraigned as requiring redress. The latter, no wise man will censure, nor attempt to place barriers against the uniform and irresistible course of nature. Those countries which possess the largest share of freedom and security, the sage will consider as the most happy; as the least imperfect that system of laws, which imposes the smallest constraint upon the human passions. Without dwelling on defects and inconveniences which flow from the very source of virtue, he is persuaded, that, in all ages mankind, bearing a strong resemblance to each other, are ever actuated by the same motives: ambition, envy, and self-interest. The predominance of certain virtues or vices, occasions a diversity of manners. The most estimable virtues, however, result from that state of society, in which mankind have obtained the valuable right of seeking happiness without injuring each other, and have secured this important right by established laws.

"These observations are sufficient to disprove the answer to the censure, which has been thrown on modern times and modern manners.

"If we have clearer ideas of the rights of human nature, of the origin and aim of society; if already influencing the conduct of sovereigns, and the laws of nations, these ideas procure a more tranquil enjoyment of advantages natural or acquired: surely we have no reason to look back with an eye of envy
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on former times. If more humane and reasonable, more benevolent and social, our manners flow from the natural progress of civil society: then is every complaint against them as unfounded as it is insignificant. We are evidently, therefore, advanced to that degree of civilization, at which it was expedient that we should arrive; nor could its attendant inconveniences be removed, without introducing still greater evils. How little the ancient states are calculated to become examples to the modern, has already been demonstrated.

"Having thus endeavoured to answer objections, by which this subject has been obscured, I may now be permitted to investigate the nature of polite literature, and its peculiar influence upon society. This, perhaps, ought to have been my first object. But prejudice, opposed by truth, resembles a citadel, assaulted by a superior force: when its outworks, the principal strength are once broken down, its entire destruction is easily accomplished.

"The first idea, suggested by the *Belles Lettres*, demonstrates them to be rather the consequence than the cause of the manners of mankind. By civil society, the mind must be prepared to receive their impressions. Inachus, Cecrops, and Danaus, preceded Amphion, Linus, and Orpheus, who also, it is said, spoke only to the ear. Before Homer could address the fancy, what further progress must not society have made! Elegant learning depends on the degree of civilization, no less for its gradual advancement, than for its first rise. Though since the revival of letters, the valuable remains of the ancients engage the attention of modern nations, their taste is formed essentially by internal causes. The

character of the people, for whom an author writes, must be studied by him, if he wishes to seize the heart. The prevailing sentiments of a nation have a considerable influence upon individuals. Hence the connexions observed between the genius of a people and their taste. That every material change in the civilization, manners, and sentiments of mankind, has had a proportionate influence on their taste and literature, I shall endeavour to evince. Uncommon flights of genius must, however, be excepted, which, soaring beyond the bounds of the present age, contribute to form the taste of posterity.

"The political causes which principally influence the manners of a nation, create and perfect the *Belles Lettres*; these, in their turn, are not destitute of effects, for in the moral world, effects re-act upon their causes. Before the question be examined whether the influence of elegant learning be useful or injurious, the nature of this influence ought to be ascertained.

"Of some few, the entire attention is devoted to polite learning: In others, by employing those vacant hours which can be spared from business or trivial pursuits, polite literature becomes a rich source of innocent pleasure, opens a large field for imagination, quickens sensibility, extends the knowledge of human nature, refines the sentiments, destroys grosser attachments, and gives birth to a more delicate choice of amusements, to more exquisite recreations, to a more enlightened intercourse. Inaccessible to all but men of science, many truths have, by the help of elegant learning, been generally diffused; and from the superiority of the objects of its enquiry, the human understanding has increased its

penetration. And can it be imagined, that such effects would be injurious? No, it is answered, not so much, on a superficial survey, as they will appear on a more accurate inspection. The pleasures of imagination are often indulged to an immoderate degree? by refinement, conversation becomes less sincere: the Belles Lettres, administering amusements which lead to vices, and often exercised on criminal subjects, prove the causes of effeminacy, and the corruptors of manners.

"There is nothing, however excellent and laudable it may be, that is not subject to inconvenience, and liable to abuse. Without entering upon a new defence of our present political and moral situation, I shall content myself with referring to what has already been said respecting the necessity of that situation. When we reflect, that the Belles Lettres cannot flourish except amongst a people who have arrived at a certain degree of ease and opulence, the surest mode of ascertaining whether they are useful or pernicious, will be to compare two nations placed on the same degree in the scale of civilization, one of which cultivates the polite arts, and the other neglects them entirely. Polite literature and the sciences mutually assist each other. It is difficult to arrive at the latter, without passing through the former: it would be madness to think of attaining the sciences, while the study of the Belles Lettres was proscribed. It is physically impossible, that the human mind should expand in the vast field of intellectual exertion, while so absurd a barrier is opposed to our progress. The only difference between science and the polite arts is this, that the first

acts more upon the understanding, and the latter have a greater influence on manners and the conduct of life.

"Let us then imagine to ourselves, as I have already observed two nations enjoying an equal portion of security and welfare; in each of these nations will exist the same degree of sensuality and luxury, and thence in each nation will arise the same defects and the same vices.

"But if one of these nations was destitute of elegant learning, unsusceptible of any refined pleasure, and solely addicted to sensual enjoyments, it would soon become the victim of indolence, cowardice, and effeminacy. Such has been the fate of those nations, which, without knowledge, have obtained power. Of this the Persians, Macedonians, and Turks, are sufficient examples. A similar destiny will be experienced by those people who, without attending to the cultivation of their minds, enjoy merely the conveniences of life. The European colonies are proofs of this assertion.

"On the contrary, in another nation, equally powerful and prosperous, the culture of elegant learning will produce congenial sentiments of patriotism. Independently of the diffusion of useful knowledge, polite literature excites and cherishes moral feelings, which by restraining sensual pleasures within proper limits, excite and encourage men of talents, by the hopes of immortal fame. This is a motive, which, on the first repose of Rome from the yoke of despotism, animated the genius of Tacitus and Pliny; and which, preserving for a time the ancient grandeur of the empire, rendered less pre-

precipitate the fall of the Roman world. This argument will obtain additional force, by considering European nations, which, with forms of government nearly similar, possess different degrees of knowledge.

"It remains, that I should mention those faults which have been objected to the votaries of taste; faults scarcely deserving notice, when urged as serious reproaches.

"The charms of poetry, it is alleged have been prostituted in fulsome flattery upon the most unworthy monarchs. But we certainly ought not to charge poetry with its abuse. Was the sovereign, who admired and rewarded flattery, ever destitute of sycophants? To the princes who have despised or neglected literature, flatterers have not been wanting, not even to Caligula, who profanely wished to destroy the works of Virgil. Lewis the XIV. has perhaps been too highly praised: but Lewis, really great, was instigated by praise itself to noble actions. In the same age, Butler and Dryden were allowed to languish in poverty, by Charles the II. while he supported ministers who encouraged his effeminate indolence, and courtiers who entertained his voluptuous levity. Let us view mankind as they are. Few form their own characters: those of the generality arise from circumstances. Between flattery and elegant learning there is no close connection: on the contrary, the first and most natural effect of the Belles Lettres, is to elevate the mind. But when found to be the road to preferment, adulation will alike be pursued by the indigent, the ambitious, the scholar, the courtier, and the warrior. In such a situation, men of letters deserve our utmost pity, as the monu-

ments of their genius perpetuate their dishonour. Happy the author who can safely utter truth, and who is sufficiently spirited to exercise that valuable privilege.

"The most enraptured votaries of learning, who are blessed with a fruitful and ardent imagination, are unqualified, it is affirmed, for those duties of life which require reflection: their behaviour is generally singular, and their restless mind is the sport of unruly passions.

"But of this remark, liable to so many exceptions, what is the inference?

"It proves only, that mankind should follow the impulse and direction of nature. If they feel a strong incitement to elegant learning, why should they resist its pleasing influence? In obeying the dictates of nature, they are most likely to be useful to themselves and to society; and the fire of genius, instead of being injurious, will animate them to the pursuit of knowledge and virtue.

"Far, therefore, from being condemned, the culture of elegant learning ought to be highly encouraged. The leisure which they have devoted to the Belles Lettres, will not be regretted by those who regard them merely as an amusement; they will hence learn to arrange their thoughts, to give dignity to the passions. Capable of procuring for themselves a sublime and heart-felt satisfaction, they will despise the noisy pleasures which captivate the croud. Those who feel themselves impelled to devote their principal attention to polite learning, will not fail of an adequate reward.

"If the Belles Lettres afford a necessary aid to science; if they polish the manners, mitigate or diminish the pernicious effects of prosperity;

perity; if they communicate pleasures frugal and profitable; if they brighten the gloom of solitude, and comfort the heart in the hour of affliction; if, by instilling the love of virtue, they elevate the mind to patriotic sentiments: then must their votaries not be accounted useless members of society. Then

may they condemn the railings of ignorance and prejudice, and expect the esteem of every liberal mind. From an enlightened government they have a right to protection: from posterity they may promise themselves that fame which they deserve."

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS on EPIC POETRY, in general.

[From TINDAL'S JUVENILE EXCURSIONS in LITERATURE and CRITICISM.]

"**N**O human invention appears more perfect or admirable than the construction of an Epic Poem. This is most strikingly evident, if we consider such a production, independently of all poetical ornament, merely as a portion of history; the main subject of which is presented to our view in its full amplitude, while the events, anterior and subsequent, but so connected as to render them more or less interesting, are announced in the summary mode of epifodical digression. Although, for many and obvious reasons, such a plan could never be adopted in general history, it has proved, in numerous instances, the most perfect mode of treating the events of any remarkable period that the art of man could devise. So excellent, indeed, is it, that in an epic poem founded on real but remote events, we, always, with some reluctance, allow to the requisite poetical ornaments the ungrateful prerogative of detracting from truth.

"The drama seems indebted to the epic for its entire structure. Aristotle, indeed, tells us tragedy

was originally derived from Dithyrambic song. It would be strange presumption to differ from Aristotle; but may we not venture to suspect, that whatever the drama may, in other respects, owe to the antient Dithyrambic, it borrowed its form and structure, entirely, from the poems of Homer; which were anterior to, and, in fact, seem the parents of all other poetry. The drama is, indeed, the epic in miniature, though, in a manner realized by action. Aristotle contends, also, for its superior excellence to the epic. But in what, except in actual representation, does this superior excellence consist? "It might adopt its metre," he tells us: but it were, perhaps, better it did not. "It admits music, and decoration." After distinguishing properly, as he does in the beginning of this chapter, between real and popular excellence, it is rather wonderful he should mention these as turning the scale in favour of the drama: for, although they may serve to heighten illusion, and, thus, give a popular superiority, they are, certainly, no

more than adscititious and accidental advantages *.

"An epic poem, according to the French critics, (who have ever been improving upon the subtleties and nice distinctions of Aristotle, and are often pedantic when he is not so,) is no more than an allegory contrived to illustrate some moral truth. "The poet," says Bossu, "must begin with fixing on some maxim or instruction, which he intends to inculcate on mankind. He next forms a fable, like one of Æsop's, wholly with a view to the moral; and having thus settled and arranged his plan, he then looks into traditional history for names, and incidents, to give his fable some air of probability." "Never," as Dr. Blair observes, (and I believe the reader will agree with him), "never did a more frigid, pedantic notion enter into the mind of a critic." But let us see. The moral of Homer is the fatal effects of dissension in chiefs: Milton's, of disobedience to the Divine command: of Virgil, it is not easy to say what, unless it be the necessity of perseverance and fortitude. But the chief design of Virgil was, professedly, to "celebrate the original of the Roman empire:" here, then, the moral is only secondary. That Homer's intention, in writing a poem, was principally to aggrandise his country, and compliment his countrymen on the exploits of their immediate ancestors, there can be little doubt. Of Milton, we are told by the author of his life, the first design of writing an epic poem was owing to a conversation

about Tasso, and his famous poem of the Delivery of Jerusalem. In some Latin verses to Manso, we find he had pitched on king Arthur for his hero. In an eclogue, made soon after his return into England, "he proposed the same design, and the same subject; and declared his ambition of writing something in his native language, which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though it might be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world." Here, then, we see emulation giving the first hint; ambition, and the love of fame ripening it into action: and, from the change of subject, we may reasonably conclude the moral of his intended poem was the least part of his concern. But there needs not a laboured deduction of circumstances. It must be evident to every one, that the moral, which the French writers represent as the poet's chief business, is, usually, only an accidental and sometimes unintentional result of his performance. His great desire is to please and entertain: and his highest concern is to find a tale, tradition, or fragment of history that will admit of the requisite embellishments of poetry, and come within the prescribed limits of the art.

"Of the unity of fable, likewise, much more has been said by modern critics, than any precepts rightly deduced from their founder Aristotle will justify: nor is he, it may be reasonably conjectured, always infallible in his judgments. He says, "a fable should be an imitation of an action that is one and entire." The test he proposes

* * Aristotle, I know, enumerates music and decoration among the six parts of tragedy. But it may, reasonably enough, be queried, whether tragedy may not exist, as such, independently of actual representation. If it may, the two last mentioned parts must be unessential."

of this unity is, "that the parts of the fable should be so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed, or taken away, the whole will be destroyed," or (a very singular alternative!) be "changed." Now the question is, whether this might not be said of any fable extant, composed of parts however heterogeneous and discordant? We need only call these unsociable members episodes or digressions, and say, in signing their mittimus, "whatever may be either retained or omitted, without making any sensible difference, is not properly a part." Enough will still, probably, stick together, to constitute what, by these criteria, we may call a fable. Try even the Iliad, much more the Odyssey, by these maxims, and their fable will melt away like a mass of snow in the sunshine. But these analytical niceties, as applied to poetry, this measuring the productions of genius by the yard, and half-yard, is, always, to be suspected. A time will come, I am persuaded, when the poor muse will find a more liberal gentleman-usher than Aristotle. His plan will, however, it is hoped, serve as a model and foundation for future codes of criticism. As matters now are, I much doubt whether a man ever was, or ever could be made, a better poet, or even a better critic by studying Aristotle.

"But let us descend to experiment; the death of Hector is, surely, a no less important event than the anger of Achilles. It is, moreover, an entire action in itself; and might, by the relation of prior incidents, and of those that led immediately to it, compose a fable of sufficient length and importance for the epic writer. "This might do for tragedy, would an Aristotle-

lian say, but is composed of too few parts for an epic poem." "Are there," would a modern petit-maitre in poetry exclaim, "any exact boundaries prescribed to which the epic must be extended? Is it always judged necessary, the world should be lulled to slumber by twenty odd books of tedious sublimity?"

*"A cette abondance cruelle
Je veux toujours, en verité,
Et de la Farc, et de Chapelle,
Preferer la sterilité."*

Though I cannot agree with these over-refined and indolent gentlemen, in this preference of the delicate shrub of modern poetry, to the sturdy, branching oak of antique growth, yet it does not seem necessary that critical precepts drawn from the productions of antiquity, however excellent, should be extended to all future exertions of the muse.

"A fable, as entire, is required also by Aristotle to have a distinctly apparent beginning, middle, and end. "A beginning, which does not, necessarily, suppose any thing before it; but which requires something to follow it. An end, which supposes something to precede it, but which nothing is required to follow. A middle, which both supposes something to precede, and requires something to follow." These may be easily found, no doubt, in all the epic writers of antiquity. But may they not be, also, easily imagined in all poetic, or even prose narrations that proceed in a regular series of events? In truth, this distinct apportionment of the parts of an epic poem seems one of the over-niceties, or rather pedantics of criticism, that have descended to us from its revered founder. Fond of minute

division, and exact method, he wished to introduce a logical precision even into the efforts of imagination; and having discovered, or fancied this excellence in Homer, at once judged it essential to the epic. But it is sufficient to say, in refutation of it, that no such division exists, or can exist, in the order of nature. The proportion he ascribes to the events that constitute the middle of an epic poem, are such as belong to events in general; and of these must both the beginning and end of a poem be composed.

"Unity of place has been much insisted on, as essential to the drama, by modern critics, though we can discover little or nothing said on the subject in the poetics, from whence they pretend to derive all their maxims. But they deduced this, in all probability, from those specimens of the ancient drama which still exist; and, in which, indeed, it is always preserved. This unity has never, that I know of, been judged essential to the epic. It seems, however, no inconsiderable advantage, with respect both to clearness of design, and to the interest of the reader. Were it not for the dread of imputed singularity and paradox, I should venture even, to pronounce, that whereas it is, in the drama, an imaginary beauty, it is in the epic, a real and important excellence. It may highly gratify the critic, in his closet, to see a dramatic author conform to his rigid maxims; but it is not very easy to imagine why an audience cannot as readily suppose a change of place, between the acts of a performance, as give into all the other delusions requisite to accomplish the ends of a poet. But, in the epic, this unity serves a very useful purpose. By incidental

sketches, it gradually brings us acquainted with the whole scenery around; and that in a manner highly gratifying and interesting. In the former, the idea of place is impressed on our minds, and, as it were, identified to us, by scenery, and other decorations. As oft as these change, it is not difficult for a lively imagination to travel with them. In the latter species of poetry, the author has nothing to trust to in this respect, but mere verbal description, which requires time, and repeated strokes, to be infixed properly on the reader's mind. Let any one consider the magnificent and extended landscape Homer in his *Iliad* paints to the fancy. By the scene's being fixed to one spot, he has opportunity, by occasional touches of description, to bring the reader so familiar with it, as, in a manner, to have a chart of it always before his eyes; to which he can mentally refer in the narration of any remarkable action or event. Then let him decide, whether or not he receives more satisfaction from this determinate and settled scenery, than from the continually shifting stations of the *Eneid* or the *Odyssey*.

"It is, in all probability, greatly owing to this circumstance, that the episode of the destruction of Troy in Virgil, interests us rather more than even the main event, the founding a colony; in the performance of which the hero so often changes the scene. But Virgil is the great master of the episode. They are, in him, introduced with an address, and managed with an interest, which no other poet has yet rivalled. The *Iliad* of Homer has very little episode: what is given us, there, consists chiefly in the over-flowing garrulity of some of the characters. Milton has

has shewn great judgment in copying Virgil, in this respect, in preference to his more congenial predecessor. His episodes are very happily imitated from the former, as to their form; though, frequently, the manner is a close imitation of the latter. He has, like Virgil, extended his plan by including a narration of prior, and an anticipation of subsequent, events.

"On the former of these episodes, Addison has a very singular remark. "Besides," he observes, "the many other beauties in such an episode, [that of the fall of the angels,] its running parallel with the great action of the poem hinders it from breaking the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spanish Friar, or the Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counter parts and copies of each other."

"By the word parallel, we are, I presume, to understand events, that happened at the same period of

time, in different places; and are, moreover, somewhat of the same nature, as are the two plots in Dryden. With respect to this latter property, the remark is just. The fall of the angels and the fall of man originated in the same crime; and have some resemblance, in other respects. With regard to time, (the chief thing implied by the word parallel, and which, alone, can make the comparison with the Spanish Friar good), the remark entirely fails. The two plots in Milton are not parallel lines; but the one a prolongation of the other, in its beginning, as the episode of Michael's vision on the mount, is a continuation of it, from the end. The fall of the angels happened prior to the opening of the poem: and thus can, with no more propriety, be said to be parallel to its subject, or compared to the plots of Dryden's play, (where they are really parallel), than the episode of the destruction of Troy in Virgil, or the short occasional glances into prior events, in which we are gratified by the author of the *Iliad*."

On PICTURESQUE TRAVELLING.

[From GILPIN'S THREE ESSAYS ON PICTURESQUE BEAUTY, &c.]

"ENOUGH has been said to shew the difficulty of assigning causes: let us then take another course, and amuse ourselves with searching after effects. This is the general intention of picturesque travel. We mean not to bring it into competition with any of the more useful ends of travelling: but as many travel without any end at all, amusing themselves without being able to give a reason why they are amused, we offer an end,

which may possibly engage some vacant minds; and may indeed afford a rational amusement to such as travel for more important purposes.

"In treating of picturesque travel, we may consider first its object; and secondly its sources of amusement.

"Its object is beauty of every kind, which either art, or nature can produce; but it is chiefly that species of picturesque beauty, which

we have endeavoured to characterise in the preceding essay. This great object we pursue through the scenery of nature; and examine it by the rules of painting. We seek it among all the ingredients of landscape—trees—rocks—broken-grounds—woods—rivers—lakes—plains—villies—mountains—and distances. These objects in themselves produce infinite variety. No two rocks or trees are exactly the same. They are varied, a second time, by combination; and almost as much, a third time, by different lights, and shades, and other aerial effects. Sometimes we find among them the exhibition of a whole; but oftener we find only beautiful parts.

“That we may examine picturesque objects with more ease, it may be useful to class them into the sublime, and the beautiful; though in fact, this distinction is rather inaccurate. Sublimity alone cannot make an object picturesque. However grand the mountain or the rock may be, it has no claim to this epithet, unless its form, its colour, or its accompaniments have some degree of beauty. Nothing can be more sublime than the ocean: but wholly unaccompanied, it has little of the picturesque. When we talk therefore of a sublime object, we always understand, that it is also beautiful: and we call it sublime, or beautiful, only as the ideas of sublimity or of simple beauty prevail.

“The curious, and fantastic forms of nature are by no means the favourite objects of the lovers of landscape. There may be beauty in a curious object; and so far it may be picturesque; but we cannot admire it merely for the sake of its curiosity. The *lusus naturæ* is the naturalist's province, not the

painter's. The spiry pinnacles of the mountain, and the castle-like arrangement of the rock, give no peculiar pleasure to the picturesque eye. It is fond of the simplicity of nature; and fees most beauty in her most usual forms. The Giant's causeway in Ireland may strike it as a novelty; but the lake of Killarney attracts its attention. It would range with supreme delight among the sweet vales of Switzerland; but would view only with a transient glance, the Glaciers of Savoy. Scenes of this kind, as unusual, may please once; but the great works of nature, in her simplest and purest style, open inexhausted springs of amusement.

“But it is not only the form and the composition of the objects of landscape, which the picturesque eye examines; it connects them with the atmosphere, and seeks for all those various effects, which are produced from that vast and wonderful storehouse of nature. Nor is there in travelling a greater pleasure, than when a scene of grandeur bursts unexpectedly upon the eye, accompanied with some accidental circumstance of the atmosphere, which harmonizes with it, and gives it double value.

“Besides the inanimate face of nature, its living forms fall under the picturesque eye, in the course of travel; and are often objects of great attention. The anatomical study of figures is not attended to: we regard them merely as the ornament of scenes. In the human figure we contemplate neither exactness of form, nor expression, any farther than it is shewn in action: we merely consider general shapes, dresses, groups, and occupations; which we often find casually in greater variety, and beauty, than any selection can procure.

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"In the same manner animals are the objects of our attention, whether we find them in the park, the forest, or the field. Here too we consider little more than their general forms, actions, and combinations. Nor is the picturesque eye so fastidious as to despise even less considerable objects. A flight of birds has often a pleasing effect. In short, every form of life and being has its use as a picturesque object, till it become too small for attention.

"But the picturesque eye is not merely restricted to nature. It ranges through the limits of art. The picture, the statue, and the garden, are all the objects of its attention. In the embellished pleasure-ground particularly, though all is neat, and elegant—far too neat and elegant for the use of the pencil; yet, if it be well laid out, it exhibits the lines and principles of landscape; and is well worth the study of the picturesque traveller. Nothing is wanting but what his imagination can supply, a change from smooth to rough.

"But among all the objects of art, the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles, and abbeys. These are the richest legacies of art. They are consecrated by time; and almost deserve the veneration we pay to the works of nature itself.

"Thus universal are the objects of picturesque travel. We pursue beauty in every shape; through nature, through art; and all its various arrangements in form, and colour; admiring it in the grandest objects, and not rejecting it in the humblest.

"From the objects of picturesque

travel, we consider its sources of amusement—or in what way the mind is gratified by these objects.

"We might begin in moral style; and consider the objects of nature in a higher light, than merely as amusement. We might observe, that a search after beauty should naturally lead the mind to the great origin of all beauty; to the

— first good, first perfect, and first fair.

But though in theory this seems a natural climax, we insist the less upon it, as in fact we have scarce ground to hope, that every admirer of picturesque beauty, is an admirer also of the beauty of virtue; and that every lover of nature reflects, that

Nature is but a name for an effect,
Whose cause is God. —————

If however the admirer of nature can turn his amusements to a higher purpose; if its great scenes can inspire him with religious awe; or its tranquil scenes with that complacency of mind, which is so nearly allied to benevolence, it is certainly the better. *Apponai lucro.* It is so much into the bargain: for we dare not promise him more from picturesque travel, than a rational and agreeable amusement. Yet even this may be of some use in an age teeming with licentious pleasure; and may in this light at least be considered as having a moral tendency.

"The first source of amusement to the picturesque traveller, is the pursuit of his object—the expectation of new scenes continually opening, and arising to his view. We suppose the country to have been unexplored. Under this circumstance the mind is kept constantly in an agreeable suspense.

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The love of novelty is the foundation of this pleasure. Every distant horizon promises something new; and with this pleasing expectation we follow nature through all her walks. We pursue her from hill to dale; and hunt after those various beauties with which she every where abounds.

"The pleasures of the chase are universal. A hare started before dogs is enough to set a whole country in an uproar. The plough and the spade are deserted. Care is left behind; and every human faculty is dilated with joy.

"And shall we suppose it a greater pleasure to the sportsman to pursue a trivial animal, than it is to the man of taste to pursue the beauties of nature? to follow her through all her recesses? to obtain a sudden glance, as she flits past him in some airy shape? to trace her through the mazes of the cover? to wind after her along the vale, or along the reaches of the river?

"After the pursuit, we are gratified with the attainment of the object. Our amusement, on this head, arises from the employment of the mind in examining the beautiful scenes we have found. Sometimes we examine them under the idea of a whole: we admire the composition, the colouring, and the light, in one comprehensive view. When we are fortunate enough to fall in with scenes of this kind, we are highly delighted. But as we have less frequent opportunities of being thus gratified, we are more commonly employed in analyzing the parts of scenes; which may be exquisitely beautiful, though unable to produce a whole. We examine what would amend the composition; how little is wanting to reduce it to the rules of our art; what a trifling circumstance some-

times forms the limit between beauty, and deformity. Or, we compare the objects before us with other objects of the same kind; or perhaps we compare them with the imitations of art. From all these operations of the mind results great amusement.

"But it is not from this scientific employment, that we derive our chief pleasure. We are most delighted, when some grand scene, though perhaps of incorrect composition, rising before the eye, strikes us beyond the power of thought—when the *vox faucibus hæret*, and every mental operation, is suspended. In this pause of intellect, this *deliquium* of the soul, an enthusiastic sensation of pleasure over-spreads it previous to any examination by the rules of art. The general idea of the scene makes an impression, before any appeal is made to the judgment. We rather feel, than survey it.

"This high delight is generally indeed produced by the scenes of nature; yet sometimes by artificial objects. Here and there a capital picture will raise these emotions; but oftener the rough sketch of a capital master. This has sometimes an astonishing effect on the mind; giving the imagination an opening into all those glowing ideas, which inspired the artist; and which the imagination only can translate. In general, however, the works of art affect us coolly; and allow the eye to criticise at leisure.

"Having gained by a minute examination of incidents, a complete idea of an object, our next amusement arises from enlarging and correcting our general stock of ideas. The variety of nature is such, that new objects, and new combinations of them, are continually adding something to our fund,

and

and enlarging our collection: while the same kind of object occurring frequently, is seen under various shapes; and makes us, if I may so speak, more learned in nature. We get it more by heart. He who has seen only one oak-tree, has no complete idea of an oak in general: but he who has examined thousands of oak-trees, must have seen that beautiful plant in all its varieties; and obtains a full and complete idea of it.

“ From this correct knowledge of objects arises another amusement; that of representing, by a few strokes in a sketch, those ideas, which have made the most impression upon us. A few scratches, like a short-hand scrawl of our own, legible at least to ourselves, will serve to raise in our minds the remembrance of the beauties they humbly represent: and recall to our memory even the splendid colouring, and force of light, which existed in the real scene. Some naturalists suppose, the act of ruminating, in animals, to be attended with more pleasure than the act of grosser mastication. It may be so in travelling also. There may be more pleasure in recollecting, and recording, from a few transient lines, the scenes we have admired, than in the present enjoyment of them. If the scenes indeed have peculiar greatness, this secondary pleasure cannot be attended with those enthusiastic feelings, which accompanied the real exhibition. But, in general, though it may be a calmer species of pleasure, it is more uniform, and uninterrupted. It flatters us too with the idea of a sort of creation of our own; and it is unallayed with that fatigue, which is often a considerable abatement to the pleasures of traversing the wild and savage parts of nature.

After we have amused ourselves with our sketches, if we can, in any degree, contribute to the amusement of others also, the pleasure is surely so much enhanced.

“ There is still another amusement arising from the correct knowledge of objects; and that is the power of creating, and representing scenes of fancy; which is still more a work of creation, than copying from nature. The imagination becomes a camera obscura, only with this difference, that the camera represents objects as they really are; while the imagination, impressed with the most beautiful scenes, and chastened by rules of art, forms its pictures, not only from the most admirable parts of nature, but in the best taste.

“ Some artists, when they give their imagination play, let it loose among uncommon scenes—such as perhaps never existed: whereas the nearer they approach the simple standard of nature, in its most beautiful forms, the more admirable their fictions will appear. It is thus in writing romances. The correct taste cannot bear those unnatural situations, in which heroes, and heroines are often placed: whereas a story, naturally, and of course affectingly told, either with a pen, or a pencil, though known to be a fiction, is considered as a transcript from nature; and takes possession of the heart. The marvellous disgusts the sober imagination; which is gratified only with the pure characters of nature.

Beauty best is taught
By those, the favoured few, whom heaven
has lent
The power to seize, select, and reunite
Her loveliest features; and of these to form
One archetype complete, of sovereign
grace.
Here nature sees her fairest forms more fair.
Owns them as hers, yet owns herself ex-
celled
By what herself produced. ———

But

But if we are unable to embody our ideas even in an humble sketch, yet still a strong impression of nature will enable us to judge of the works of art. Nature is the archetype. The stronger therefore the impression, the better the judgment.

"We are, in some degree, also amused by the very visions of fancy itself. Often, when slumber has half-closed the eye, and shut out all the objects of sense, especially after the enjoyment of some splendid scene; the imagination, active and alert, collects its scattered ideas, transposes, combines, and shifts them into a thousand forms, producing such exquisite scenes, such sublime arrangements, such glow, and harmony of colouring, such brilliant lights, such depth and clearness of shadow, as equally foil description, and every attempt of artificial colouring.

"It may perhaps be objected to the pleasureable circumstances, which are thus said to attend picturesque travel, that we meet as many disgusting, as pleasing objects; and the man of taste therefore will be as often offended, as amused.

"But this is not the case. There are few parts of nature which do not yield a picturesque eye some amusement.

— Believe the muse,
She does not know that un auspicious spot,
Where beauty is thus niggard of her store.
Believe the muse, through this terrestrial
waste
The seeds of grace are sown, profusely
sown,
Even where we least may hope. —

It is true, when some large tract of barren country interrupts our expectation, wound up in quest of any particular scene of grandeur, or beauty, we are apt to be a little

peevish; and to express our discontent in hasty exaggerated phrase. But when there is no disappointment in the case, even scenes the most barren of beauty, will furnish amusement.

"Perhaps no part of England comes more under this description, than that tract of barren country, through which the great military road passes from Newcastle to Carlisle. It is a waste, with little interruption, through a space of forty miles. But even here, we have always something to amuse the eye. The interchangeable patches of heath, and green-sward make an agreeable variety. Often too on these vast tracts of intersecting grounds we see beautiful lights, softening off along the sides of hills: and often we see them adorned with cattle, flocks of sheep, heath-cocks, grouse, plover, and flights of other wild-fowl. A group of cattle, standing in the shade on the edge of a dark hill, and relieved by a lighter distance beyond them, will often make a complete picture, without any other accompaniment. In many other situations also we find them wonderfully pleasing; and capable of making pictures amidst all the deficiencies of landscape. Even a winding road itself is an object of beauty; while the richness of the heath on each side, with the little hillocks, and crumbling earth, give many an excellent lesson for a fore-ground. When we have no opportunity of examining the grand scenery of nature, we have every where at least the means of observing with what a multiplicity of parts, and yet with what general simplicity, she covers every surface.

"But if we let the imagination loose, even scenes like these administer great amusement. The
in a-

Imagination can plant hills; can form rivers, and lakes, in vallies; can build castles, and abbeys; and if it find no other amusement, can dilate itself in vast ideas of space.

"But although the picturesque traveller is seldom disappointed with pure nature, however rude, yet we cannot deny, but he is often offended with the productions of art. He is disgusted with the formal separations of property—with houses, and towns, the haunts of men, which have much oftner a bad effect in landscape, than a good one. He is frequently disgusted also, when art aims more at beauty than she ought. How flat and insipid is often the garden-scene! how puerile, and absurd! the banks of the river how smooth, and parrallel! the lawn, and its boundaries, how unlike nature! Even in the capital collection of

pictures, how seldom does he find design, composition, expression, character, or harmony, either in light, or colouring! and how often does he drag through saloons, and rooms of state, only to hear a catalogue of the names of masters!

"The more refined our taste grows from the study of nature, the more insipid are the works of art. Few of its efforts please. The idea of the great original is so strong, that the copy must be very pure, if it do not disgust. But the varieties of nature's charts are such, that, study them as we can, new varieties will always arise; and let our taste be ever so refined, her works, on which it is formed (at least when we consider them as objects), must always go beyond it; and furnish fresh sources both of pleasure and amusement."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Dr. HERSCHEL's OBSERVATIONS on the ROTATION of the FIFTH SATELLITE of SATURN, upon its AXIS, and its DISTANCE from the BODY of that PLANET.

[From the first Part of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, for the Year 1792.]

"IN my frequent observations of the Saturnian system, I remarked, that the 5th satellite is subject to a change of brightness. This having been noticed before by other observers, I did not at first pay so much attention to it as I soon afterwards found this circumstance deserved. When I saw this satellite always assume the same brightness in the same part of its orbit, and perceived that its change was regular and periodical, it occurred to me very naturally, that the cause of this phenomenon could be no other than a rotation upon its axis. It became necessary therefore to find out a method to determine the time of this rotation.

"In order to investigate this, I pursued the satellite with great attention, and marked all its changes of apparent brightness. The result of many observations is as follows. The light of the satellite is in full splendor during the time it runs through that part of its orbit which is between 68 and 129 degrees past the inferior conjunction. In passing through this arch it does not fall above one magnitude short of the brightness of the 4th satellite. On the contrary, from about 7 degrees past the opposition till

towards the inferior conjunction, it is not only less bright than the 3d, but hardly, if at all, exceeds the 2d, or even the 1st satellite; provided the latter be then about its greatest elongation, where its light is least impeded by the brightness of the planet. Upon the whole, the alteration seems to amount to what among the fixed stars, and with the naked eye, would be called a change from the 5th to the 2d, and from the 2d to the 5th magnitude.

"Having thus observed this satellite, for many of the revolutions round the primary planet, to lose and regain its light regularly, it is evident that the time of its rotation on its axis cannot differ much from that of its revolution round Saturn. I think myself sufficiently authorized to make this conclusion, notwithstanding it may have happened sometimes that the light of the satellite has suffered an occasional change, of short duration, from other causes; for the same reason that we should certainly allow those who first saw the spots in the sun to be in the right to assign the period of its rotation nearly, when they perceived that the same spot made several revolutions, not-

withstanding

withstanding that spot might afterwards vanish. But I may go farther, and ascertain upon sufficient grounds, that this satelkite turns once upon its axis, exactly in the time it performs one revolution round its primary planet. This degree of accuracy is obtained by taking in the observations of M. Cassini, which are related in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1705, page 121; where we find it mentioned, that "the 5th satelkite of Saturn disappears regularly for about one half of its revolution, when it is to the east of Saturn." The same Memoir contains also a conjecture of this satelkite's rotation upon its axis; but this surmise is contradicted as premature, in 1707, page 96; where we find the following paragraph. "M. Cassini gives an example of the danger there is in these sort of determinations, that are made too hastily. The 5th satelkite of Saturn, of which we have said, in the history of 1705, page 121, that it grew invisible, in the eastern half of the circle it describes about Saturn, began, in the month of Sept. 1705, to be there visible, as well as in the western half, where it always was so. Hence the conjectures which we have related cease to be well founded."

"Now, without determining whether the satelkite, from some cause or other, ceased to change its brightness, or whether its phenomena were not sufficiently followed to come to a proper conclusion, I think that, with the assistance of observations, at so great a distance of time as those of M. Cassini, I may sufficiently establish the period of this satelkite's rotation. For since I have traced the regular, and periodical change of light, through more than ten revolutions, and find

them, in all appearance, to be contemporary with its return about Saturn, it leads us directly to a strong presumption that its rotation upon its axis, like that of our moon, strictly coincides with its revolution round its primary planet; and the observations of M. Cassini completely confirm this conclusion. For, had he seen the satelkite brightest in any other part of its orbit, our observations would not have agreed together; but since the year 1705, the satelkite has made about 397 revolutions; and yet the phenomena described by Cassini answer now as exactly to my own observations, as the spots in our moon, viewed in Cassini's time, answer to those we now observe.

"If it should be objected, that the 5th satelkite of Saturn has not been continually observed, and that consequently these appearances might either not happen at all, or fall upon different places in its orbit; I answer, that a period of more than ten revolutions, which I have included, is already a strong argument that no such change has taken place; for if the satelkite had but made a single rotation upon its axis more or less than it has made revolutions round Saturn, the change must amount to nearly one degree per revolution; that is, to about ten degrees during the time of my taking notice of it; which is a quantity I think I might have perceived. However, to remove all doubt, we have some valuable observations of M. Bernard, who in the year 1787, also found the 5th satelkite of Saturn subject to the same change of light that M. Cassini had observed. See *Mémoires de l'Académie*, 1786, page 378. Now, by joining those to mine, we have a short period of near 20 revolutions that agree together

together, so as to preclude all doubt of any intermediate change; and therefore we cannot be liable to err, when we extend this period to all the 397 revolutions since Cassini's time, and by that means ascertain that the 5th satellite of Saturn turns upon its axis, once in 79 days, 7 hours, and 47 minutes.

"I cannot help reflecting, with some pleasure, on the discovery of an analogy, which shews that a certain, uniform plan, is carried on among the secondaries of our solar system; and we may conjecture, that probably most of the moons of all the planets are governed by the same law; especially if it be founded on such a construction of the figure of the secondaries, as makes them more ponderous towards their primary planets. For, if even the 5th satellite of Saturn, which is at so great a distance from its planet, is affected by such a law, of course the other satellites are not very likely to have escaped its influence.

"From the considerable change in the brightness of the 5th satellite of Saturn, we may be certain that some part of its surface, and this by far the largest, reflects much less light than the rest; and, from the points of its orbit in which it appears brightest to us, we conclude that neither the darkest nor brightest side of the satellite is turned towards the planet, but partly one and partly the other; though probably rather less of the bright side.

"The great regularity of this change of brightness seems to point out another resemblance of this satellite with our moon. It is well known that we see the spots of the moon pretty nearly of the same brightness, so as not to be overcast in a very strong degree by dense clouds to disfigure them, and

therefore have great reason to surmise that her atmosphere is extremely rare, which indeed we also know from other principles: in like manner, on account of the uninterrupted changes in the brightness of the 5th satellite of Saturn we may suppose that it also partakes of a similar fate with respect to its atmosphere, which is probably as rare as that of our moon.

On the Distance of the Fifth Satellite

"The distance of the 5th satellite from Saturn is allowed to be the most proper for obtaining a true measure of the quantity of matter contained in the planet; for which reason I have taken many measures of it with the 20-feet reflector. I give them at full length, that the validity of them may appear in its proper light.

Sept. 25, 1791.
Correction of the clock—2' 19", 5 for midnight.

"Distance of the 5th satellite of Saturn from the centre of the planet; measured with the 20-feet reflector, and a magnifying power of 157.

23h 4'	1st measure	8' 55", 684
23 19	2d ———	8 53, 175
23 33	3d ———	8 59, 179
23 47	4th ———	8 52, 123
23 55	5th ———	8 56, 361
0 2	6th ———	8 55, 797

8' 55", 5 mean of the six measures.

Sept. 26, 1791.
Correction of the clock—2' 19", 3.

23h 15'	1st measure	9' 3", 745
23 25	2d ———	9 2, 738
23 31	3d ———	9 7, 014
23 38	4th ———	9 6, 592
23 42	5th ———	9 8, 001
23 45	6th ———	9 6, 479

9' 5", 8 mean of the six measures.

Sept.

OBSERVATIONS ON the FIFTH SATELLITE OF SATURN. [127]

Sept. 27, 1791.

Correction of the clock—2' 20", 0.

53'	1st measure	9' 20", 656
57	2d	9 20 ,359
1	3d	9 20 ,149
5	4th	9 20 ,641
11	5th	9 20 ,064
16	6th	9 20 ,840

9' 20", 5 mean of
the six measures.

Sept. 28, 1791.

Correction of the clock—2' 20", 2

38'	1st measure	9' 27", 759
44	2d	9 29 ,957
46	3d	9 27 ,815
50	4th	9 28 ,238
53	5th	9 28 ,970
58	6th	9 27 ,420

9' 28", 4 mean of
the six measures.

Sept. 29, 1791.

Correction of the clock—2' 20", 4.

17'	1st measure	9' 37", 060
22	2d	9 36 ,552
26	3d	9 36 ,270
29	4th	9 36 ,862
33	5th	9 37 ,765
36	6th	9 37 ,060

9' 36", 9 mean of
the six measures.

Sept. 30, 1791

Correction of the clock—2' 20", 6.

25'	1st measure	9' 39", 258
29	2d	9 38 ,441
34	3d	9 37 ,596
38	4th	9 37 ,032
40	5th	9 40 ,949
42	6th	9 37 ,793

9' 38", 5 mean of
the six measures.

"Supposing the satellite now to be not far from its greatest elongation, I measured the declination between the centre of Saturn, and the 5th satellite; causing one to pass along one wire, while the other followed upon the other wire.

32'	1st measure	1' 41", 889
47	2d	1 45 ,609

1' 43", 749 mean of
the two measures.

"Not being satisfied with the considerable disagreement, I took another measure with the utmost precaution and care; as the apparent curvature of the wire at so great a distance, required more than common attention.

ch 52' very exact. 1' 43", 354

"Mean between this and the former mean, 1' 43", 55 south of the parallel of Saturn.

"The satellite not being perhaps arrived at its greatest elongation, I took six other measures of its distance.

5'	1st measure	9' 41", 907
11	2d	9 38 ,723
14	3d	9 38 ,159
18	4th	9 41 ,203
23	5th	9 40 ,385
26	6th	9 41 ,935

9' 40", 4 mean of the
six measures.

"In the last six measures of the 5th satellite, I used a method a very little different from that which I employed before, and which is probably more accurate. I used to observe, when the two wires were nearly brought to their proper distance, the moment of intersection of the satellite; and the instant it was hid behind the wire, cast my eye on Saturn, which should be bisected when the measure is justly taken. But this change of attention cannot be made without some very small loss of time. To correct this defect, I took alternately the bisection of Saturn, and cast my eye upon the satellite; and the bisection of the satellite, casting the eye upon Saturn. As the latter way gives the interval too small, the former gives it too large, and between both, the true measure may be obtained. I do not, however, suppose, that the error of the former method can amount to so

so much as a single second of space; as, knowing the loss of time, I always used the utmost precaution; and repeated the examination of a measure perhaps 20 times before I let it pass.

Oct. 1, 1797.

Correction of the clock—2' 20",0

22h 25'	1st measure	9' 43",767
22 27	2d ———	9 44 ,444
22 30	3d ———	9 43 ,007
22 32	4th ———	9 42 ,499
22 34	5th ———	9 40 ,554
22 36	6th ———	9 43 ,965

9' 43",0 mean of
the six measures.

"It grew cloudy, so that no more measures later in the night could be obtained; nor could I

get another sight of Saturn till October the 7th, when the satellite was far advanced in its orbit, on its return towards the planet.

"Supposing the satellite to have been very nearly at its greatest elongation, when the last six measures were taken, I have reduced them to the mean distance of Saturn, where they give 8' 31",97.

"I forbear making deductions from this result, with respect to the quantity of matter contained in the planet, as, possibly, the orbit of the satellite may be considerably elliptical; in which case measures taken in opposite parts of that orbit will be required, before we can make a strict application of the laws of centripetal forces."

Mr. WEDGEWOOD's EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS on the PRODUCTION of LIGHT from different BODIES, by HEAT and by ATTRITION.

[From the same Work.]

"BEFORE I begin to state the experiments which are the subject of this paper, it may not perhaps be improper to give a very compendious history of the discoveries which have already been made relative to phosphoric bodies; omitting, however, the electrical phosphori, and such as are evidently consumed or decomposed in the emission of their light, as these are well known, and are too numerous and important to be slightly noticed.

"Pliny was well acquainted with the luminous appearance of rotten wood, and of the eyes of dead fish. From this time I find nothing relative to the phosphorism of bodies, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Benvenuto Cellini, in his Art of Jewelry, mentions his

having seen a carbuncle shine in the dark like coals nearly burnt out; and relates a story of a coloured carbuncle having been found in a vineyard near Rome, by its shining in the night. About the year 1639, Vincenzo Cascariolo, of Bologna, discovered, by accident, that when a certain stone found in that neighbourhood was calcined in a particular manner, it acquired the remarkable property of absorbing the light of the sun, of retaining it for some time, and of emitting it in the dark: subsequent experimenters found it to do the same with the light of a candle. In 1663, Mr. Boyle observed a particular diamond to give out a light almost equal to that of a glow-worm, when heated, rubbed, or pressed; and investigated very fully the nature of the

the light of dead fish, flesh meat, and rotten wood. In 1677, Baldwin of Misnia discovered, in the residuum of a distillation of chalk and nitrous acid, a phosphorus similar in its properties to the Bolognian, but not possessing the phosphoric virtue in so eminent a degree. In 1705, Mr. Francis Hawkebee found that glass rubbed on glass, in common air, in the vacuum of an air-pump, or under water, "exhibited a considerable light." In 1724, M. du Fay discovered that almost all substances which could be reduced to a calx by fire only, or after solution in the nitrous acid, absorbed and emitted light like the phosphorus of Cascariolo and of Baldwin; and that some diamonds, emeralds, and many other precious stones, emitted light in the dark, after being exposed to the rays of the sun. About the same time, Beccaria of Turin found almost every body in nature to be luminous after a similar exposure: he added, too, this very important discovery, that an artificial phosphorus, exposed to the light in a coloured glass vial, emits in the dark, rays of the identical colour of the vial. Mr. Margraaf, by an analysis of the Bolognian stone, shews that it contains vitriolic acid united to calcareous earth, and that all gypseous stones treated like the Bolognian, provided they are pure from iron, become phosphorescent. About the year 1764, Mr. Canton made a phosphorus of sulphur and oyster-shells calcined together, and distinguished himself by many curious experiments made with it: he found that his phosphorus might be made to shine by heating it, after it had ceased to be luminous of itself, but that the same heat would have this effect for a certain time only. Heat has been observ-

1792.

ed by several of these philosophers to promote the mission, and to shorten the duration, of the light of phosphori. Fluor has been long known to give a fine bright light when heated. D. Hoffman discovered that red blende and feldspat were luminous when pieces of either were rubbed together. Pott extended this discovery to all pure flints and crystals, and to porcelain. Keysser found glacies mariae to be luminous when heated. M. de la Metherie has observed some neutral salts and calcareous earths to be luminous in the same way. The count de Razoumowski, in a Memoir of the Physical Society of Lausanne, shews that quartz and glass give out light, when struck by almost any hard body, and that some few other bodies are luminous, when pieces of the same kind are rubbed upon one another; he finds quartz to give out its light under water.

"This brief account includes, as far as I am able to collect, the chief discoveries which have been made concerning luminous bodies. I was led to make the following experiments from observing the light which proceeds from two quartz pebbles rubbed against each other: I searched for this property in many other bodies with success, but met with two soft stones, which did not afford any light upon the most violent attrition. Conceiving that heat might probably be the cause of the light emitted by quartz from attrition, I attributed this failure to a want of sufficient hardness in these friable stones for producing the necessary heat. Accordingly, sprinkling some of their powder on a plate of iron nearly red hot, I had the satisfaction to observe it emitting a considerable light. Extending this mode of trial, I found that the

the phosphorism of almost all bodies might be made apparent either by heat or attrition; I shall therefore divide the subject of this paper into two parts:—I. On the light produced by heat.—II. On the light produced by attrition.

I.

“The best general method of producing the light by heat is, to reduce the body to a moderately fine powder, and to sprinkle it, by small portions at a time, on a thick plate of iron, or mass of burnt luting made of sand and clay, heated just below visible redness, and removed into a perfectly dark place.

“The following is a list of such bodies as I have found to be luminous by this treatment, arranged according to the apparent intensity of their light:

1. Blue fluor, from Derbyshire, giving out a fetid smell on attrition.
2. Black and grey marbles, and fetid white marbles from Derbyshire.
Common blue fluor, from Derbyshire.
Red feldspar, from Saxony.
3. Diamond.
Oriental ruby.
Aerated barytes, from Chorley, in Lancashire.
Common whiting.
Iceland spar,
Sea shells.
Moorstone, from Cornwall.
White fluor, from Derbyshire.
4. Pure calcareous earth, precipitated from an acid solution.
— argillaceous earth (of alum).
— siliceous earth.
— new earth, from Sidney Cove.
Common magnesia.
Vitriolated barytes, from Scotland.
Steatites, from Cornwall.
Alabaster.
Porcelain clay of Cornwall.

Mother of pearl.

Black flint.

Hard white marble.

Rock crystal, from the East Indies.

White quartz.

Porcelain.

Common earthen ware.

Whinstone.

Emery.

Coal ashes.

Sea sand.

5. Gold, platina, silver, copper, iron, lead, tin, bismuth, cobalt, zink.

Precipitates by an alkali, from acid solutions of gold, silver, copper, iron, zink, bismuth, tin, lead, cobalt, mercury, antimony, manganese.

Vitriolated tartar.

Crystals of tartar, } previously
Borax, } exsiccated.

Alum,

Sea coal.

White paper,

— linen, } in small pieces.

— woollen,

— hair powder.

Deal sawdust.

Rotten wood (not otherwise luminous).

White asbestos.

Red iron mica.

Deep red porcelain.

6. Antimony, nickel.

Oils, lamp, linseed,

and olive,

White wax,

Spermaceti,

Butter,

} luminous
at and below boiling.

“The duration of the light thus produced from different bodies is very unequal; in some the light is almost momentary, in others it lasts for some minutes, and may be prolonged by stirring the powder on the heater. It soon attains its greatest brightness, and dies away gradually from that point, never appearing

appearing in a sudden flash, like the light of quartz pebbles rubbed together. If blown upon, it is suddenly extinguished, but immediately re-appears on discontinuing the blast.

"The light of bodies is, in general, uncoloured; there are, however, some exceptions. Blue fluor, of that kind which gives out a fetid smell when rubbed, first emits a bright green light, resembling that of the glow-worm so exactly, that when placed by the insect, just as it has attained its greatest brightness, there is no sensible difference in the two lights, either of colour or intensity. This bright green quickly changes into a beautiful lilac, which gradually fades away. Fetid marbles, and some kinds of chalk, give a bright reddish or orange light; pure calcareous earth, a bluish white light; Cornish moorstone emits a fine blue light; powder of ruby gives a beautiful red light, of short continuance.

"The most phosphorescent marble is soft and friable, of a coarse crystallized grain, and a fetid odour when rubbed; black and grey marbles are generally more luminous than the white. Most of the common white marbles are hard, and of a fine grain, and they are not very luminous, nor is their light of an orange colour. Different chalks vary as much as different marbles, in the intensity and colour of their light, when no difference of external structure is perceptible. The most phosphorescent chalk loses the brilliancy and redness of its light by being dissolved in an acid, and precipitated by caustic fixed vegetable alkali—by being combined with vitriolic or fluor acid—by calcination by heat, or being combined with the aerial acid in the pellite formed on the surface of lime-

water. Marble would probably be affected in a similar manner. The most phosphorescent blue fluor gives the same light after being united to the vitriolic acid, though gypsum is far less luminous than fluor, and its light is colourless. Argil precipitated from alum by an alkali, and magnesia, when combined with fluor acid, give out the same light as before.

"Bodies emit their light when immersed in boiling acid of vitriol, or in boiling oils; small lumps of fluor or of marble make a singular appearance in the acid, as they are moved up and down by its action, and rendered brightly luminous in pure, fixed, inflammable, or atmospheric air.

"Feldspat, the fetid fluor, and probably all phosphorescent bodies, dropt in moderately fine powder into a flask containing a small quantity of boiling oil at the bottom, emit a copious flash of light as soon as the powder touches the surface of the oil; when the particles of the body have lain at the bottom of the heated fluid for about a minute, they become but faintly luminous; if the flask be then agitated, so as to raise some of these particles out of the oil, and lodge them on its sides, they suddenly rekindle into the same brightness as at first, and preserve this re-assumed lustre for some time; and even after being again washed down into the oil, they may be readily distinguished from the particles which have remained at the bottom. This experiment is extremely beautiful, and is not at all obstructed by the faint light of the oil; it succeeds best with the stinking blue fluor of Derbyshire.

"Powdered marble, and probably every other body, when spread upon the heater, in the receiver of an air-pump, is equally luminous

during the exhaustion and re-admission of the air.

"Bodies are by far most luminous the first time they are heated, but cannot, perhaps, be entirely deprived of this property by any number of heatings, nor by any degree of heat. Chalk, fluor, and feldspar, give out a very faint light on the heater, after having been exposed to a smart red heat in an open crucible, in small quantities, and kept frequently stirred for several hours; the feldspar was equally luminous when laid hot upon the the heater, or first cooled, and then laid on. Chalk and fluor were not tried in this particular. A bit of glass melted in a heat of 120° of my father's thermometer, and as soon as it is cold reduced to powder, gives out light on being thrown upon the heater below redness.

"Quartz, from the same original piece, is equally luminous when the powder is directly thrown upon the heater—when it is previously made red hot, and then cooled and thrown on—or when a fragment of some size has been made red hot, then pounded and thrown on.

"For the most part, the softest bodies require the least heat to become luminous; marble, chalk, fluor, &c. give a faint light when sprinkled on melted tin just becoming solid. As the temperature of the heater is raised, they continue to give out more and more light.

"Vitriols of iron, copper, and zinc, previously exsiccated, when thrown on earthen ware, or metal made nearly red hot, give minute flashes of light of momentary duration, such as appear from some of the metallic precipitates, particularly zinc, on a similar treatment; with this difference, however, that the light of most of the precipitates is of a reddish hue.

"The light of the metal is white, and exactly similar to that of some earths.

"White paper, when dipped in a solution of sal ammoniac, and slowly dried, becomes black on the heater, and then gives out much less light than common paper.

"If a lump, of the size of a small bean, of fluor, marble, feldspar, or any of the most phosphorescent bodies, be laid upon the heater, the light proceeds gradually upwards from the part in contact with the heater, till the whole mass is thoroughly illuminated; if the same piece be heated a second time, it is much less luminous; nor, if it be broken, are the fragments at all more luminous, either then, or after having been exposed for a month to the light and sunshine.

"A little boiling oil at the bottom of a glass flask, when agitated in the dark, illuminates the whole of the flask. The light of boiling oils proceeds, probably, from some kind of inflammation, as it is scarcely discernible unless the vessel be agitated; and, if a little oil be thinly spread on the heater, a subtle lambent flame, of a bluish hue, instantly arises. The same thing takes place if horn, bone, hair, saliva, or any animal matter be laid upon the heater.

II.

"The experiments on the light produced from different bodies by attrition, were chiefly made by rubbing in the dark two pieces of the same kind against each other: all that I had tried, with a very few exceptions, were luminous by this treatment. The following is a list of them, arranged in the order of the apparent intensity of their light, and as the lights are either white or some shade of red, I have affixed figures

figures to denote these differences; (0) denoting a pure white light; (1), the faintest tinge of red, or flame colour; (2), a deeper shade of red; (3) and (4), still deeper shades.

1. Colourless, transparent, oriental rock crystal; and siliceous crystals (0).

2. Diamonds (0).

3. White quartz; white semitransparent agate (1).

4. White agate, more opaque (2).

Semitransparent feldspar, from Scotland (2).

Brown opaque feldspar, from Saxony (4).

Chert of a dusky white, from North Wales (3).

5. Oriental ruby (4).

6. Topaz; oriental sapphire (0).

7. Agate, deep coloured, brown and opaque (4).

8. Clear, blackish gun-flint (2).

9. Tawney semitransparent flint (3).

10. Unglazed white biscuit earthen ware (4).

11. Fine white porcelain (2).

12. Clear, blackish gun-flint, made opaque by heat (3).

13. Flint glass (0).

14. Plate glass; green bottle glass (0).

15. Fine hard loaf sugar (0).

16. Moorstone, from Cornwall (1).
Corune, semitransparent, from the East Indies (1).

17. Iceland spar (0).

18. White enamel (2); tobacco pipe (3).

White Mica (0).

19. Unglazed biscuit earthen ware, blackened by exposing it, buried in charcoal in a close crucible, to a white heat (4).

20. Black vitreous mass, made by

melting together 5 of fluor, 1 of lime, and some charcoal powder (4).

21. Fluor; aerated and vitriolated barytes; white and black Derbyshire marble; calcareous spar; crystals of borax; deep blue glass; mother of pearl.

"Rock crystal, quartz, flint glass, and many other hard bodies, during the attrition, emit now and then reddish sparks of a vivid light, which retain their brightness in a passage of one, two, and even three inches, through the air.

"A piece of opaque agate, applied to the circumference of a wheel of fine grit, revolving at a moderate rate, becomes brightly red, even in day-light, at the touching part; if the wheel revolves at a quicker rate, the touching part emits a pure white light. In both cases, glowing sparks are continually emitted, some of which are not extinguished before they have passed twelve or fourteen inches through the air; they explode gun-powder and inflammable air, and burn the skin; their brightness is not sensibly increased by passing into pure air. The corner of an angular piece of window glass being applied to the wheel in motion, a full eighth of an inch of the glass above the point of contact becomes, apparently, red hot, and retains the redness for a second or two of time after its removal from the wheel; during the attrition, large red sparks are continually emitted, and a mixture of softened glass, and the sand of the stone wheel, is collected about the touching point. Quartz, transparent agate, rock crystal, and window

* Some of this mixture taken out of the crucible before it was perfectly fused, gave out, when rubbed, a strong smell like phosphorus of urine; and on throwing some of it pulverized on a plate of iron, heated just below redness, it was very luminous, and presented every appearance of burning phosphorus.

glass, give nearly the same flashing light, when rubbed against the stone wheel, or in the ordinary manner, excepting the tinge of red in the former, which it receives from the light of the grit: the transparent agate becomes red hot for a little way about the part in contact with the wheel, and is thus deprived of its transparency, as it would be if made red hot in a common fire; porcelain is heated to redness by the same treatment. The red sparks which are emitted by all these bodies during their attrition, are heated particles about the magnitude of grains of fine sand, broken off by the friction.

“ Bodies give out their light the instant they are rubbed upon each other, and cease to be luminous when the attrition is discontinued. Colourless, transparent, and semitransparent bodies emit a flashing light, their whole masses being, for a moment, illuminated; opaque bodies give little more than a defined speck of red light, and are not luminous below the part struck. The greatest apparent quantity of light is produced by hard, uncoloured, transparent, and semitransparent bodies, whose surfaces soon acquire an asperity by rubbing together, as quartz, agate, &c. From an examination of the table, it appears that white lights are emitted from colourless transparent bodies; faint red, or flame-coloured, from white semitransparent bodies; deeper red from more opaque and coloured bodies, and the deepest red from opaque and from deep-coloured bodies.

Extremely faint lights, such as those given by fluor, marble, &c. are of a bluish white; quartz, very lightly rubbed, gives a very faint light of a bluish hue; when rubbed a little harder, it emits a flame-coloured light; when rubbed with violence, its light approaches to whiteness. Opaque red feldspar give a deep red light by attrition exposed to a strong heat in the furnace, it becomes white, and somewhat transparent, and when cool gives out, on attrition, as white light as quartz: clear, blackish flint made opaque by heat, gives a redder light than before; deep-coloured glass gives out a red defined light without any flash, whilst clear uncoloured glasses emit a white flashing light of some brightness.

“ Bodies are not luminous by simple pressure; but when they are at all broken by the pressure, the fragments rubbing on each other produce some light. Mr. Boyle, indeed, found a particular diamond to emit light when pressed by a steel bodkin; but the diamond is phosphorescent in so many ways, and is so curious and singular a body, both in properties and constitution, that it can scarcely be expected to exhibit the same appearances as the common class of earthy bodies.

“ Alum, indurated by having been kept long in a state of fusion and being then much harder than loaf sugar or borax, both of which are luminous from moderate attrition, gives no light, though rubbed with much violence*.

* The count de Razoumowski has investigated the luminous property of bodies in a way which appears to me very unfavourable for the discovery of their true lights. He rubbed, not one piece against another of the same body, but, all of them against quartz or glass; he finds several metals luminous from this treatment, and attempts to draw some curious conclusions from the colour of their lights. I tried these metals in his own way, and found that no light was emitted except when the violence of the blow shattered the quartz or glass; a piece of the indurated alum will excite light from rock crystal, by breaking its surface; but this is the light of the fragments of the crystal rubbing on each other, and not of the alum.

"If two pieces of glass or quartz be strongly rubbed against each other, and then applied to the fine down of a feather, the down is not sensibly affected; if the same glass be rubbed on woollen cloth, and placed near the feather, the down is immediately attracted.

"Rock crystal, quartz, feldspat, white unglazed earthen ware, Derbyshire black marble, and probably all phosphorescent bodies, insoluble in water, give out their light on rubbing them under water, as copiously as in air. Hard white sugar, from the outside of the loaf, gives out its light when rubbed in oil. Bodies seem equally luminous in atmospheric, pure, fixed, and inflammable air.

"All hard earthy bodies emit a peculiar smell on attrition. The most remarkable for this property are chert, quartz, feldspat, biscuit earthen ware, and rock crystal: this smell does not differ much in kind, though it does considerably in intensity. Many of the softer bodies yield the same smell, but in less degree, and, probably, none are entirely without it. It appears to be strongest where the friction is greatest: it has no dependence on the light produced by attrition, as it is often very strong when no light is emitted.

"Rock crystal, quartz, feldspat, white biscuit earthen ware, and probably all such hard bodies, produce this smell under water.

"Quartz stones, violently rubbed upon one another for a few minutes in a cup of water, communicate this smell, and a peculiar taste, to the water. The taste is probably derived from an impalpable powder, which floats in the water for many days.

"Derbyshire black marble, and the stinking blue fluor, give out, on

attrition, a strong smell peculiar to themselves, both in air and water; they lose this property by being once made red-hot.

"Quartz produces the smell equally strong in fixed, pure, and common air.

"Having now stated all the facts relative to phosphorescent bodies which I have as yet been able to discover, I shall beg leave to offer a few reflections, tending to shew, that heat is the probable cause of the light produced from bodies by attrition.

"The powders of all earthy bodies emit light when heated a little under redness. Now, when two bodies are rubbed upon each other, it is probable that the heat is always generated on their surfaces: may not then the light which they yield upon attrition be attributed to a sudden heating of particles in their surfaces? for these particles will be affected in the same way as if they had been equally heated by any other means; they will therefore give the same light as if they had been laid upon the heater of an equal temperature.

"The shining sparks which hard bodies send out during attrition, prove, that particles in their surfaces are heated at least to more than 600° of Fahrenheit, for the powders of hard bodies are not luminous on a heater much below redness. The heat generated by the attrition of soft friable bodies is probably but little, as the minute particles in their surfaces are not much crushed by each other, but merely disjoined from the masses; nor can this little be easily appreciated; for as the surfaces continually crumble away, the heated parts are carried off before they can warm the masses, and are themselves very quickly cooled by the surrounding air. But as many soft

bodies emit a faint light on the heater at the low temperature of about 400° of Fahrenheit, and as it is not a stronger light which they yield on attrition, little heat is required to render the particles in their surfaces luminous. It must be observed too, that, though the absolute quantity of heat generated by one rub be but inconsiderable, the effects of it may be very striking; for just on the instant of attrition, its action is confined to the minute colliding points of the surfaces, and will consequently operate upon them as much as a greater quantity would on larger points.

"The light emitted by bodies in attrition is of momentary duration, whereas a powder on the heater continues to emit light for some minutes: this difference is easily explained; in the latter case, the particles are constantly heated: in the former, they are instantly cooled by the subjacent mass to a temperature in which bodies are not luminous, *i. e.* a little under 400° of Fahrenheit.

"When the uneven surfaces of bodies are rubbed upon each other, a flashing light is produced at frequent intervals, by the collision of the more prominent parts; this, in colourless, transparent, and semi-transparent bodies, is copiously reflected from the whole of the masses, and forms an appearance very different from what is ever exhibited by bodies on the heater: it may be well illustrated in the upper part of a candle, by repeatedly nearly closing, and quickly opening, the snuffers, about the burning wick; or by sprinkling some powder of fluor or marble on a mass of glass heated just under redness.

"Powder of crystal, quartz, agate, &c. is but faintly luminous on the heater under redness; accordingly, if the stones themselves be gently

rubbed, a faint light is emitted, resembling that which their powders give out on the heater. Marble and fluor give about the same light on the heater of the temperature of 400° , as they do when rubbed; and probably attrition heats some particles in their surfaces to that degree.

"It may, at first, seem an objection to the opinion of heat being the cause of the light produced from bodies by attrition, that they yield their light when rubbed, under water; but the water acts differently to the air, only, as being a stronger conductor of heat, and can nowise impede the actual generation of the heat; now, as bodies emit their light on the very instant of their being heated, the water cannot cool the hot particles before they have given their light.

"It is easy to see why bodies emit light instantly when rubbed; for they often send out sparks as soon as the attrition commences, which proves that particles in their surfaces are instantly heated to redness by attrition.

"Since hard bodies may be heated to redness by attrition, we have an excellent method of discovering the lights they give out at that temperature, which could not be effected by sprinkling their powders on a red-hot heater, as the light of the powder would be mixed with that of a heater. In some cases of attrition, bodies are raised to a temperature beyond visible red heat. The corner of an angular piece of window glass being applied to the circumference of a revolving wheel of fine grit, part of its mass is worn away; but a larger portion, lying just above the abraded part, is heated into redness. Now, as all the heat which is there collected, and a great deal more, which is

carried

carried away in the abraded part, and conducted off by the air, and by the glass lying up to the red-hot portion, has once occupied a smaller space in the part worn away : it follows, that the abraded portion, or aggregate of heated surfaces, has been heated to a degree exceeding redness, by all the heat remaining in the red hot part, and by the quantity of heat conducted off by the air and the adjacent glass ; and, consequently, that each surface has been heated by the attrition to a degree as much exceeding redness.

" I am aware that this reasoning is founded, in part, on the supposition that the heat is generated on the surface or outermost coat of the body : some of it may undoubtedly proceed from an agitation of parts under the surface ; but the emission of red hot sparks at the instant of attrition, proves that a great heat is generated on the surface : and, as the friction, or apparent heating cause, is so much greater there, that the parts are forcibly broken and disjoined, whilst just beneath, there is no perceptible alteration in the body, we may venture to conclude that the heat generated beneath the surface is but inconsiderable.

" After all, it remains entirely problematical, in what manner heat operates to produce light from bodies : the air does not seem to have any concern in its production, as bodies are equally luminous in almost all kinds of air, and when immersed in liquids. The phosphorism of sugar is probably of a different kind from that of the earthy class ; for, though so soft and friable a substance, it produces its light very copiously upon gentle attrition.

" In speaking of the attrition of bodies upon the stone wheel, I have

said that they became red hot about the touching part ; I should not have made use of this expression if the luminous sparks, which issued from them, had not kindled gunpowder and inflammable air, and thus proved that the part from which they came was raised to a temperature, at least equal to what is usually termed a red heat ; for till the temperature of the part touching the wheel had been thus ascertained, I attributed the whole of the light emitted to the common phosphorism of bodies. If the velocity of the wheel be much increased, the touching part of the body applied, emits a bright white light, much more vivid than any which powders ever give out on the heater, and, probably, the temperature of the luminous part is equal to what is usually called a white heat.

" Having thus made combustible bodies red hot without the aid of fire, I once conceived that all the light which they emit when heated to redness, in the fire, proceeded entirely from their great phosphorism ; for I could not suppose that they absorbed light from the burning fuel and emitted it again, at the same time, and during a continuance of the same circumstances. It appeared, however, equally inexplicable, why a stone put into the fire should continue to shine from its own light, with undiminished lustre, as long as the fire is kept up ; for it has been shewn, that if a phosphorescent body remain long upon the heater, of any temperature between 400° of Fahrenheit and a red heat, its light diminishes more and more, till at last it is scarcely perceptible : and then an increase of heat is necessary to render it more luminous.

APPENDIX.

"After a considerable part of the above paper was printed, I repeated the experiment with boiling oil, related in p. 35, with every possible precaution. I poured the powder into the flask through a funnel which reached to the bottom, so that none of it might be lodged on the sides; for, not having attended to this circumstance before, I was apprehensive that the experiment was delusive, and that the agitation of the hot oil might have washed down some fresh particles which had not been before heated;—then slowly pouring in a little oil, I boiled it for a few minutes, and removed it into a dark place. When the powder had become but faintly luminous, upon agitation, the experi-

ment succeeded exactly. If then boiled and agitated the oil for six or seven times successively, with the same result, except that the light of the powder grew something fainter each time. If any one has the curiosity to repeat this singular experiment, he may attend to the following directions;—Upon each removal from the fire, stop the neck of the flask with a cork, having a small hole pierced through it—wrap the neck round with tow—agitate the liquor by quickly raising and lowering the flask.

"The sparks which leave the surfaces of hard bodies during attrition, may be exactly imitated by burning a bit of dusty paper;—the particles of dust are carried by the current of air through the blaze, and are made red hot in their passage."

On the CAUSE of the ADDITIONAL WEIGHT which METALS acquire by being CALCINED. In a LETTER from G. FORDYCE, M. D. F. R. S. to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. P. R. S.

[From the Second Part of the same Work.]

"S I R,

"ALTHOUGH many chemists are at present satisfied of the nonentity of what was formerly supposed to be a body, called phlogiston, and considered as an element contained in metals when in their metallic form, yet this suspicion has interwoven itself so much into chemistry in general, and has been so universally received, that it may not be superfluous to relate the following experiments. If you are of that opinion, I shall be obliged to you if you will lay them before the Royal Society.

"When a man begins to make an experiment, however well digested his plan may be, he finds, when he comes to put it in execution, that he must make a great number of experiments before he can bring the fact to be proved, or disproved, fairly in issue; if I may take a phrase from law, there are first many buts and rebuts. It has often been the practice to bring all this previous matter before the public. This practice may be very proper, although it does not seem so to me, and therefore I have not troubled the society with the difficulties and disappointments I have met with; but have brought

brought the simple experiments forward in such manner as that they can be easily repeated by any person who is at all versed in chemistry, and possesses those most necessary qualifications in this science, patience and accuracy. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G. FORDYCE.

"It has been a great desideratum among chemists to determine the cause of the additional weight which metals acquire when they are calcined. To investigate this subject, I had begun the following experiment many years ago; but various other engagements have so much interrupted me, that I have had but little time to pursue any other chemical enquiry than such as were necessary to form the catalogue of the ores and minerals in Dr. Hunter's museum.

"There is great difficulty in choosing the metal on which inquiry should be instituted, on account of the differences of their calces. After a number of trials, I chose zinc, as that whose calces appeared to differ the least from one another; in other respects there are great objections to it likewise, but which may be got over.

"I took a portion of the zinc I employed, and dissolved it in vitriolic acid, with which it made a clear solution (without any of that black matter which commonly separates during its solution when we employ zinc imported from abroad). After precipitating it by an alkali, and exposing the calx to the air, it remained a pure white; so that it could contain no iron. This zinc was reduced to its perfect metallic form by breaking it into small particles, and melting it with black flux, taking that part of it only

which was at the bottom of the crucible.

"I reduced this metal to a calx, by dissolving it in vitriolic acid diluted with water, and precipitated it by *kali purum* dissolved in water.

"In doing this, the acid should be diluted with four or five times its weight of water, and the zinc should be dissolved very slowly, avoiding heat as much as possible during the solution. If this precaution is not taken, a quantity of volatile vitriolic acid will be produced, and spoil the experiment.

"In the precipitation the alkali is apt to re-dissolve the calx, if care be not taken to use it in solution in water, and that the solution is diluted with a large quantity of water: the proportion in which the water is *aqua kali puri* of the London Dispensatory is a convenient solution of the alkali.

"Care must likewise be taken, in the precipitation, that the solution of the *kali* be poured into the solution of the *zincum vitriolatum* in water by a little at a time, and that the whole be perfectly mixed together before a fresh quantity is poured in, otherwise part of the calx will be re-dissolved. It is also necessary that the alkali be perfectly pure, especially free from fixed air, as that would be transferred to the calx, and as it flies off when the *kali* is simply united with vitriolic acid, the accuracy of the experiment would be thus destroyed.

"The weight of the calx, by which it exceeds the weight of the metal, shews that there is a substance added to the whole metal; or, that while some substance is driven off, another is added in greater quantity; since it is clear, from various experiments well known to this learned body, that all matter gravitates, and that all the substances found

found in this earth, which have been tried, gravitate equally. Thus additional matter must be added to the metal either from the acid, the alkali, the water used in the solution, the air lying on the surface of the materials during the time of the operation, or it must come through the vessels in which the operation is performed. To ascertain this, I made the following experiment:

"I took a large quantity of vitriolic acid, purified by distillation (about two pounds, it not being material what quantity was taken exactly); I diluted it with distilled water about four or five times its weight by guess (the exact proportion being also immaterial); I applied to 1000 grains of this diluted acid, a sufficient quantity for saturation of *aqua kali puri*, of the London Dispensatory, rendered pure from fixed air, as is prescribed in the process of the college; I poured in the *aqua kali puri* to the diluted acid, by a little at a time, until it was nearly saturated. I then poured in some juice of violets, which gave the whole a red colour. I continued to add *aqua kali puri*, by a little at a time, until the red colour just disappeared. I added the *aqua kali puri* to the acid, rather than the acid to the alkali, because the loss of the red colour at the point of saturation can be discerned much better than the loss of the yellow colour, which the alkali intermixes with the natural blue.

"I ascertained the weight of the *aqua kali puri*, by weighing the bottle containing it before any was poured into the acid, and after the saturation took place; the deficiency of weight afterwards being the weight of the *aqua kali puri* applied to the acid for the saturation; this was 10147 grains. I also weighed

the vessel with the acid before the *aqua kali puri* was poured in, and afterwards; and found the increase of weight to be exactly the same as the weight of the *aqua kali puri* and juice of violets, so that nothing was lost during the operation.

"This experiment was three times repeated, taking the point of saturation from the eye. The quantities of *aqua kali puri* employed were found to be 10147 grains, 10145 grains, 10150 grains.

"I took 10148 grains, being the mean of three experiments, and applied it to 1000 grains of the same vitriolic acid; evaporated the water to dryness, and heated it to a red heat, to drive off the whole of the water; and found 978 grains of *kali vitriolatum* produced from 1000 grains of the diluted vitriolic acid, when saturated with kali.

"I took 1000 grains of the diluted vitriolic acid, and put it into a vessel, and added zinc to it until it would dissolve no more; I caught, during the solution, the inflammable air, which weighed nine grains, and whose specific gravity was, to atmospheric air, as somewhat less than one to twelve. The vessel contained the whole of the acid and the zinc in the globular part, the acid being introduced by a funnel.

"The solution was terminated in five days; when part of the tube being broke off, it was left to stand for four and twenty hours, to allow the inflammable air remaining in the vessel to fly off, and give place to the air of the atmosphere; which happened spontaneously from the different specific gravities of the two vapours.

"The vessel containing the solution of the zinc was now laid upon its side, and 10148 grains of *aqua kali puri* were introduced by a crooked funnel

funnel into the globe, being the quantity sufficient to saturate 1000 grains of vitriolic acid, as before determined. Then the tube was hermetically sealed, and the whole weighed. The vessel was then raised, so that the globe was undermost; this was done very gradually, so that the *aqua kali puri* was gradually added to the solution of the zinc: when a little was poured in, the vessel was brought into a horizontal position again, and shaken a little; this was repeated until the whole of the *aqua kali puri* was poured in. The zinc was thus precipitated in the form of a calx. It was suffered to stand for forty-eight hours: no alteration of the gravity took place, therefore nothing had entered through the glass to give additional weight to the zinc in order to calcine it.

"The next step was to open the tube, which was done under water, and in an atmosphere of the same heat in which it was sealed, to-wit, 57° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The air was neither diminished nor increased, none of the water being driven into the apparatus by the weight of the atmosphere, and none being thrown out. On heating the globe, so as to drive out some of the air, it was found to be of the same purity, nearly, as that of the atmosphere, being tried by the application of nitrous air produced from solution of mercury.

"The weight, therefore, which the calx had gained, arose neither from any substance passing through the glass, nor from the super-incumbent air during the precipitation. It must, therefore, be either from the acid, the alkali, or the water.

"To determine whether the acid or alkali gave the weight to the calx of the zinc, I washed out the *kali vitriolatum*, formed by the com-

bination of the vitriolic acid and the kali, with pure water, repeatedly applied, until it came away as pure as when applied, to all sensible trials. The quantity of water used was above four pounds. I evaporated this water to dryness, and heated the mass red hot, to expel the whole of the water; it weighed seven grains more than the vitriolated tartar procured from applying the acid and alkali as above. After evaporating the water, I dissolved the mass again in 40 ounces troy weight of pure water; a yellowish powder separated. The solution of the vitriolated tartar, cleared of this powder, was again evaporated to dryness, and the water of crystallization driven off. It now weighed $976\frac{1}{16}$ grains, which is nearly two grains less than the vitriolated tartar I obtained from the acid and alkali applied simply together, without the intervention of the zinc.

"The vitriolated tartar now obtained was free from any mixture. The additional weight of the calx of the zinc did not arise, therefore, from either the acid or the alkali; it remains, therefore, that it arose from the water.

"The weight of the calx of the zinc was ascertained by drying it after washing out the vitriolated tartar, heating it to a red heat, and afterwards weighing it. The weight of the zinc dissolved in saturating the acid, was 164 grains: weight of the calx 220 grains. The additional weight was, therefore, 56 grains.

"If it arose from the water, then a quantity of water, equal to the weight by which the calx exceeds the metal, must be lost in the operation. To determine this, I performed a distillation in the following manner:

"I put

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"I put 1000 grains of the same diluted vitriolic acid into the globe of the same apparatus, then introduced the quantity of *aqua kali puri* found necessary to saturate it. The tube D was then bent downwards about the middle, and the apparatus brought to an horizontal position; so that the bent part of the tube was in a perpendicular direction downwards: to this I affixed a small phial, and weighed the whole. I then put the globe B in a box filled with ice, and applied heat to the globe A, so as to distil over the water into the globe B, the liquor never being brought to the boiling point. When the matter in the globe A became dry, the heat was increased to a red one, to distil over likewise the water of crystallization. The whole apparatus was now weighed, and found not to have lost a grain; nor was there any water in the phial. I then cracked the tube C, by applying a red hot iron to it, and letting a drop of cold water fall upon it. I next weighed the globe B with the water in it, then poured out the water, and let the glass dry. I weighed the glass; the deficient weight from the former weighing,

being the weight of the water, was 10098 grains.

"I repeated the experiment, with this difference; I put 1000 grains of the same vitriolic acid into the globe A, then introduced the quantity of zinc sufficient to saturate it: I took the weight of the inflammable air as before, and found it nearly the same in weight and quality. The same quantity of *aqua kali puri* was then introduced through a funnel as in the former experiment, then the tube was bent downwards, and a phial applied to it as before. The whole apparatus was weighed after the distillation, and found not to have lost any sensible quantity of weight, nor was there any water in the phial. The phial being detached, and the tube broken as before, the globe weighed again when dry, the deficiency was less than in the former experiment by 63 grains, which is two grains less than the additional weight of the calx above the metal of the inflammable air taken together; and therefore the matter occasioning the additional weight of the calx above that of the metal, and the inflammable air, are both produced from the water."

On the PURIFYING PROPERTY of CHARCOAL.

[From CRELL'S CHEMICAL JOURNAL.]

"AMONGST other singular properties of charcoal, it has lately been discovered by a gentleman at Petersburg, that all sorts of glass vessels and other utensils, may be purified from long retained smells and taints of every kind, in the easiest and most perfect manner,

by rinsing them out well with charcoal reduced to a fine powder, after their grosser impurities have been scoured off with sand and pot-ash. That people, whose breath smells strong from a scorbutic disposition of the gums, may at any time get perfectly rid of this bad smell, by rubbing

rubbing and washing out the mouth thoroughly with fine charcoal powder. This simple application, at the same time, renders the teeth beautifully white. And that brown (or otherwise coloured) putrid stinking water may be deprived of its offensive smell, and rendered transparent by means of the same substance.

Hence he thinks it would be of use for preserving water sweet during sea voyages, to add about 5lb. of coarse charcoal powder to every cask of water; it being only necessary afterwards to strain the water off when wanted, through a linen bag. See the last number of *Crell's Chemical Journal*."

PRESERVATIVE against HYDROPHOBIA, or the EFFECT of the BITE of DOGS, or other ANIMALS when MAD. By Dr. de MONETA, Physician in Ordinary to his POLISH MAJESTY.

[From the APPENDIX to the Fifth Volume of the CRITICAL REVIEW, New Arrangement.]

THE doctor first advises to cover the wound with fresh earth, or with snuff, to imbibe the saliva of the animal, and then to wash it with water. At the same time, warm half a pound of butter in four times as much vinegar; and when the wound is cleared, apply a compress of linen, steeped in that mixture, and moisten it very often with the same for nine days: after which time you may safely remove the compress, and cure the wound in the usual way. During the time that the vinegar is used outwardly, the patient must take it internally, four times a day, in doses of an ounce and a half of vinegar, warmed, with a little fresh butter; and his common drink, for at least fif-

teen days, must be pure water, with a little vinegar, or juice of citron. Any strong liquor is extremely hurtful, as is any emotion of anger or impatience. Plethoric patients may be blooded; but this precaution the author regards as little necessary. Dr. de Moneta has used the same remedy against the bites of vipers, and other venomous reptiles, and always with success. He has prevented the hydrophobia in more than sixty people; and many other physicians, who have followed his method, have found it equally efficacious. It is remarkable that, in Italy, vinegar has also been lately discovered to be a remedy for this dreadful disorder."

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the SNAKES of CAROLINA and FLORIDA.

[From BARTRAM'S TRAVELS through NORTH and SOUTH CAROLINA.]

BUT let us again resume the subject of the rattle-snake; a wonderful creature, when we consider his form, nature and disposition. It is certain that he is capable, by a puncture or scratch of one of his fangs, not only to kill the largest animal in America, and that in a few minutes time, but to turn the whole body into corruption; but such is the nature of this dreadful reptile, that he cannot run or creep faster than a man or a child can walk, and he is never known to strike until he is first assaulted or fears himself in danger, and even then always gives the earliest warning by the rattles at the extremity of the tail. I have in the course of my travels in the Southern states (where they are the largest, most numerous, and supposed to be the most venomous and vindictive) stepped unknowingly so close as almost to touch one of them with my feet, and when I perceived him he was already drawn up in circular coils ready for a blow. But however incredible it may appear, the generous, I may say magnanimous creature lay as still and motionless as if inanimate; his head crouched in, his eyes almost shut. I precipitately withdrew, unless when I have been so shocked with surprise and horror as to be in a manner rivetted to the spot, for a short time not having strength to go away; when he often slowly extends himself and quietly moves off in a direct line, unless pursued, when he erects his tail as far as the rattles extend, and gives the warning alarm by intervals. But if you pursue and overtake him with a shew of enmity, he instantly throws himself into the spiral coil; his tail by the rapidity

of its motion appears like a vapour, making a quick tremulous sound; his whole body swells through rage, continually rising and falling as a bellows; his beautiful parti-coloured skin become speckled and rough by dilatation; his head and neck are flattened, his cheeks swoollen and his lips constricted, discovering his mortal fangs; his eyes red as burning coals, and his brandishing forked tongue of the colour of the hottest flame, continually menaces death and destruction, yet never strikes unless sure of his mark.

“The rattlesnake is the largest serpent yet known to exist in North America. I have heard of their having been seen formerly, at the first settling of Georgia, seven, eight, and even ten feet in length, and six or eight inches diameter; but there are none of that size now to be seen; yet I have seen them above six feet in length, and above six inches in thickness, or as large as a man's leg; but their general size is four, five, and six feet in length. They are supposed to have the power of fascination in an eminent degree, so as to enthrall their prey. It is generally believed that they charm birds, rabbits, squirrels, and other animals, and by stedfastly looking at them possess them with infatuation: be the cause what it may, the miserable creatures undoubtedly strive by every possible means to escape; but alas! their endeavours are in vain, they at last lose the power of resistance, flutter or move slowly, but reluctantly, towards the yawning jaws of their devourers, and creep into their mouths, or lie down and suffer themselves to be taken and swallowed.

“Since, within the circle of my acquaintance

ACCOUNT of the SNAKES of CAROLINA and FLORIDA. [145]

acquaintance, I am known to be an advocate or vindicator of the benevolent and peaceable disposition of animal creation in general, not only towards mankind, whom they seem to venerate, but also towards one another, except where hunger or the rational and necessary provocations of the sensual appetite interfere. I shall mention a few instances, amongst many, which I have had an opportunity of remarking during my travels, particularly with regard to the animal I have been treating of. I shall strictly confine myself to facts.

"When on the sea-coast of Georgia, I consented with a few friends, to make a party of amusement at fishing and fowling on Sapello, one of the sea coast islands. We accordingly descended the Alatomaha, crossed the Sound, and landed on the North end of the island, near the inlet, fixing our encampment at a pleasant situation, under the shade of a grove of live oaks and laurels*, on the high banks of a creek which we ascended, winding through a salt marsh, which had its source from a swamp and savanna in the island: our situation elevated and open, commanded a comprehensive landscape; the great ocean, the foaming surf breaking on the sandy beach, the snowy breakers on the bar, the endless chain of islands, checkered land and high continent all appearing before us. The diverting toils of the day were not fruitless, affording us opportunities of furnishing ourselves plentifully with a variety of game, fish, and oysters, for our supper.

"About two hundred yards from our camp was a cool spring, amidst a grove of the odoriferous myrica: the winding path to this salubrious fountain led through a grassy savanna. I visited the spring several

times in the night, but little did I know, or any of my careless drowsy companions, that every time we visited the fountain we were in imminent danger, as I am going to relate. Early in the morning, excited by unconquerable thirst, I arose and went to the spring; and having, thoughtless of harm or danger, nearly half passed the dewy vale, along the serpentine foot path, my hasty steps were suddenly stopped by the sight of a hideous serpent, the formidable rattlesnake, in a high spiral coil, forming a circular mound half the height of my knees, within six inches of the narrow path. As soon as I recovered my senses and strength from so sudden a surprise, I started back out of his reach, where I stood to view him: he lay quiet whilst I surveyed him, appearing no way surprised or disturbed, but kept his half-shut eyes fixed on me. My imagination and spirits were in a tumult, almost equally divided betwixt thanksgiving to the supreme Creator and preserver, and the dignified nature of the generous though terrible creature, who had suffered us all to pass many times by him during the night, without injuring us in the least, although we must have touched him, or our steps guided therefrom by a supreme guardian spirit. I hastened back to acquaint my associates, but with a determination to protect the life of the generous serpent. I presently brought my companions to the place, who were beyond expression surprised and terrified at the sight of the animal, and in a moment acknowledged their escape from destruction to be miraculous; and I am proud to assert, that all of us, except one person, agreed to let him lie undisturbed, and that person at length was prevailed upon to suffer him to escape.

"Again, when in my youth, at-

* *Magnolia grandiflora*, called by the inhabitants the laurel.

tending my father on a journey to the Catkill Mountains, in the government of New-York; having nearly ascended the peak of Giliad, being youthful and vigorous in the pursuit of botanical and novel objects, I had gained the summit of a steep rocky precipice, a-head of our guide; when just entering a shady vale, I saw at the root of a small shrub, a singular and beautiful appearance, which I remember to have instantly apprehended to be a large kind of fungus, which we call Jews ears, and was just drawing back my foot to kick it over; when at the instant, my father being near, cried out, A rattle snake, my son! and jerked me back, which probably saved my life. I had never before seen one. This was of the kind which our guide called a yellow one; it was very beautiful, speckled and clouded. My father pleaded for his life, but our guide was inexorable, saying he never spared the life of a rattlesnake, and killed him; my father took his skin and fangs.

"Some years after this, when again in company with my father on a journey into East Florida, on the banks of St. Juan, at Fort Picolata, attending the congress at a treaty between that government and the Creek Nation, for obtaining a territory from that people to annex to the new government; after the Indians and a detachment from the garrison of St. Augustine had arrived and encamped separately, near the fort, some days elapsed before the business of the treaty came on, waiting the arrival of a vessel from St. Augustine, on board of which were the presents for the Indians. My father employed this time of leisure in little excursions round about the fort: and one morning, being the day the treaty commenced, I attended him on a botanical excursion.

Some time after we had been rambling in a swamp about a quarter of a mile from the camp, I being a-head a few paces, my father bid me observe the rattlesnake before and just at my feet. I stopped, and saw the monster formed in a high-spiral coil, not half his length from my feet: another step forward would have put my life in his power, as I must have touched if not stumbled over him. The fright and perturbation of my spirits at once excited repentment; at that time I was entirely insensible to gratitude or mercy. I instantly cut off a little sapling and soon dispatched him: this serpent was about six feet in length, and as thick as an ordinary man's leg. The rencounter deterred us from proceeding on our researches for that day. So I cut off a long tough wither or vine, which fastening round the neck of the slain serpent, I dragged him after me, his scaly body sounding over the ground; and entering the camp with him in triumph, was soon surrounded by the amazed multitude, both Indians and my countrymen. The adventure soon reached the ears of the commander, who sent an officer to request that, if the snake had not bit himself, he might have him served up for his dinner. I readily delivered up the body of the snake to the cooks, and being that day invited to dine at the governor's table, saw the snake served up in several dishes; governor Grant being fond of the flesh of the rattlesnake. I tasted of it, but could not swallow it. I, however, was sorry after killing the serpent, when coolly recollecting every circumstance. He certainly had it in his power to kill me almost instantly, and I make no doubt but that he was conscious of it. I promised myself that I would never again be accessory to the death of a rattlesnake.

rattlesnake, which promise I have invariably kept to. This dreaded animal is easily killed; a stick no thicker than a man's thumb is sufficient to kill the largest at one stroke, if well directed, either on the head or across the back; nor can they make their escape by running off, nor indeed do they attempt it when attacked.

"The moccasin snake is a large and horrid serpent to all appearance, and there are very terrifying stories related of him by the inhabitants of the southern states, where they greatly abound, particularly in East Florida: that their bite is always incurable, the flesh for a considerable space about the wound rotting to the bone, which then becomes carious, and a general mortification ensues, which infallibly destroys the patient; the members of the body rotting and dying by piecemeal: and that there is no remedy to prevent a lingering miserable death but by immediately cutting away the flesh to the bone, for some distance round about the wound. In shape and proportion of parts they much resemble the rattlesnake, and are marked or clouded much after the same manner, but the colours more dull and obscure; and in their disposition seem to agree with that dreadful reptile, being slow of progression, and throwing themselves in a spiral coil, ready for a blow when attacked. They have one peculiar quality, which is this, when discovered, and observing their enemy to take notice of them, after throwing themselves in a coil, they gradually raise their upper mandible or jaw until it falls back nearly touching their neck, at the same time slowly vibrating their long purple forked tongue, their crooked poisonous fangs directed right at you, which give the creature a most

terrifying appearance. They are from three to four and even five feet in length, and as thick as a man's leg; they are not numerous, yet too common, and a sufficient terror to the miserable naked slaves, who are compelled to labour in the swamps and low lands where only they abound.

"I never could find any that knew an instance of any person's losing their life from the bite of them, only by hearsay. Yet I am convinced it is highly prudent for every person to be on their guard against them. They appear to be of the viper tribe, from their swelling of their body and flattening their neck when provoked, and from their large poisonous fangs: their head, mouth, and eyes, are remarkably large.

"There is another snake in Carolina and Florida called the moccasin, very different from this; which is a very beautiful creature, and I believe not of a destructive or vindictive nature. These when grown to their greatest size are about five feet in length, and nearly as thick as a man's arm; their skin scaly but smooth and shining, of a pale grey and sky-colour ground, uniformly marked with transverse undulatory ringlets or blotches of a deep nut brown, edged with red or bright Spanish brown. They appear innocent, very active and swift, endeavouring to escape from one; they have no poisonous fangs. These are seen in high forest lands, about rotten logs or decayed fallen limbs of trees, and they harbour about old log buildings. They seem to be a species, if not the very same snake which, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, is called the wampom snake; but here in warmer southern climes they grow to a much larger size, and from the same accident their colour may be more valuable and deeper. They are by the

inhabitants asserted to be dangerously venomous, their bite incurable, &c. But as I could never learn an instance of their bite being mortal or attended with any dangerous consequence, and have had frequent opportunities of observing their nature and disposition, I am inclined to pronounce them an innocent creature, with respect to mankind.

"The bastard rattlesnake, by some called ground rattlesnake, is a dangerous little creature: their bite is certainly mortal, if present medical relief is not administered; they seem to be much of the nature of the asp or adder of the old world.

"This little viper is in form and colour much like the rattlesnake, but not so bright and uniformly marked: their head is broader and shorter in proportion to the other parts of their body; their nose prominent and turned upwards; their tail becomes suddenly small from the vent to the extremity, which terminates with three minute articulations, resembling rattles: when irritated, they turn up their tail, which vibrates so quick as to appear like a mist or vapour, but causes little or no sound or noise; yet it is the common report of the inhabitants, that they cause that remarkable vehement noise, so frequently observed in forests in the heat of summer and autumn, very terrifying to strangers, which is, probably, caused by a very small insect of the genus cicadae, or which are called the locusts in America; yet it is possible I may be mistaken in this conjecture. This dangerous viper is from eight to ten inches in length, and of proportionable thickness. They are spiteful, snappish creatures: and throwing themselves into a little coil, they swell and flatten themselves, continually darting out their head; and they seem capable of springing beyond their length. They seem

destitute of the pacific disposition and magnanimity of the rattlesnake, and are unworthy of an alliance with him. No man ever saves their lives, yet they remain too numerous, even in the oldest settled parts of the country.

"The green snake is a beautiful innocent creature: they are from two to three feet in length, but not so thick as a persons little finger; of the finest green colour. They are very abundant, commonly seen on the limbs of trees and shrubs: they prey upon insects and reptiles, particularly the little green chameleon: and the forked-tailed hawk or kite feeds on both of them, snatching them off the boughs of the trees.

"The ribband snake is another very beautiful innocent serpent: they are eighteen inches in length, and about the thickness of a man's little finger; the head is very small; the ground colour of a full, clear vermilion, variegated with transverse bars or zones of a dark brown, which people fancy represents a ribband wound round the creatures body: they are altogether inoffensive to man, and are in a manner domestic, frequenting old wooden buildings, open grounds and plantations.

"The chicken snake is a large, strong and swift serpent, six or seven feet in length, but scarcely so thick as a man's wrist; they are of a cinereous, earthy colour, and striped longitudinally with broad lines or lists, of a dusky or blackish colour. They are a domestic snake, haunting about houses and plantations; and would be useful to man, if tamed and properly tutored, being great devourers of rats, but they are apt to disturb henroosts and prey upon chickens. They are as innocent as a worm with respect to venom, are easily tamed, and soon become very familiar.

"The pine or bull snake is very large

large and inoffensive with respect to mankind, but devours squirrels, birds, rabbits, and every other creature it can take as food. They are the largest snake yet known in North America, except the rattlesnake, and perhaps exceed him in length: they are pied black and white: they utter a terrible loud hissing noise, sounding very hollow and like distant thunder, when irritated, or at the time of incubation, when the males contend with each other for the desired female. These serpents are also called horn snakes,

from their tail terminating with a hard, horny spur, which they vibrate very quick when disturbed, but they never attempt to strike with it; they have dens in the earth, whither they retreat precipitately when apprehensive of danger.

"There are many other species of snakes in the regions of Florida and Carolina; as the water-snake, black snake, garter-snake, copper-belly, ring-neck, and two or three varieties of vipers, besides those already noticed in my Journal."

ACCOUNT of the MAGNETIC MOUNTAIN of CANNAY,
by GEORGE DEMPSTER, of DUNNICHEN, Esq.

[From the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES of
SCOTLAND, VOL. I.]

"YOU will not be sorry to receive an account of the magnetic mountain of Cannay: but perhaps it is not unknown to you already, or you may at least have heard of similar ones in other places. Cannay is an island of ten or twelve miles in circumference, with an excellent harbour in its bosom. Near this harbour, on a hill of some height, called the Compass Hill, there is a little hole dug, about a foot or two in depth. A compass placed in this hole is instantly disturbed, and in a short time veers about to the eastward, till at last the north point settles itself in a due southerly direction, and remains there. At a very little distance from this hole, perhaps on the very edge of it, the needle recovers its usual position.

"This singular circumstance was known when Martin wrote his account of these islands; and is

taken notice of by him. He indeed says, the compass then settled at due east, which is also curious. What increases the singularity of this alteration in the needle, is a discovery lately made by Hector McNeil, esq; tacksmen of the island. He mentioned the circumstance to us; and lord Brédalbane, sir Adam Fergusson, Mr. Isaac Hawkins Brown, and the rest of the company, went to examine the fact. The harbour, on the north side, is formed by a bold rock of basalt, which may be about half a mile below, and to the southward of the Compass Hill, of which this rock is a continuation. We rowed under this rock; and when the boat reached its center, immediately under the rock, and almost touching it, the north point of our compass veered about, and settled at due south, and remained there: this experiment was frequently re-

peated with the same success; but this effect was confined also to a very small part of the rock, which seemed to us directly south from the hole on Compass Hill. At a little distance, on either side, the needle recovered its usual position. His lordship then directed the boat to row with great quickness past the rock, when, upon our crossing the place which had before affected the needle, it was again affected during the passage, though very quick, and recovered soon after passing this point. We could hardly venture to assign any cause for these appearances, but by supposing something magnetical in the rock extending the whole distance from the Compass Hill to the head land at the mouth of the harbour. If this should prove to be the case, we had no scruple in pronouncing this to be the largest loadstone

as yet discovered in the world. A part of the rock was broken off, at the very spot where this affection of the needle was observed, and was applied to the compass when removed from the rock; but it seemed to produce no effect upon the needle whatsoever. Also, the compass was carried about the length of the boat from the rock, but in a line with Compass Hill; and it was also placed in the same line on the opposite side of the harbour, at about a quarter of a mile's distance; neither of these experiments produced any effect on the needle.

"In this island there are many columnar appearances, not unlike to Staffa; and several, both straight and bent, and every way as regular, which seem also to have, like Staffa, escaped observation till very lately."

NATURAL HISTORY of the BEAVER.

[From the Third Volume of a JOURNAL of TRANSACTIONS and EVENTS, during a RESIDENCE of nearly SIXTEEN YEARS on the COAST of LABRADOR, &c. by GEORGE CARTWRIGHT, Esq.]

"**A**S all the accounts which I have hitherto read of beavers, are very erroneous, I shall here communicate my observations on those animals. I suppose, that none of the writers who have mentioned them, ever saw a beaver-house, but related only the tales of illiterate furriers, whose veracity is not to be depended upon. I tremble at feeling myself under the necessity of contradicting that celebrated natural historian Compt de Buffon; yet I must take the liberty to do it. He says, "A beaver has a scaly-tail, because he eats fish:" I wonder much that Mon-

sieur Buffon had not one himself for the same reason; for I am sure that he has eaten a great deal more fish than all the beavers in the world put together. Beavers will neither eat fish, nor any other animal food; but live upon the leaves and bark of such trees and shrubs as have not a resinous juice, and the root of the water-lilly. I have known them eat black spruce; and they will sometimes cut down silver-fir: but I believe, that is only to build with when other trees are scarce. When they eat, they hold their food in their fore paws and sit up like monkeys. In the summer time they ramble about

about very much, paying little regard to their houses, and will make a bed of sticks shred fine, under a bush near the water-side, and there sleep: the first bed of this kind which I found, I took to be the nest of a goose. If the pond which they lived in the last winter, has plenty of such food as they like, growing by the side of it, and they have not been disturbed by man, they will seldom quit it; but if there be a scarcity of food, they will wander about in search of another, where they can be more plentifully supplied: and it has been long observed, that of all trees which grow in Newfoundland or Labrador, they like the aspen best, and next to that the birch. Having found a place convenient for the purpose, they commonly begin early in August to erect their house. Their mode of constructing it I had from a very intelligent observer, John Edwards, who has made the catching of them his whole employment for several winters; in which time he has killed several hundreds. He told me, if the pond be deep, close to the bank, and that free from rocks, they begin under water, at the foot of the bank, and scoop out a hole, rising gradually to the surface; carrying all the earth which they dig out there to the top, and mix abundance of sticks and even stones among it. The sticks which they make use of on this occasion, are of all sizes, from the thickness of a man's ankle to his little finger, but very seldom of larger dimensions. They pile up these materials in the form of a dome, sometimes to the height of six or seven feet above the level of the ground, but commonly not more than four. The base is generally of an oval form; the height ten or twelve feet, and eight or nine in width. As they raise

this pile above, they hollow it out below, taking care that their bed, or lodging place shall be above the reach of floods, and sufficiently roomy to contain the whole family. From the fore part of the house, they build a projection into the pond, sloping downwards all the way, and under this they enter into their house. This entrance is called by the furriers, *the Angle*; nor do they always content themselves with one, but more commonly will have two, and sometimes three. They have but one apartment, which is termed the lodging, and which is shaped in the inside like an oven, the bottom of which is covered with the shreds of sticks, resembling fine narrow shavings. At a little distance from the angle, is their magazine of provisions, which consists of the roots of water-lilly, and the branches of trees; the but-ends of the latter they stick into the mud, where there is any. The whole is termed *twiith*, and I have seen as much as a cart would hold; great part appeared above water. They are very industrious creatures, for even amidst a superabundance of provisions, they will continue to add to the store; and though their house be completely built, they will still carry on fresh work, until the pond is frozen firm over; they will even keep a hole open to work on the house for some nights after, provided the frost is not very severe: and as they will enter every old house and do a little work upon it, young furriers are frequently deceived thereby, supposing those houses to be inhabited. Although they will sometimes continue in the same pond for three or four years or more, yet they will frequently build themselves a new house every year; at other times they will repair an old one, and live in that; and

they often build a new house upon, or close adjoining to an old one, making the two tops into one, and cut a communication between the lodgings: hence, I presume, arose the idea of their having several apartments. When the pond is not deep enough for them, they will throw a dam across the mouth of of the brook, by which it discharges its water, to raise it to a sufficient height; making use of sticks, stones, mud, and sand for this purpose. Some of these I have seen of great length and strength, insomuch that I have walked over them with the greatest safety, though not quite dry shod, if they be new, as the water always sheds over them, being on an exact level from end to end. But if, notwithstanding the flint, they cannot raise the water to a proper depth, near the bank, they build their house in the pond, at a few yards distance from the shore, beginning at the bottom and hollowing it out as they go on, for they must have about three feet depth over the end of the angle, or the water would freeze in it, and they could go neither in nor out. If there be an island in the pond, they generally make their house on that, being the safest place; and by far the the greatest number of houses are on the north shore, for the advantage of the sun. They have no opening from their house on the land side, and for these reasons; because the frosty air would enter at that hole and freeze up the water in the angle, whereby they would be cut off from their magazine: the wolves likewise and other enemies might enter thereat and kill them; and the cold would be greater than they could bear. For, although they are provided with a thick skin, covered with plenty of long, warm fur, they cannot endure severe frost, it being well known

that they die if exposed to it for a short time. By what I have said, the reader will suppose they are endued with unerring sagacity, but it is not the case; for they have been known to build their house in a pond, where there was such a scarcity of food, that they have all died for want; or in one, that lay in a flat country, which, by a great thaw in the winter, has been flooded; when they have been obliged to cut a hole through the crown of their lodging, and by so doing, and the water freezing in their house on the return of the frost, they have not been able to get into it again, but have all been found dead upon it. At other times, they have lived on a brook, where a thaw has caused such a stream as has washed away all their food, and consequently starved them. They will often run a flint across a narrow valley, through which a small drain of water runs, and where plenty of willows, alders, and such like things grow, and make a pond for themselves. The furrier has then only to cut the flint, and when the water is run off, he kills them all with the greatest ease. As the killing of beavers is an art appertaining to the science of furring, which I do not wish to make public, I shall say no more on that head, except that they are always killed by staking their houses, by guns, or by traps; and not by hunting them with dogs, by men on horseback with spears, as I have seen ridiculously described in prints. Nor do they ever castrate themselves to escape their pursuers, for that part is not only of no use, but both thofe, their prides, and oil-bags (the two latter vessels being common to both sexes, and the prides only used in medicine, known by the name of castoreum) lie so completely within them,

them, that the operation must be performed by a very skilful hand indeed, and with the greatest care, not to kill them. Besides, what made them acquainted with the cause of their being pursued? If their flesh were not such excellent eating, very few beaver-skins would ever come to market. Beavers generally bring forth two young ones at a time, which are most commonly male and female; yet they will often have but one, especially the first time of breeding; and sometimes three or four: and I was told by a man of mine (Joseph Tero) that he once cut seven out of an old one. The first year they are called *papposes*; the second *small medlers*; the third *large medlers*; the fourth *beaver*; and after that *old*, or *great beaver*. They copulate in May, and bring forth towards the end of June. The young ones continue to live with their parents until they are full three years old; then pair off, build a house for themselves, and begin to breed. Yet sometimes, and not uncommonly, if they are undisturbed and have plenty of provisions, they will continue longer with the old ones, and breed in the same house. They are then called a *double crew*; and that was the case with the family which we found yesterday. It oftentimes happens that a single beaver lives retired, and it is then styled by furriers, a hermit: they say, it is turned out from the family, because it is lazy and will not work; and what is very singular (for be the cause what it will, the fact is certain) all hermit beavers have a black mark on the inside of the skin upon their backs, called a saddle, which distinguishes them. I rather think the cause of hermit beavers to be fidelity; as they are very faithful creatures to their mate; and by some accident or other, losing that mate,

they either will not pair again, or remain single until they can find another hermit of the contrary sex; and that the saddle proceeds from the want of a partner to keep their back warm. I am sure that supposition is more natural, than, that it should be turned out because it is lazy; for many of those hermit beavers do so much work, that good furriers have sometimes been deceived, and imagined they had found a small crew. Whether they do, or do not make use of their tails as trowels to plaster their houses with, I cannot say, though I am inclined to believe they do not; because their tail is so heavy, and the tendons of it so weak, though numerous, that I do not think they can use it to that effect; and that therefore they daub the earth on with their hands, for I must call them so. When they dive, they give a smack on the water with their tails as they go down; but that appears to me, to proceed from the tail falling over with its own weight. They move very slowly on land, and being also a very cowardly creature, are easily killed there by any man or beast that chances to meet with them: yet, being defended by long fur, and a thick skin, and armed with long, strong teeth, firmly set in very strong jaws, they are capable of making a stout resistance. I have heard of an old one, which cut the leg of a dog nearly off at one stroke, and I make not the least doubt of the truth of the information. Still I have been informed, that others will enter their houses and kill them; but I believe it must only be the young ones, when the old ones are from home; for I hardly think, that an old beaver would suffer itself to be killed by an otter. When met on shore by a man, they have been known to sit upon their breech and fall

tall a crying like a young child; an instance of which I must relate.

"A man newly arrived in Newfoundland, was walking through a wood, and near a pond; where he chanced to meet a beaver with a billet of wood on his shoulder, going down to the water. As soon as the creature saw him, he laid down his load, sat upon his breech, and cried exactly like an infant. The man having more tenderness in his disposition than such men usually have, not knowing what it was, and, perhaps, taking it for a creature superior to the brute creation, stopped and addressed it thus, "Thou need'st not cry, poor thing, for I would not hurt thee for the world; so thou mayest take up thy turn of firewood and go home about thy business." The above story I do not give as a positive fact; relating it only as I have often heard it. It is an actual truth, however, that a late servant of mine, Charles Atkinson, could never be prevailed upon to taste the flesh of beavers, because he was sure, he said, "They were enchanted Christians." When beavers meet with a sufficiency of aspen, birch, or such shrubs as they are fond of, and which are not bigger than a stout pole, they will seldom cut those of a larger size; but, when necessity obliges them, they will cut down the largest tree that ever grew. How long they are in performing the work, I have had no opportunity to ascertain, but I believe it is done in no great time: for I once found at the foot of a black spruce, that they had cut down, a chip of four inches in length and two in breadth, which seemed to have been taken off at one stroke. And I have seen so many stout trees, which have been felled by them in the course of one season, that I am convinced they

must work both quick and diligently. Small trees they cut on one side only, but large ones they go round and always fell them towards the water, to save themselves carriage. A stick, the thickness of a stout walking cane, they will cut off at one stroke, and as clean as if done by a gardener's pruning knife. It is the bark only of trees which they eat, and seem to like that of the branches best, though they will eat the rind of the trunks also. Having felled a large tree, they lop off all the branches, and those, as well as the bodies of small trees, they cut up into lengths according to their weight and thickness the larger ones they carry on their shoulders to the water side, throw them in, and tow them to the place where they are wanted; the long branches they drag along in their mouths. They always cut on the windward side of a pond, because, by swimming along the shore before they land, they can wind any enemy who may perchance be there; the wind also assisting them both to fall the tree towards the water, and to tow the wood home. These creatures begin to grow fat after the middle of July, are in tolerable case by the end of August, and by the end of September, are at their best, provided they have good living and are not disturbed. Those which feed upon brouze, particularly on birch, are the most delicious eating of any animal in the known world; but the flesh of those which feed upon the root of the water-lilly, although it makes them much fatter than any other food, has a strong taste, and is very unpleasant. After Christmas they begin to decline, and by May are commonly poor; in these particulars they resemble the porcupine, as they do in many other respects. If their house is disturbed

disturbed much before the pond is frozen, they commonly quit it, and go into the next, either above or below; or they will go into an old house in the same pond, or a small one of their own there, which they generally have besides the one they live in, and it is termed the *hovel*. If they have been teased much in former years, they will often fly for a slight disturbance; but should the furrier chance to catch the two old ones at first, the rest of the family will scarce ever quit the pond. So long as the pond is free from ice, they keep adding to their magazine of provisions; but when it is frozen firm, they begin to live upon it. As the sticks which compose their magazine are entangled one in another, so as to make it difficult to extract a whole, they cut a piece off, bring it into their house, and there eat off the bark: after which they carry it out again and cast it loose into the water. In bringing their food into their house, they often strike one end of the stick on the bridge of a trap, which the furrier has placed for him in the angle. From this circumstance, many of the ignorant people have positively asserted, that the sagacity of the beaver induced him so to do, to prevent being caught himself; but if beavers had so much knowledge, very few of them, I am persuaded, would be taken. Whereas, the beaver's safety depends chiefly on the furrier's ignorance, for he who understands the business well, will certainly catch the whole family, or all the families which are in the same pond (if it be not too large) in a very few nights, be they ever so numerous. If they are caught young, they are soon made tame, and then are very fond of boiled pease. Buffon and others say, that

they make use of their tails as sleds to draw stones and earth upon: I cannot contradict their assertions, as I have never seen these animals work; but I do not believe it, because their tails being thickest at the root and down the centre part, it would be almost impossible for them to keep a stone on it, unless held there by another. Nor have I ever observed, that they had taken any stones off the ground; but they bring them from the sides and bottoms of the water, and must make use of their hands for those purposes; as they could easier shove and roll them along, than draw them on their tails: besides, the skin of the under part of the tail would be rubbed off by the friction on the ground; which never yet has been observed to be the case with them, and is a stronger proof, that they never do make use of them for that purpose. Those who compare this account with the writings of Buffon and others, will find a great difference, but it must be remembered, that they wrote entirely from hearsay, and I, from experience chiefly. As so many noblemen and gentlemen in England have expended large sums on curiosities and pleasure, I greatly wonder, that not one, out of so many who have parks well walled round (for no other fence will do) with convenient ponds in them, have been curious enough to establish a colony of beavers; which might easily be done, by planting plenty of birch, aspen, ash, willow, sallow, osier, alder, and other such like trees round the ponds, according to the nature of the soil, and procuring a few pairs of beavers to turn in. But care should be taken to have pairs of the same families, lest they should all turn hermits."

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the CYPRESS TREE.

[From the Third Volume of the ABBE MARITI'S TRAVELS through CYPRUS, SYRIA, and PALESTINE.]

"IN the Song of Solomon I find mention made of another tree of Engaddi, called the cypress, or in Hebrew *copher*. *Botrus Cypr dilectus meus mihi in vineis Engaddi**. The spouse here compares her beloved to this tree, as rare and odoriferous; but it may not be improper to enquire what this cypress tree really was, of which so many different accounts have been given.

"I shall not examine the opinion entertained by some, that *botrus Cypr* means grapes of the island of Cyprus, or wine made from them, and brought to Engaddi; for this interpretation has been rejected by some of the most learned commentators, who conclude, that the cypresses of Solomon's Song must have been a tree of great value, producing flowers of an agreeable odour.

"The cypress is that plant called commonly by the Arabs and Turks *chennâ*, or *kennâ*; but its true Arabic name is *elhanne*, or *alhanna*. In Hebrew it is called *copher*, and in Greek *κίπρος*, though the greater part of the modern Greeks know it under the denomination of *kenna*.

"It rises to the height of the pomegranate tree, and may therefore be very properly classed among the number of trees. Its external colour, both at the thickest part of the trunk and on the branches, is a mixture of white, green, and

purple. The interior part is yellowish. The leaves, which grow opposite to each other on the branches, never drop in winter. They are shaped like those of the myrtle, but are smaller, much thinner, and not so green. If boiled in water, either fresh gathered or dry, they communicate to it a beautiful orange colour, and with this liquor the eastern ladies dye their nails, the palms of their hands, and likewise their hair.

"The flowers proceed from the ends of the branches, which are exceedingly slender. Before they blow they appear like so many red and green balls, scarcely so large as the head of a pin. They all burst forth almost at the same time, and hang in most beautiful clusters, which may very properly be compared to large bunches of grapes turned upside down. The small flowers which compose these bunches are shaped like a rose, and when expanded are little more in circumference than a small lentil. The leaves, which are placed one over the other, are crisped, and of a colour which in general may be called white, or rather white shaded with yellow, like that of ivory when it begins to grow old.

"Each flower is supported by a small strong calyx, divided into five indentations. The petals, which are of an oval figure, smooth, and pointed at the extremities, are likewise five in number; and from the

* In our English translation it is, "My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engaddi."

centre of them, arise eight slender stamina of the same height, disposed in pairs, and bearing on their tops small round antheræ. The capsula, in the middle of the flower, which is round, is furnished with a strong pistil, having above it a stigma with a blunt round point. When it attains to maturity, this capsula becomes a globular fruit, something like a coriander seed; and, when perfectly ripe, assumes a violet colour shaded with black. Each of these fruit contains only one cell, filled with small black seeds.

" This tree begins to flower in August, and the branches continue in turns to send forth blossoms till the end of autumn. The length of a beautiful bunch of these flowers may be about six inches, and the circumference in the largest part about nine. An oil is extracted from them in the Levant, which is supposed to be equal in quality to balsam. In the island of Cyprus I observed that these trees while young were kept in vases; but when they become large they are transplanted, and put into the ground. Though the regions of the east are their natural soil, they require, however, particular care and attention. In summer they delight in the shade; but in winter they must be exposed to the sun;

and in both seasons it is necessary to water them frequently. In winter I have seen a mixture of horse and cattle's dung placed around them, in order to preserve them from the cold.

" These trees are infested with small ants, and other little insects, which climb up their trunks, and often cause them to decay. The Greeks and the Arabs in order to prevent this inconvenience, take care to daub over the stem from the root to the first branches with bitumen, which secures them from these destructive animals.

" The cypress is greatly esteemed by the Greeks, the Turks, and the Arabs, who think they pay a very high compliment when they present any one with a bunch of its flowers. To Europeans the smell of them, which greatly resembles that of musk, is rather too powerful; and on that account almost insufferable, until they have accustomed themselves to these strong odours, which the people of the east delight in, and which they continually use, without experiencing the smallest bad effects from them. A taste for strong odours seems to be very ancient in the east; and to have been handed down amongst these people without any interruption from the caprices of fashion."

ANTIQUITIES.

On the HUNTING of the ANCIENT INHABITANTS of our ISLAND, BRITONS and SAXONS. By the Rev. SAMUEL PEGGE, F. A. S.

[From the Tenth Volume of the ARCHÆOLOGIA.]

“ Dear Sir,

IN regard to your question concerning the hunting of the ancient inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, the Britons and Saxons, the genuine and authentic notices which have come down to us relative to the customs and manner of those two nations, are indeed but very few, so that much cannot reasonably be expected to have reached us on the subject proposed. However, for the amusement of yourself and friend, I shall endeavour to bring together such passages as have occurred to me in authors concerning this matter, with some necessary remarks and observations, premising and noting here, once for all, that the writers alluded to deal so much in generals, that they afford us not many particulars, respecting the mode of proceeding of our ancestors in those early times in the great and important business, as I may call it, of the chase.

“ The predominant passion of the northern nations was war, as they wished for no greater pleasure than to drink and carouse out of the skulls of their enemies, as appears both from the poems of Ossian, if I may be allowed to cite

that author, and from Monsieur Mallet. Now the very best school for war in those remote ages, when discipline was but little understood, was hunting, as we learn from Xenophon, and has been repeated by many authors since his time; yet was it more peculiarly so, in regard to those people we are here speaking of. The Greeks used hunting as a pastime or diversion, and had arrived at great perfection in the sport, as we find by the author last mentioned; the Romans did the same, as appears from their minor poets. But Monsieur Mallet will tell you that hunting in the north was the constant and daily exercise of the men, while the women had the care of every thing else. It will appear too hereafter, when we come to mention the species of beasts which they commonly pursued, creatures wild and ferocious, that that employment required, in its very nature, the utmost activity and dexterity, courage and conduct, qualifications all extremely requisite for the advantageous meeting of their enemies in the field of battle. Xenophon has accordingly made his hero, the young Cyrus, a great hunter.

“ But apart from the consideration

tion of hunting as an useful preparative for the labours of war, our progenitors had a kind of necessity for it. They lived much, Cæsar tells us, upon flesh. And thus, the boar, the wild bull, the hart and hind, and the goat, all which will be mentioned hereafter, came to the table; and as to the venison, Mr. Macpherson has given us their manner of baking, or cooking it, with hot stones. The wild beasts again, the bear, the wolf, and the fox, they would be desirous of destroying, for the sake of preserving their useful cattle, or domestic animals from their ravages or depredations.

"The northern parts of this isle are often so fast bound and hardened by frost, or so deeply covered with snow, for several months together, that one cannot suppose the natives could at such times either hunt the ferocious or the timid animal, whence one is compelled to imagine, that they, as in other countries, had some method of preserving the flesh of their eatable game caught at other times by drying, salting, or otherwise, against the hard and inclement season.

"I observe next, that the country throughout was then extremely woody, in comparison of what it is now, when so much of it is affarted, tilled, or fed. What an immense tract of wood was the *Saltus Caledonius* of the *Coritani*, and the two others of the same denomination, to name no others? this is a circumstance so very unfavourable to men's hunting on horseback, that one is in a manner forced to conclude, that, in those times, the greatest men pursued their game, whatever it was, on foot. And this it seems was the manner of hunting the fox by

our kings in the 13th century, where one horse only is employed for the purpose, not of riding but to carry the toil. It is my firm opinion, that the heroes of antiquity proceeded no otherwise in the field sports, and that from thence swiftness of foot became a quality of excellence and admiration. All will remember the Πόδας ἄκυς Ἀχιλλεύς of Homer. It seems, however, to have been otherwise in the great and magnificent huntings of the old Persians.

"To go now on the sport itself; the Britons, I am of opinion made use both of dogs and nets. Strabo informs us, that the British dogs were excellent for hunting and war, and were exported for those purposes into other countries. And amongst the coins of Cunobelin there appears a dog strong and tall enough to carry a lady upon him. Mr. Thoresby also, in his museum, registers a British coin exhibiting a dog under a man on horseback, whence I suspect, that Strabo's British dogs, which were an article of commerce, and purchased by the Celtae as well to be used in war as for the chase, were of this bold and robust kind; such as would assault a stag when at bay, or attack a bear, a boar, or a bull, upon occasion; though I do not observe that Dr. Caius has mentioned this of fierce and valorous dogs, in his treatise *de Canibus Britannicis*, and yet they were bought up by the Romans, as Mr. Camden shews, for the sports of the amphitheatre. So far in regard to the interpretation of the passage in Strabo. It appears, however, from the express testimony of Nemesianus, that our Britons were anciently famous for dogs of the swift and fleet kind, as well as for the

the pugnacious and warlike fort
for the combat; the words are,

*Sed non Spartanos tantum, tantumve
Molossos.*

*Pascendum catulos: divisa Britannia
mittit*

Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.

Nemesian. Cyneget. 123.

And indeed I have formerly seen a strong, and yet swift, kind of greyhound, which they termed a wolf-dog, or lyciscus. There was one at Lambeth palace, and another at Wentworth house; and if the breed be not now quite worn out, perhaps it may be found in Ireland or Scotland.

"I return now, Sir, to what I conceive to have been the common mode of hunting among the ancient Britons. When the chase was roused from his lair or den, which was done, I presume, more by beating than questing, it was pursued into the soil, and the hunters came up with their cry of dogs and arms, with their venabula, or hunting spears, and their bows and arrows. A method of proceeding not much unlike, to compare small things with great, the grand scenes of ancient and modern huntings amongst the oriental monarchs, attended by little armies in the field of sport. The whole is finely expressed by Virgil, in that apposite simile of the 12th book, where Æneas presses upon Turnus when hemmed in, as it were, on all sides.

*Inclusum veluti siquando in flumine
nactus*

*Cervum, aut puniceæ septum formidine
pennæ,*

*Venator cursu canis, et latratibus
instat.*

Æn. XII. 349.

The river here and the red feathers

correspond to the toil. I have no evidence or authority, 'tis true, for the Britons using toils, and therefore only introduce them from analogy, all nations, as I observe, using them anciently in hunting, of wild beasts especially, and Xenophon minutely describing them even in hare-hunting; and that they were usually applied here in fox-hunting, we have seen above from the wardrobe account of the 13th century.

"The arms of the hunters, which I mentioned, were absolutely necessary; for the savage beasts, fierce enough by nature, when once exasperated, and fighting in their own defence, and for their lives, were often very furious and dangerous to the assailants. Adonis is reported by most authors to have been slain by a wild boar. I need not take any further notice of the venabulum, or spear; but as to the bows and arrows, the huntress Dianna has her bow, and Virgil in the IVth Æneid beautifully compares the love-sick queen to a hind stricken with an arrow; and what is more to our present purpose, king William Rufus, of northern extraction, was killed by an arrow in hunting, very soon after the conquest.

"As one may be allowed, I presume, to argue from the customs and practices of the Germans to those of the old northern inhabitants of our island, I beg leave to observe, that the Germans had a method, as appears from Cæsar, of taking the larger wild animals by the fovea, or pit-fall, an artifice, probably, not unknown here, and still used abroad in regard to those unwieldy beasts the elephant and the rhinoceros.

"The objects of the British sportsmen were either the savage and noxious

noxious animals, the bear, the boar, the wolf, the fox, and the bull; or those of a more timid and harmless nature, the hart and hind, the roe-buck, and the goat.

The Bear.

"For what relates to this animal, as existing once in Britain, I shall refer you, Sir, to Camden, and the dissertation on the Coritani; only thereto you may add Archbishop Usher's Antiquities, Dugdale's Warwickshire, and Mr. Pennant's Zoology.

The Boar.

"See the Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin.

The Wolf.

"I have nothing to add to what Dr. Caius, and Mr. Pennant, have said on this noxious beast, but that after the general slaughter of him in the reign of king Edgar, there remain some traces of his continuance here, and that the Saxons called January the wolf month, from their great fierceness at that season.

The Fox.

"This animal is an inmate of all the cold northern climates, and was every where an object of the chase; but as he is now so well known, nothing needs be said of him here in particular.

The wild Bull.

"For this creature, see the coins of Cunobelin, Class III. No. 5, and class V. No. 1. Mr. Pennant in the Zoology, vol. I. page 18, seems to think this animal to be

extinct; but the late Marmaduke Cuthbert Tunstall, of Wycliffe, esq. whose death I most sincerely lament, sent me a print, not long since, of the wild bull of the ancient Caledonian breed, now ranging in the park at Chillingham Castle, in Northumberland. Mr. Tunstall was no contemptible judge of these matters; but, perhaps, not so perfect or accurate a connoisseur as Mr. Pennant. See, however, this last gentleman's second Tour to Scotland, p. 109, to whom I shall only add, that Fitz-Stephen reports, that in his time, the 12th century, the immense forest of Middlesex afforded the wild bull; and of his horns we may well suppose the curious ancient drinking-horns were composed, for which see Cæsar and your Archæologia.

"You will wonder, Sir, perhaps, that the wild cat is not recorded here amongst the savage beasts, as an object of the Britons' chase, as it is undoubtedly true that, two or three centuries ago, we were wont to hunt it. But Mr. Pennant having given us some valid reasons for thinking it is not an indigenous animal here, one knows not how to assign it a British antiquity in the island. One does not hear of any cat-hunting now, except in America.

"The hart and hind, the roe-buck, and goat, were the harmless and inoffensive objects of the British chase; but the case here is so plain, that it is sufficient to name them. But then you will say, why do you not mention the hare? was not that creature to afford them diversion? I answer, we are told by Cæsar, that the Britons did not eat this animal, and therefore as it was harmless and innocent, they had no inducement to take any pains to destroy it. Let us now visit

The Saxons.

" Imagining then, that this people had the same motives for destroying the noxious animals as their predecessors the Britons had, as also the same objects of amusement and diversion, only adding to them the hare; we shall have little more to do here on our subject, than to shew good and sufficient authority, that this northern nation was fond of hunting after they were once well settled in the island.

" In the reign of Wulfere, king of Mercia, about A. D. 660, Wulfade and Rufine, the king's sons, are said to be chasing a hart when they first approached the cell of St. Chad, had converse with him, and were converted by him to the Christian faith. This, probably, and what follows of Wulfer's slaying both his sons with his own hand, are no better than legendary stories; but nevertheless, they may go so far as to shew what kind of diversions young princes in those times were accustomed to.

" After Menevenfis represents hunting as a laudable and princely art, when he mentions it as one of the accomplishments of the young Alfred. "*In omni venatoria arte industrius venator incessabiliter laborat [f. laborabat] non in vanum: nam incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in ceteris omnibus Dei donis fuit.*"

" That lascivious prince, king Edgar, who acceded to the throne, A. D. 957, wanting to detect the fraud and treachery of earl Ethelwold, his favorite and confidant, in an affair of love, projected a match of hunting in those parts where the lady resided, as if such rendezvous were not uncommon, and took that opportunity to slay him. Edgar, moreover, ordered a

general hunting, or massacre of the wolves in his kingdom, as related above.

" And by a law of king Cnut, every man might hunt in his own wood and grounds, but not to interfere with the royal demesnes.

" In a MS. Saxon Calendar in the Cotton Library, Tiber, B. V. the month of September is characterised by a wild boar hunting. See Mr. Strutt's *Horda Angelycynnan*, Vol. I. p. 44, Pl. XI.

" The above, Sir, are all the particulars I can at present recollect concerning the matter in hand, and I fear will prove little satisfactory. One observation, however, I will subjoin for a conclusion, that I find nothing either of the park or forest in this period. The word *parc* indeed occurs among the Saxons as an inclosure, but not as particularly appropriated to deer, though that be the sense of it now, and England is famous for the great number of them; but as to the other, the forest, I find it not in the dictionary, and in fact, I believe both the word, and the forest law, and all the terms and expressions relative to those privileged districts, were entirely the introduction of the Normans. Consequently, if the monkish historians writing posterior to the conquest, should at any time be found to drop an expression allusive to the forest, or the peculiar terms thereof, when speaking of the Britons or Saxons, it must be by a Prolepsis, and not to be understood strictly, but with latitude and according to analogy; just as Mr. Macpherson uses the word forest in Fingal.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Whittington, Nov. 18, 1790."

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS on the INTRODUCTION of ARABIC NUMERALS into ENGLAND. Addressed to the EARL of MORETON, 1776, by the Rev. Mr. NORTH, of Coddecote, F. A. S.

[From the same Work.]

"My Lord,

THE inclosed paper was drawn up at a time when the subject engaged a more general attention among the learned, as long ago as the year 1748, and then designed to have been presented to your lordship's predecessor at the Royal Society, Mr. Folkes, to whom I had the honour of being well known; but, upon my being seized with an afflicting and long illness, which for some years disabled me for all literary enquiries, it lay by forgotten, till a gentleman's shewing some old dates at the society of antiquaries, when I was last in town, the memory of it recurred, and my inclination was awakened to search for it.

"Having transcribed it from the first draught, I now presume to submit it to your lordship's candour and disposal. As nothing has been added since its first drawing up, almost twenty years ago, that circumstance, it is humbly hoped, will be an apology for any particular which may since have been put in a clearer light; especially as I have had so few opportunities of knowing what has been offered on the subject in that interval. The best merit it has to plead is, that nothing out of ancient authors has been taken on trust, or at second hand. With repeated thanks for the honour of your lordship's kind regard and favours,

I am, my honoured lord,

With the utmost respect,

Your lordship's most obliged,

Humble servant,

GEORGE NORTH.

"I have often reflected with great surprise, and equal concern, what a loss it is to the curious, and what a damp it is to ambition and industry, that the most superb monuments have not been able to preserve the names of their founders, and that the inventors of the most useful arts have been quite forgotten, or rather unknown to the world. Next to that of printing, there is no invention of more extensive use than that of numeral figures or cyphers: and yet, when, where, and by whom, they were first invented, are questions never perhaps to be clearly answered. One would imagine such a discovery must most agreeably have surprised and engaged the attention of the most drowsy age. That gratitude, or respect for so great a benefit, or some other motive, would have transmitted down the inventor's name with certainty and respect, to posterity. Events of infinitely less consequence have in every age, even in the most illiterate, been told, and re-told, by the scribes and annalists in monasteries of royal foundation, who were set apart and maintained on purpose to transmit the news of the times. And among these monasteries was all the learning of every kind in those centuries, to which the different opinions of the curious have referred the invention or importation of these cyphers.

"Since the most learned Mr. Professor Ward first obliged the public with his sentiments on this subject, I have frequently considered it occasionally, as any new

L 2 par-

particulars relating to it renewed my attention. The whole of what I have collected, with my observations and reflections, I now beg your indulgence to lay before you.

"If the characters of Boethius, lib. 1^o de Arithmetica, ad finem, are to be considered as the first rudiments of our present cyphers; then we need not, nor can we indeed go farther with our enquiries, unless we say he learned them from the Greeks, according to the account of his friend Cassiodorus in his letter to him (Variarum, lib. i. n. 45.) "*Translationibus enim tuis Pythagoricus Musicus, Ptolemæus Astronomus, leguntur Italici: Nichomachus Arithmeticus, Geometricus Euclidæ, audiuntur Aufoniis—Mechanicum etiam Archimedes Latialem Siculis reddidisti & quascunque disciplinas, vel artes facunda Græcia per singulos annos edidit te uno auctore patrio sermone Roma suscepit.*" According to this account by Cassiodorus, we should imagine, as well as from the reason of the thing, that where he learned his arithmetic, from thence he received his characters, and would never afterward omit the use of them in his mathematical rules and calculations. In the library of Ben'et college, Cambridge, is a MS. of Boethii Arithmetica cum prologis Resibuti & Nichomachi, "*scripta manu valde antiqua & literis Saxonis,*" says Dr. Stanley, in his catalogue of that library. I have lately examined it, and cannot conceive it to be less than 1000 years old. In this are no specimens, hints, or traces, of those characters as are found in Dr. Mead's MS; but Roman numeral letters used throughout the whole book, which certainly carries a strong objection against Boethius's knowledge or use of such characters; which is rendered thus stronger

by what I have observed, that no such characters appear in a very old MS. of Boethii Geometria, in the possession of Mr. Ames. And farther, if such characters were used by him in the sixth century, how can we account for it that the knowledge or use of them should be forgotten or intermitted for so long a time as till the latter end of the 10th century, when Dr. Wallis supposes Gerbertus revived them again?

"It is not a usual thing, or in any degree probable, that men would lose the use of what rendered their calculations so short and facile, which, with the numeral letters, could not but be tedious and operose.

"We must now pass over a long interval of near 500 years from Boethius to Gerbertus; but not without observing, that in Joannis Damasceni Tractatus de Sphæra, in the king's library, 5 C. IV. 10. no such cyphers or characters are to be found. He was brought up by Cosmas, a monk of Jerusalem, who was taken by the Saracens. Of both these men John patriarch of Jerusalem, the author of their lives, says, *Αναλογίας δ' Αριθμητικας οτως εξησκησασιν ενφρονως Πυθαγορας και Διοφαντος.* Johannes Damascenus died about A. D. 750. And in Alperici artis calculatoria Rudimenta, ubi de ratione duarum Solis Eclipsium, Carolo Magno inscripta, A. D. 810, in Bib. Reg. 13 A. XI. nothing like these cyphers are to be found; which two treatises (among many others I have viewed of the same kind) seem to afford no less than proof that no such figures were known either in the Eastern or Western empire, in the times when those authors lived.

"As to the Arabians, how low learning was among them in those times

imes may be gathered from this piece of history given us by Theophanes, lib. iv. n. 26, and Cedrenus, tom. II. p. 547. In the year 859, when Bardas governed at Constantinople for his nephew Leo, there lived one Leo, who had studied philosophy and arithmetic in the island Antros. At this time the caliph of the Mussulmen was Alimanon, who was very inquisitive concerning the sciences of the ancient Greeks, particularly the mathematics. A young man was brought to him who had been instructed by Leo; the caliph brought him before the mathematicians, to whom the young man made it appear that they knew only the definitions and axioms, but not their demonstrations; upon this the caliph sent him back with great presents, to invite his master Leo, in the reign of Theophilus, who refused to go, but answered by letter many of his questions in geometry and astronomy, and received great presents from the caliph.

"As to the ignorance of the Arabians in arithmetic, Paulus Diaconus, in his *Historiæ Miscellæ*, gives us a very remarkable piece of history, "Anno secundo imperii Justiniani Ulid—prohibuit scribi Græce publicos logothesi Cæsarii publici codices sed in Arabicis sine computo χωρίς των ψηφων quoniam impossibile est illorum lingua monadem vel dualitatem aut trinitatem aut octo & dimidium aut tria scribi, propter quod usque hodie sunt Notarii cum eis Christiani."

"Which being an imperfect translation of the words of Theophanes, from whom Paulus took it, I shall subjoin the Greek of the latter, and most material part of the sentence, Ἐπειδὴ ἀδυνατοῖ τῇ ἑνικοῦ γλωσσοῦ μονάδα ἢ δυάδα ἢ τριάδα καὶ ὀκτώ ἢ ἡμισυ ἢ τριῶν γραφῆσθαι. P. 314.

"In another place the latter author says, "A publicis vectigalium actis conficiendis ad breve temporis spatium Saraceni invidia moti Christianos prohibuerunt; rursus autem necessitate compulsi; quod ipsi numeros & summa scribere non possent, eadem eis reposuerunt in manus." &c.

"After this account of the Arabians, let us descend to Gerbertus archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards pope by the name of Sylvester the Second, who, as Dr. Wallis has attempted to prove, had before the year 1000 learned the art of arithmetic as now practised with only nine characters, from the Saracens in Spain, which he afterwards carried into France.

"The particulars of this great man's life are but very imperfectly delivered down to us, which is the more to be lamented, as I am satisfied from the few fragments of him which remain, he was a prodigy in every part of learning in that age, which Genebrard, in his *Chronographia*, rightly styles "Infelix seculum exhaustum hominibus ingenio & doctrina clavis in quo nihil fere dignum memoria posteritatis gestum sit."

"The fullest general account is to be found in our own historian William of Malmesbury, who wrote within 150 years of his death. What chiefly relates to our purpose is in these words: "Abacum certe primus a Saracenis rapiens regulas dedit quæ a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur—Conphilosophos & studiorum socios habuit Constantinum abbatem monasterii Sancti Maximini, quod est juxta Aurelianis, ad quem edidit regulas de Abaco, & Adelbodum Episcopum, qui & ipse monumenta ingenii dedit in Epistola quam fecit ad Gerbertum de questione diametri super Macrobiū & in nonnullis aliis." Malmesb.

lib. ii. cap. 10. page 36. which sentence is repeated almost verbatim by Vincentius Belluacensis, in his *Speculum Historiale* printed at Strasburg, by Mentelm, 1476; but was so little understood by him, that he puts *Bacchum* for *abacum*, and *Bachistis* instead of *Abacistis*.

"The whole sentence seems to convey no hint of Gerbert's using the present nine cyphers or figures; for they must shorten and render very easy any given rules, instead of perplexing the sweating calculators, so as not to be understood by them. It rather conveys a notion of the profundity of his rules, than a discovery of new means of rendering them easy. And this opinion is strongly confirmed by Gerbert's own words, in the prefatory epistle of his book of numbers, to his friend Constantine, where he says, "*habeo viam rationis brevem quidem verbis sed prolixam sententiis.*"

"That Gerbert was in Spain is not to be doubted; but of what kind his studies were while there, or what progress he made, we are quite in the dark, as he has left us no account in his epistles. The historians of the next centuries, such as Sigebertus, Gemblacensis, Vincentius Belluacensis, the author of a tract de *Mirabilibus Gerberti* a MS. in Ben'et college library, and *Chronicon Franciæ*, a MS wrote in our king Henry the First's reign, in the same repository, relate such ridiculous stories of his art magic, and the effects of it, as are too trifling for the attention of any but children. If he had the knowledge of our present figures, and it be admitted that Boethius really invented or used (to me, I own, improbable), what professor Ward has given us from that author's book of geometry, it is then not unlikely that Gerbert had them

from thence; for it is evident from his eighth epistle he had that work, where he uses these words, to Adalbero archbishop of Rheims: "*Octo volumina Boethii Astrologiæ, præclarissima quoque figurarum Geometricæ, aliæque non minus admiranda.*" In his 25th letter to the son of the bishop of Gironne, "*De multiplicatione & divisione numerorum Joseph sapiens sententiis quasdam edidit. Eas pater Adalbero Remorum archiepiscopus vestro studio habere cupit.*" And in his 17th epistle to Gerald abbot of Orleans, "*De multiplicatione & divisione numerorum libellum a Josepho Hispano editum abbas Garnerius penes vos reliquit; ut exemplar in commune sit rogamus, sc. ego & Adalbero.*" Had our present figures been then used in Spain, either Gerbert must have brought them with him into France, or afterwards have learned them by this book of Joseph; in either case they could not long continue a secret. Gerbert himself had too many scholars for such a desirable invention to be lost by disuse, particularly Fulbert bishop of Chartres, "*qui multis annis scholæ publicæ Carnotensis præficens plurimos doctissimos auditores enutrivit.*" Trithemius de Script. Eccles.

"Gilbertus docuit Fulbertum, hic etiam Fulbertus Berengerium, qui iterum Brunonem Remensem & alios multos hæredes Philosophiæ reliquit."

"Under these circumstances, and by such a succession of men, such a discovery could not possibly be lost, nor could it fail of being soon widely propagated.

"William of Malmesbury, as above quoted, mentions "*Epistolam quam Adelbold fecit ad Gerbertum de questione diametri super Macrobiū.*" This epistle I lately discovered in Ben'et college library,

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together with an epistle of Gerbert to him at the end of Macrobius Opera. This MS. was certainly wrote in or near their own time. In this epistle, if any where, was to be expected a proof of Gerbert's knowledge and use of our figures: whereas there is nothing like them to be found throughout; but on the contrary, he constantly uses the Roman numeral letters, and Adelbold does the same, whose letter was wrote when Gerbert was become pope Sylvester; all which with me amounts to a demonstration, that neither of these learned men had the knowledge of them. If L. Masson, who published (but in a very incorrect manner) the epistles of Gerbert, which are now become scarce, had given us the book mentioned in his preface de divisione numerorum nondum in lucem editum cujus MS. habeo (which, with the rest of Masson's MS. is probably now in the French king's library), the point now in dispute would have been ascertained; but I should think there is no greater probability of the figures or cyphers appearing there, than in the above-mentioned epistles, both which were wrote after his book of arithmetic.

"I cannot take my leave of Gerbert without expressing strong wishes that his life was composed by some person of industry, and possessed of proper opportunities to collect what fragments we have relating to him, and thereby do justice to a character, than which none have ever been more abused and misrepresented: nor was there, I believe, a greater natural genius, or more improved by extensive reading and knowledge of every kind in his own dark age, or the succeeding ones, till the appearance of those comets of learning

(if I may be allowed the expression, of those who shone so bright and so soon disappeared) Roger Bacon and his contemporaries. By his epistles (very imperfect and undigested remains of him) it appears he had read most of the Greek and Latin writers. Few books escaped, which industry and application to his friends could collect to furnish his library: for which purpose he tells us, in his 44th epistle, "*Cum studio bene vivendi semper conjunxi studium bene dicendi cui rei præparandæ bibliothecam assidue comparo, & sicut Romæ dudum ac in aliis partibus Italiæ, in Germania quoque & Belgica scriptores authorumque exemplaria multitudine numerum, redemi adjutus benevolentia amicorum.*" His knowledge in the mathematics, Onuphrius Panvinus, in his notes on Platina's History of the Popes, observes, is evident by his geometrical works still preserved in the Farnese library at Rome. That he had read the works of Pappus Alexandrinus we must believe by the organs he made for his church of Rheims, "*arte hydraulica ubi mirum in modum per aquæ cascade factæ violentiam implet ventus emergens per cavitatem barbati & per multiforates tractus æreæ fistulæ modulatos clamorē emittunt.*" Vincent. Bellovac. Histor. Spec. lib. xxv. c. 99. Of the same kind, probably, were the organs mentioned in his 71st letter to be made by him in Italy, and which he promised to send to Gerard abbot of Orleans; which musical instruments might possibly be newly revived in the time of Pappus, and therefore designed to be perpetuated by the type of them on the contorniate medals which were struck in that century in the time of Theodosius and Valentinian. See Havercamp de nummis contorniatiss, p. 126.

"The work of Achilles Tatius de Sphæra he got from Remigius, a learned monk of the abbey of Melchod, in the diocese of Triers (of whom see Trithemius de viris illustribus), as we may gather from his 134th epistle, where, what is printed *Volumen de Achilleidos statu*, should, doubtless, be read *Volumen de Sphæra Achileidis Tatii*; and in return for which Gerbert sent Remigius a celestial globe, "*sphæra torno jam expolita & artificiose equino corio obvoluta, sed si minima curâ fatigaris habenti simplici fuco interstinctam circa Martias calendâs expecta, nisi forte cum orizonte ac diversa cælorum pulchritudine insignitam præstoleris, annum perhorrescas laborum.*" Epist. 148.

"His correspondence was as extensive as the number of the learned of that age; consequently, an account of his life would be a literary history of his time.

"His political abilities, which appear in many of his letters, need no better proof than his speedy advancement from a monk of Fleury to the archbishoprick of Rheims, thence to that of Ravenna, and then to the popedom.

"The next account of figures to be considered is the Helmdon date supposed by Dr. Wallis 1133, by the learned professor Ward 1233; either of which is absolutely unaccountable, that no instance of this kind should appear in any books many years after they were used for so mean a purpose as to denote the erection of a mantle-tree of a chimney. Though I shall not venture to attempt an explanation of them, yet I will venture to foretell, that some other and different account will hereafter appear, if the original piece of wood remains unpefaced.

"As for the supposed date at Widal in this county, there seems to a mind unprepossessed no similitude of numeral figures. To suppose, as one gentleman expresses himself in a letter read to the Royal Society, that the house was built in 1016, in the place of another destroyed by the Danes the year before, is a notion directly contrary to the faith of history. For neither does the Saxon Chronicon, or any other history, speak of the Danes being in these parts in the year 1015. In the following year they ravaged these parts, and two battles were fought in the neighbourhood. Of the first the only mention we have is in Somner's Saxon dictionary, from a book of the abbey of Abingdon. "*Tunc ipse Edmundus Rex vice tertia exercitum congregavit & Londinum adiit recta ex Aquilonari Thamesis parte, & sic per Cleigh hangre (i. e. Clay-hill) & cives Londinenses a Cnutone obsessos liberavit.*" Cleigh hangre I imagine to be Clay-hill, in the parish of Watton, near which are still the remains of a camp, and a field called Danesfield, between; as king Edmund was able to go to the relief of London, the Danes must have been worsted, and probably might bury some of their commanders under the six hills near Stevenage.

"This was after the return from the battle of Sheorstan, on the borders of Wiltshire, and that the Saxon chronicon says, was æfter middan sumera, after Midsummer. At the latter end of the year the Danes marched with destruction from Kent through Mercia, and turning into Essex, at Asshenden, about twelve miles from Widal, was the last, and, to the English, fatal battle fought between Edmund and Cnut. From this plain account

count it is to the highest degree improbable, that any new buildings should be erected in 1016, a year so memorable for ruin and destruction.

"But such arguments as these are really needless, for let the M in the Widial characters stand for what you will, I dare aver that the I. G. were designed for no other than the initial of John Gill's name; to whom king Henry VIII. granted the house and manor.

"As to what the gentleman writes of the plaster over these characters bearing the date 1390, without any impeachment of his judgment or general knowledge, we may safely suppose it a mistake (possibly for 1590); for nothing is more easy than for a person, not very conversant in such enquiries, to mistake one antient figure for another: the most knowing may do this without great care and attention. I have often seen the figure 5, in deeds of queen Elizabeth's reign, so like the figure 3, as to make a recourse to the other part of the deed necessary to ascertain it. Upon the upper post of a gateway near the great bridge at Cambridge are these figures, which are generally taken for 1332, though, without any hesitation, we may venture to pronounce them 1552. A mistake of the same kind might happen as to the date on the plaister work. The most antient instances in any book of our figures, which Mr. Casley's industry could discover, is in Roger Bacon's calendar in the king's library, dated 1192, which very book I have perused, and find the date was not written then, but that the tables therein were then made at Tolosa in France; and therefore how many years afterwards the manuscript was written is uncer-

tain. This naturally recalls an observation I have often made as to dates and cyphers in books of that kind, that if we do not carefully peruse the book we may be betrayed into great errors by taking that for the date of the copy which was really the time of the composition. Besides, nothing was more frequent, when our cyphers began to come into use, than to express those numbers by them, which were in the same work originally done by Roman numeral letters.

"A remarkable instance of which I found in the Harleian library, of a manuscript of "Julii Firmici Astronomia," in which all the numbers are in figures or cyphers; but a man would be very rash to imagine they were originally expressed so.

"In Ben'et college library, before a table of eclipses from the year 1330 to 1348, is prefixed an account of numbers, and the method of expressing them.

"*Omnis numerus vel omnis figura in algorismo primo loco se ipsam significat: secundo loco, decies ipsam significat; tertio loco, centies se: quarto loco, milesies se; quinto loco, decies milesies se; sexto loco, centies milesies se; septimo loco, mille milesies se; octavo loco, decies mille milesies se; nono loco, centies mille milesies se; decimo loco, mille milesies milesies se. Et sic multiplicando per decem centum & mille usque in infinitum computando versus sinistram.*

"*Numerus est multitudo ex unitate composita. Et nota quod triplex est numerus sc. numerus digitus, numerus articulus, numerus compositus. Numerus digitus est omnis numerus infra decem, ut unus, duo, tres. Numerus articulus*

articulus est decuplus sui digiti, vel numerus articulus est omnis numerus qui potest dividi in decem partes æquales ita quod nihil sit residuum, ut decem, viginti. Numerus compositus est qui componitur ex digito & articulo, ut undecim, duodecim, &c."

"In the same library I lately discovered a more antient date than that in Bacon's Calendar, viz. in "Tractatu de Sphæra per Robertum Lincoln (Grossthes), script. anno 1283." That this was not the date of composing the tract, but of the time of writing this copy, is plain, because the author died 30 years before, viz. 1253 (Matth. Paris ad an.); and it is written in a hand evidently of that time.

"To this great restorer of learning Robert Grossthes, bishop of Lincoln (whose life, begun by Dr. Knight, must have been very acceptable had he finished it), we, of this nation principally owe, I apprehend, our knowledge of the cyphers or present figures. The authority I have for this notion has, to my great surprize, been hitherto overlooked, though very remarkable, and equally clear. It is in the continuation of Matthew Paris' Historia ad an. 1251. p. 1112, edit. Parkeri, where he gives an account of the death of John Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester. "Hic Magister Johannes figuras Græcorum numerales & earum notitiam & significationes in Angliam portavit & familiaribus suis declaravit, per quas figuras etiam litere representatur. De quibus figuris hoc maximè admirandum quod unicâ figurâ quilibet numerus representatur, quod non est in Latino, vel in Algarismo." How long his return from Athens was before his death we are not in-

formed: but as to the testament of the twelve patriarchs, which John first mentioned to bishop Grossthes, Matthew Paris tells us, p. 800, the bishop translated it into Latin in the year 1241; and supposing he sent to Greece for them, as soon as he received information of them, and, allowing two or three years for that business, we may suppose John Basingstoke's return from Athens was between 1235 and 1240.

"There have been no specimens produced of them which are undoubted before that time. Matthew Paris himself knew them not, if we may credit the manuscript in his hand in the king's library, in which the dates are all in Roman letters.

"Johannes de Sacro Bosco, Prefacius Judæus, whose tables, wrote in 1308, are in the king's library, and Roger Bacon, who all used the figures, lived and wrote till after the time above assigned for the introduction of them.

"That Thomas Rishanger, or whoever was the continuator of Matthew Paris's history, should call them figuras Græcorum, is no wonder; for if we will not with Huetius, or before him Petrus Dasydodius, professor of mathematics at Strasburg, suppose them to be derived from the lesser Greek letters; yet, as the introduction of them to us was from Greece, he might, without impropriety, call them Græcorum figuras, even if we must suppose them originally invented among the Indians, whose country, arts, and sciences, were so little known in this part of the world.

"There seems not from any specimens to be found in books (and in books they were doubtless first used) any reason to advance

the introduction of them into England higher. Dr. Wallis does indeed take it for granted, that from the time of Gerbert, who he imagines learned them at Seville, many of our countrymen learned them from the same school, and constantly made use of them, as Daniel de Merlac, and William de Conchis, or Shelley. I have had opportunities of consulting two manuscripts of the works of the latter, and find no instance of any cypher or figure. There is the greatest probability they were not known or made use of in the school of Seville, even so low as the beginning of the fourteenth century, for in the king's library is a tract, intituled, "Introductorius Hippalenfis," which includes the elements of astronomy, as taught in the school of Seville, wrote in that century; in which all the tables are constantly expressed in Roman letters, which it is scarcely probable would have been used, had the more easy compendious method of cyphers been known to them.

"Another particular may be mentioned as not quite foreign to

the subject, that in the Tower of London I saw, by the favour of my honoured friend George Holmes, esq. two letters from Alphonfus king of Spain, to our Edward the First, written on paper (the oldest specimen of paper now perhaps remaining), in which the dates are expressed thus: *Mccclxxii*, *Mccclxxviii*, which are corroborating circumstances that the figures were not then in use in that kingdom.

"The pleasure of collecting and connecting them, with observations, and our free thoughts of them, is so amusing as often leads us into trespassing on the patience of those we address them to. This, I have reason to fear, is my case at present. If there is any thing in these papers unobserved before, or put in a new light, which can atone for the length of them, it is the utmost that can be hoped for, by

My lord,

Your lordship's most obliged,
humble servant,

GEORGE NORTH."

ACCOUNT of the ANCIENT MODE of FORTIFICATION in
SCOTLAND, by ROBERT RIDDEL, Esq. F. A. S.

[From the same Work.]

"THERE is not, perhaps, in the history of man, a more certain criterion for ascertaining his different gradations, from his primæval state of rudeness and ferocity to the high polish of his modern refinement, than a minute attention to the different modes of fortification made use of by him, from his age of primitive rudeness

to that period when he attains elegance in his manners, and a taste for the fine arts.

"In Scotland, the most ancient remains of fortifications now to be traced consist of an area, surrounded by a strong rampart formed of earth and stones, and generally situated upon the top of a mountain, where the barbarous inhabitants

tants sheltered their cattle; and in huts or wigwams lodged themselves and their corn, perhaps in a similar manner as the wretched inhabitants of New Holland do at present. At this period, their arms seemed to have consisted of spears and arrows, headed with barbed flints and stone battle axes, several of which have been found in sepulchral tumuli or cairns.

"Upon the Mollach hill, on the estate of Daldivinton, the remains of a fortress, answering this description, still exist.

"I shall say nothing of Mr. Williams's vitrified forts, having great doubts whether they are not the effects of volcanoes, but shall pass on to what I conceive to have been the first improvement upon the mode of fortification already described, which are these conical towers, accurately described, first by Mr. Gordon, and afterwards by Mr. Pennant. They must have required more art, and afforded a more comfortable shelter, than the tops of hills simply enclosed with a strong rampart.

"In Glembeg are still to be seen several of these venerable ruins: as also in Skye; but the largest, and by far the most perfect, is situated in Lord Rae's country, and is called *Dun Dornadilla*. This building is near fifty yards in circumference, and its inner area twenty-seven feet diameter. On the outside, the wall tapers like a line, but the inner wall is perfectly perpendicular; in the heart of which, are the three distinct tiers of apartments, communicating with each other by rude flights of steps. These apartments are lighted by apertures, which look into the circular court. The door or entrance from without is placed about six feet above the base of the building. What had been the

height of this tower when entire it is impossible now to say, but its present remains are about thirty-feet high, and built of stones entirely without mortar, which are regularly formed into what masons call course and gage. Tradition ascribes the building of this tower to Dornadilla, king of Scotland, who, according to Lesly, was a great hunter, first established the laws of the chase, reigned twenty-eight years, and died in peace with all his neighbours, two hundred and thirty-three years before the christian æra.

"I am much in doubt whether the use of iron was known in Scotland before the arrival of the Romans. The introduction of this most useful of all metals must have made a very great change in the buildings, arms, and other implements of the Scots: and it is highly probable, that square towers, built with cement, succeeded the conical ones. The most ancient of these are generally to be met with on projecting cliffs overhanging the sea, perhaps intended to repel the invasions, first of the Romans, and afterwards of the savage and barbarous inhabitants of Denmark and Norway.

"Oldwick castle upon the coast of Cathness is perhaps one of the oldest square towers in Scotland. It seems to be but a small improvement upon the conical ones before mentioned; and is built of stone and lime. The walls, which are enormously thick, contain small chambers, with narrow stairs of communication between the lower and upper apartments, which are lighted by windows looking into the square area, or middle of the tower. Some small apertures are to be seen high up, upon the outside wall, probably intended to watch the motions of an enemy.

Of the ANCIENT MODE OF FORTIFICATION IN SCOTLAND. [173]

"An improvement in the constructing of square towers next took place, which was covering in the inner area with a strong roof of stone vaulted: and this kind of building was called in Scotland a peel, and in England, a keep or dungeon. Many ancient towers of this kind still remain in Scotland, such as, Dunstaffnage in Argyle, Dunnochy in Lorn, Rothsay in Bute, Clagg in Isla, Dunvegan in Skye, and many others too tedious to mention. Several of these very ancient towers were built upon an island in a deep lough, such as Elanfstalker in Lochliness, Kilchurn in Lochaw, the castle of Rive in Galloway, Lochmaben in Annadale, Closeburn in Nithisdale, and many others.

"It is highly probable the Caledonians learned from the Romans the art of constructing vaulted chambers; which improvement must have made a wonderful change in the comfort as well as stability of their strengths and fortresses. And it is probable the castle of Dunstaffnage was the first that underwent this material alteration of having a tower built, the middle area of which was covered with arches of stone. This place is supposed to have been the residence of the Scottish kings, from the period that Dun Dornadilla was deserted by them, until the capture of Scone from the Picts, which then became their favourite residence.

"As the improvements in the art of war, from time to time, called for additional modes of defence, we find the original tower or peel was aided by strong walls, flanked with massy towers, the gates of which were secured by the portcullis. The barnakin or outer ballium was also added, which was surrounded by a strong rampart and wet ditch. Of this kind were the castles of Down, Borthwick, Hume, and many

others. And this was all that was necessary before the general use of heavy battering artillery.

Before James VI. succeeded to the crown of England, the situation of Scotland was such, as rendered it necessary for every baron there to have his residence more or less fortified, according to his power and consequence in the country, or according as his castle was situated. If it stood near Edinburgh or Stirling, where the inhabitants were more polished in their manners, and overawed by the neighbouring seat of government, all that was necessary in such a situation was a fortalice capable of resisting the cursory attacks of robbers and thieves, who, so near the royal authority, never dared stop to make a regular investment, but only pillaged by surprise, and if repulsed, instantly fled. The houses Dean, Niddry, Melville, Allva, and many others fell under this description. But when the seat of a baron was more remote from the royal protection, as in the shires of Perth, Ross, or Cathness, then it was necessary in addition to the ancient peel, to call the aids of outer walls, turrets with a rampart and wet ditch, to enable the owner to resist the formidable attack of a powerful adversary.

"The history of Scotland, so late as the reign of James VI. affords a number of melancholy instances of inveterate feuds that ragged with unrelenting fury among the great lords and lesser barons of that period; and every mode of fortification then in use proved often of little avail in defending the castle against the storm or blockade of the enraged and relentless foe. Of this kind were the castles of Duffus in Moray, Dunrobin in Sutherland, Dunotter in the Mearns, and a great many others.

"But

"But the happy period is now arrived, when internal fortification against the domestic foe is of no use. The nobles and barons of the land have deserted their strong and gloomy castles for the more refined modern houses of the eigh-

teenth century, and the ancient and venerable remains of the great insecurity of former times are now fast falling to decay, and shortly scarce a trace will be left, but in history, of their former existence."

An ENQUIRY into the ORIGIN of the NAME of the SCOTTISH NATION, by Sir JAMES FOULIS, of COLINTON, BARONET.

[From the Transactions of the Scots Antiquary Society.]

"I know not from what odd propensity, in the composition of human nature, arises a desire in mankind to carry the account of their nation or family into as remote antiquity as they can. Some person, possessed of this unaccountable passion, has endeavoured to deduce the origin of the Scots from an Egyptian princess, foster mother to the Hebrew legislator. As I know no other authority for this story than a fond desire of the inventor to impose it for truth, I shall pass it over, and let it remain as I found it. Some chuse to derive the name of Scot from Sceot, an old word that signifies a shield, and from whence probably comes the Latin word *Scutum*. So they suppose the people were called Scots, quasi Scutati. Had the Scots been the only Scutati, this might very probably have been the reason for others to give, and them to assume that name. But when the name of Scot first prevailed, all nations used shields; so that no probable reason can be assigned why that name should be affixed to any one people, from a custom that was common to all. Some other accounts are given of the origin of this name, which are all so evidently ill-founded, that it is

needless to refute them. But the conjectures of the author of the History of Manchester seem to require a more particular consideration, as he has investigated British antiquities with great acuteness and ability, and has marked out, in part, why the Scots were called by that name. His account, in short, is this:

"The Belgæ expelled from several parts of England the former inhabitants, who fled to Ireland, and took possession of the sea-coasts. The Belgæ, pursuing them thither, compelled them to leave the sea-coasts and seek for refuge among the lakes and forests in the internal parts of this island. So far he copies from history, and adds, as his own conjecture, that the fugitives, thus twice reduced to the necessity of shifting their place of residence, were upon that account called Scuit, which we now write and pronounce Scot. This word signifies wanderers; and Mr. Whitaker supposes that the Belgæ gave them that name by way of insult: but if this had been the reason of calling them wanderers, that title, or epithet, was equally as applicable to the Belgæ themselves, who had wandered every foot as far as the others; consequently that name could have been

been no proper mark of distinction. Besides, as we know from history that a body of Germans had very early got possession of a considerable part of Belgæ, it is very probable that the Belgæ, who invaded England, were not of Celtic, but Teutonic origin. In this case, they could never have given the appellation of Scuit, to the people whom they had driven away, as there is no dialect of the Teutonic language in which that word denotes a wanderer. The Teutonic word that comes nearest it, denotes swiftness. If any person should alledge that the Belgæ gave that name to the others for running away, still the name could not have been a proper distinction, since, for any thing we can perceive, the Belgæ ran as fast, and as far after them. Mr. Whitaker indeed maintains that these invading Belgæ were Celts, because he finds that the names of the rivers and mountains in their English territories were all Celtic; but he did not reflect that rivers and mountains generally retain the names imposed by the first possessors. New incomers give new names only to towns, villages, canals, and such other things as are of their own making. In consequence of his way of arguing on this point, it would follow that the Saxons and Normans, who afterwards became masters of those territories, were also Celts, because they also continued to call rivers and mountains by the old Celtic names, and by which they are known at this day. But, whatever these Belgæ may have been, there does not appear in Mr. Whitaker's account of the matter, any sufficient reason why the name of Scuit, that is, wanderers, should be given to the Irish, and yet by that name they were certainly once called. Now, let us consider his account of the manner in

which he supposes the name of Scuit to have been transferred to the people by whom this very ancient title has been preserved and continued.

"Taking the poems of Ossian as his principal guide, he gives us the following relation: the king of the Creones, who possessed the north-west part of Caledonia, placed one of his family on the throne of Ireland: the reigning family of the Creones becoming extinct by the death of Ossian, was succeeded by an Irish prince, of a collateral branch. This prince, as Mr. Whitaker supposes, gave to his new subjects the name of Scuit, which he had brought with him from his father's kingdom.

"But, before we can adopt this opinion as an undeniable truth, we must first take the liberty to examine its probability, by comparing it with similar cases. William of Nassaw, a Dutchman, became king of Britain, but the people did not acquire the name of Nassawians, or Dutchmen; George of Hanover, a German, became king of Britain, yet its name was neither changed to Hanover nor Germany; Philip, a Frenchman, became king of all the Spains, yet Spain on that account was not called New France. I will even venture to say, that if Philip had attempted to change the word Spain for that of France, the whole body of the Spanish nation would probably have opposed him, more successfully than the various powers of Europe, that were allied against his succession. By parity of reason, the Irish prince, who became king of the Creones, would find himself under the absolute necessity of doing as William, George, and Philip afterwards did, that is, of taking his title from the people over whom he reigned, not from the people among whom he was born.

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Perhaps it may be alledged that the Irish prince brought with him so powerful a colony of Scuit, that the name insensibly became common to the whole nation. But in this case, where could he have settled them, or wherewith could he have fed them? The more fertile parts of Caledonia, that could well receive an increase of the number of inhabitants, were an acquisition made to Scotland long after his days. The north-west part of our country, which constituted the whole of his kingdom, is mountainous and unfertile. Nor can we suppose that the Creones of those days would have been more willing to have given up their herds and mountains to their new guests, than our fathers would have been to have delivered over their estates to William's Dutchmen, or George's Hanoverians. The kingdom of Scotland too was elective till towards the end of the tenth century, with this only restriction, that the electors were obliged to chuse one of the royal family. Now, as this foreign prince was called to reign in another island, where his best title to the crown arose from the good will of his constituents, we can scarcely suppose that he would have attempted a measure, in which, considering the force of national prejudices, he must have been opposed by the unanimous voice of his subjects. An idle measure too, from the success of which he could have reaped no advantage, but from its failure he might have felt the worst of consequences.

"Having, as appears to me, sufficiently proved that the reasons above assigned for giving the name of Scuit to one people and transferring it to another are insufficient, I will venture to produce my own conjectures, and hope to give as con-

vincing proofs of their probability as the nature of the subject can admit.

"Mankind was early divided into two distinct professions, one that lived by agriculture, and the other that trusted for subsistence to hunting and the increase of their cattle. The first would naturally, and almost necessarily, settle upon the spots where they had cleared away the woods, and drained the marshes; the other ranged from place to place, as fresh pasture sprung up, or new game was started. These last were in reality Scuit, or wanderers, and received that appellation. The coincidence of the language and the manners, where the customs of the people are expressed in the idea conveyed by the word, seems to be a proof of its propriety similar to our knowing the portraits of our friends by their having a striking resemblance of the originals. As the Celtic language once extended over an immense tract, I have not the least doubt that this was the true origin of the name of the people whom the Greeks called *Σκυθαι*. *Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos*; the opposition of the way of living of those people to that of the Romans was so striking, that the poet has here expressed, and indeed, without knowing it, has properly translated the word Scuit by *Vagas*: And, if an old Scot was to translate the *Vagas Domos* of Horace, he would call them Tigh-Scuit, which in modern English means Scottish houses. Though the Greeks, according to their constant manner, turned the word to suit the idiom of their own language, the *Σκυθαι* were in reality the Scuit, behind the *Palus Moeotis*, and the Scuit in Ireland and Caledonia were the *Σκυθαι* in this other remote corner of the then known world. Accordingly, in the few

few fragments of their poems that have reached us, we find frequent mention of, and allusion to hunting, and herds of cattle, without the least mention of agriculture; a strong proof of the agreement of manners between the Scuit and *Exobas*. This appellation may seem to us a term of reproach, but to people habituated to this way of life, it would appear an honourable distinction. They would even look with contempt on the inhabitants of cities, as many of the Tartars and Arabs do at this day; and, in comparing the opposite manners of living, they would say most sincerely, and more from the heart than Horacedid, *quanto melius Scythae*. Even at this hour, it is the custom in the mountains of Scotland, and in some parts of Ireland, that people in summer remove to feed their cattle on the hills, dwelling, during that season, in huts, called sheelings among us, and in winter retire to their warmer habitations in the valleys. So the Irish prince, when he came to Caledonia, found his people were Scuit, and he left them Scuit. Nor is it hard to find the reasons for the name's being lost in the one country, while it flourished and spread wider in the other. The Firbolgs, the Faolans, the Tuathals and others, had conquered and peopled the greatest part of Ireland, so that the original Scuit were reduced to small numbers, and narrow bounds. The different invaders by degrees forgot their former distinctions, till at last the custom prevailed of the whole being denominated from the island they inhabited. On the contrary, the asperity of their mountains defended the Caledonian Scuit from foreign arms, so that there was no reason for changing their former name. Their king, Kenneth Macalpin,

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having, by a long and bloody war, made good his claim to the Pictish crown, the custom prevailed to call all his dominions by his former title.

“ That the Romans mention not the Scoti at their first acquaintance with Britain, is no reason to conclude that there was no such people in it. They at that time knew little of the island; and their own historians tell us, that they were uncertain whether it was an island or not till the days of Vespasian. Besides, the Romans despised every language but their own. Rome had stood some hundreds of years before they would condescend even to learn Greek. Thus they could have but a very imperfect knowledge of all the distinctions among a people with whom they had so short an acquaintance, as they had with those of the North of Scotland. Were I to mark out the time when the Romans came at length to learn the name of Scoti, I would conclude that it was when their chains were so fast riveted on the Britons, that these unhappy islanders found themselves under, what would be to them, a very disagreeable necessity, of learning the language of their oppressors; when those polite and humane conquerors had scourged the mothers, and ravished the daughters.

“ Mr. Whitaker attempts to support the truth of his suppositions, from the name of Argyle-shire, and from our calling the language Erse. But these two words require only to be explained in order to shew that they give no support to his hypothesis. As all the original inhabitants of Britain were Gæil, Argyle was, naturally distinguished by the appellation of Jar-gæil, that is, Western, Gæils, being situated in the most western division of that

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part of Britain, and indeed in the most westerly part of the whole island, except the narrow promontory of the Land's End in Cornwall. If we call the language Erse, it is because in the lowlands of Scotland we use the Anglo-Saxon dialect, which began among us from the multitudes of the English Saxons, who found a refuge in North Britain from the lash of the Norman tyranny, and we use the word that was in use among them who had been more acquainted with the Irish.

"As to the two passages that Mr. Whitaker has quoted from Claudian, they are scarcely worth animadversion; as they contribute nothing either to his purpose or mine, whether the Scoti mentioned by the poet, were the Scoti of Hibernia or Caledonia. But perhaps, after having been so long wandering with our ancestors, it may not be disagreeable to find some flowers from the classics scattered in the desert. I will, with a truly christian spirit, pardon the poet who trespassed against us by singing a song of triumph over our country, and, returning good for evil, I will clear his words from the false interpretations that have been put upon them, and shew that he knew very well how to express his own meaning, to all but such as were determined to misunderstand him.

"The first passage I shall take notice of is,

"Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

"Where shall we find the Roman historian who says his countrymen ever invaded Ireland? Yet such an invasion is absolutely necessary to make any sense of this line, to those who think those Scoti were Hibernians. For the poet here places before our eyes the goddess or

nymph Ierne as present on the spot and weeping over the heaps of her slaughtered friends, who lay before her. For it is well known that these local Genii very rarely, if ever, travelled out of their own country; So we must look for this Ierne somewhere else. If any one should suspect that I am biased by national vanity to affirm that this was a picture of the dismal fate of my own countrymen, he is certainly little acquainted with the feelings of the human heart. I cannot think it an honour to any nation to be defeated; and, even at the distance of 1400 years, I feel the natural partiality of my country suggesting a wish, that these cumuli had been cumuli of Romans, or of any other people, rather than of Caledonian Scots. But however unwilling, the love of truth, and the honour of the poet, whom I am defending from misrepresentations, compel me to acknowledge, that the Ierne he mentions is the river known by the name of the water Erne, in Strath-erne. The poet seems to have been well acquainted with the map of the country, since he does not at random mention any river in Scotland, where there are some others more considerable, but with a particular propriety, points out to us the water of Erne, which the Romans could meet with in the first day's march beyond their own walls, and which it was necessary for them to pass to enable them to carry their hostilities farther north; and which, on that account, would be strongly defended by the assembled Caledonians. I am sorry they had so ill success in their attempts to defend their country from so powerful invaders. I know it will be alledged, that Strath-erne is but a very small part of Scotland; but it has been already shown to be

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a pass of great importance in that contest; and it is quite familiar to poets to name a part for the whole. This is a figure so well known, even to school-boys, that it would be trifling to produce particular examples. A learned, a profound, and acute dissertator, might say, on occasion, 'I have left England, and am going to Italy;' a poet would perhaps express himself in some such way as this,

"Farewel to Thames, all hail to Tyber's stream."

"There is an epithet in the line I have been treating of, that pointedly shows Ireland not to have been intended here by the word Ierne. I dare say nobody will deny this proposition, that Claudian either did understand or did not understand, the subject of which he was writing. If he understood it not, his words must pass for nothing; if he did understand it, he could never call Ireland *Glacialis*, since it is certainly the part of Europe, to the north of the Alps and Pyrenees, that suffers least from the severity of frost. Ofsian, whose authority is admitted by Mr. Whitaker, and who certainly visited it much oftener than Claudian, calls it *Green-Erin*. Several plants, which, when imported to Britain, are often cut off by the frost in the gardens of England, are indigenous in Ireland, and flourish spontaneously in the forests. I travelled through more than two-thirds of its length in winter. The snow, which melted as it fell, discovered as fresh a verdure as ever I saw in England in April; as it was then in the middle of December, I soon felt how the frost bit, when, after a short passage of three hours, I landed in the island of

which the Caledonian Ierne makes a part. It may even be doubted whether the poet did not insert the word *Glacialis* intentionally, to prevent that line from being applied to Ireland, as the ambiguous word Ierne might otherwise have led people into a mistake.

"A few words will suffice for the other passage of Claudian:

"—Totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movet, et infesto spumavit remige Te-
thys."

"The poet could not have told us more distinctly that the Caledonians had stirred up all Ireland, who came to assist them with so numerous an army, that it took a multitude of curachs to carry them. Who could understand this otherwise? could any man doubt my meaning, if I should say, that North America has stirred up France and Spain, who now send their fleets to the British Channel? In the lines quoted, the Scotus and the Ierne are as opposite, and as distinct from one another, as America is from France and Spain in the prose.

"Having been obliged, in this disquisition, to overthrow an opinion that had a powerful supporter, it has run out to a greater length than I expected; yet as the doubt about the ancient name of the Scots has arisen from the silence of the Latin writers of a certain period, I cannot help remarking, that there is something very unaccountable in the names that one nation gives to another; of which I will trouble you only with a few striking examples, though I could make out a long list of them.

"*Egypt* and *Nile* are words unknown to the Egyptians.

"The word *Græcus* was scarcely known to the Greeks.

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"The *Morlachi*, subject to an Italian state, knew not the word *Italian*.

"The people whom we call *Dutch*, know not themselves by that name.

"The nation whom we call *Bohemians*, acknowledge not that name.

"I purposely leave out some of the true names of nations, as it more evidently shows how people may be easily misled, and misguided in that point. But there are other instances more immediately to the present purpose. Few Englishmen know that the true name of the *Welsh* is *Cymri*; thousands of the *Cymri* never heard of the *English*, though living under the same government, and ruled by the same laws. We need therefore be the less surpris'd if Latin authors have led us into mistakes and ambiguities, by not marking distinctly the proper appellations of the different

people of the British Isles, since every nation of Europe falls into similar blunders every day.

"1st, Mr. Whitaker seems to me to be mistaken when he calls the Caledonian Scots by the name of *Creones*; but I chose to use the same name he gave them, that the question might not be perplexed by a geographical discussion.

"2^d, *Pol moi* is Gaelic for *the miry place in the plains*; or, if we take it in another way, *pol moi't-is*, *the miry place of the watery plain*. Those who have read the account of the manner in which that palus meotis is formed, may judge whether there does not appear some connection of the language of the Gaelic with that of the Scythians.

"3^d, The affecting story of the afflicted, but heroic queen, who was forced, by the oppression of the Romans, to take up arms against them, is so well known, that it would be needless to repeat it here."

The CEREMONIES for HEALING those who were DISEASED with the KING's EVIL, used in the Time of HENRY VII.

[From the LITERARY MUSEUM, comprizing scarce and curious Tracts, &c.]

First, the king, kneeling, shall say.

"IN the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And as soon as he hath said that, he shall say,

Give the blessing.

The chaplain kneeling before the king, and having a stole about his neck, shall answer and say,

"The Lord be in your heart, and in your lips, to confess all your sins. In the name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Or else he shall say,

"Christ hear us. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then by and by the king shall say,

"I confess to God, to the blessed virgin *Mary*, to all saints, and to you, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, through my fault: I pray holy *Mary*, and all the saints of God and you, to pray for me.

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The chaplain shall answer and say,

"Almighty God have mercy upon you, and pardon you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, and confirm you in good, and bring you to everlasting life. Amen.

"The almighty and merciful Lord grant you absolution and remission of all your sins, time for true repentance and amendment of life, with the grace and comfort of his holy spirit. Amen.

This done the chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you.

The king shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The chaplain,

Part of the gospel according to St. Mark.

The king shall answer,

Glory to thee, O Lord.

The chaplain reads the gospel,

"Last he appeared to those eleven as they sat at the table: and he exprobrated their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them that had seen him risen again. And he said to them: going into the whole world, preach the gospel to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned. And them that believe, these signs shall follow: in my name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues. Serpents shall they take up, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall impose hands upon the sick, and they shall be whole.

Which last clause, (They shall impose, &c.) the chaplain repeats, as long as the king is handling the sick person. And in the time of repeating the aforesaid words, (They shall impose, &c.) the clerk of the closet shall kneel before the king, having the sick person upon the right-

hand; and the sick person shall likewise kneel before the king: and then the king shall lay his hand upon the fore of the sick person. This done, the chaplain shall make an end of the gospel.

"And so our Lord Jesus, after he spake unto them was assumed into Heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. But they going forth preached every where; our Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs which followed.

Whilst this is reading, the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person from the king. And after the Gospel the chaplain shall say,

The Lord be with you,

The king shall answer,

And with thy spirit.

The chaplain,

The beginning of the gospel according to St. John.

The king,

Glory to thee, O Lord.

The chaplain then shall say this gospel following,

"In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing, that which was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for testimony: to give testimony of the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but to give testimony of the light. It was the true light which lightneth every man that cometh into this world.

Which last clause (It was the true light, &c.) shall still be repeated so

long as the king shall be crossing the fore of the sick person, with an angel of gold noble, and the sick person to have the same angel hang'd about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole. This done, the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person as he did before, and then the chaplain shall make an end of the gospel.

"He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came into his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to those that believe in his name. Who not of blood, nor of will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God are born. And the word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, and we saw the glory of him, glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and verity.

Then the chaplain shall say,

The Lord's name be praised,

The king shall answer,

Now and for ever.

Then shall the chaplain say this collect following, praying for the sick person or persons :

O Lord, hear my prayer.

The king shall answer,

And let my cry come unto thee,

The chaplain,

Let us pray.

"Almighty and everlasting God, the eternal health of them that believe; graciously hear us for thy servants for whom we implore the aid of thy mercy, that their health being restored to them, they may give thee thanks in thy church, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

This prayer following is to be said secretly, after the sick persons be departed from the king, at his pleasure.

"Almighty God, Ruler and Lord, by whose goodness the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and all sick persons are healed of their infirmities: By whom also alone the gift of healing is given to mankind, and so great a grace, thorough thine unspeakable goodness toward this realm, is granted unto the kings thereof, that by the sole imposition of their hands a most grievous and filthy disease should be cured: Mercifully grant that we may give thee thanks therefore, and for this thy singular benefit conferred on us, not to ourselves, but to thy name let us daily give glory; and let us always so exercise ourselves in piety, that we may labour not only diligently to conserve, but every day more and more to increase thy grace bestowed upon us: And grant, that on whose bodies soever we have imposed hands in thy name, through this thy virtue working in them, and through our ministry, may be restored to their former health, and being confirmed therein, may perpetually with us give thanks unto thee the chief physician and healer of all diseases; and that henceforwards they may so lead their lives, as not their bodies only from sickness, but their souls also from sin may be perfectly purged and cured: Through our Lord Jesus Christ thy son, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God world without end. Amen."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Farther Communication relative to the CULTIVATION of SILK in ENGLAND. In a LETTER from the REV. Mr. SWAYNE, to Mr. MORE.

[From the Tenth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY for ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.]

“ S I R,

“ I BEG leave to address you once more, on the subject of silk-worms; not that I have the result of much additional experience in breeding them, to offer you, but chiefly to prevent discouragement to the undertaking, which I think not unlikely to arise, from a circumstance attending the successful experiment of Mr. Bertezen, of which an account is given in the VIIIth volume of these Transactions. It had gone abroad, and, I believe, was not discountenanced by Mr. Bertezen, that he was possessed of a very extraordinary and superior breed of worms, as well as a secret art of managing them: the former he refused to impart, and likewise to disclose the latter. The account in the VIIIth volume, that he obtained the five pounds of silk, for which he claimed the Society's premium, from twelve thousand worms, compared with the calculations of Miss Rhodes, in a former volume, that thirty thousand would be necessary to produce that quantity, seems to confirm the fact of his having a very superior breed of worms. And as he has now, I

presume, left this country, and taken his breed and his secret with him, some will be ready to object, that, if there be a doubt whether so superior a breed would have succeeded in this climate, much less is there any probability that any inferior breeds, particularly such very inferior ones, it will be taken for granted, as we are at present in possession of, will be attended with success.

“ The difference between Miss Rhodes's calculation, and the statement given by Mr. Bertezen's, actual produce, is, in appearance, amazingly great; but perhaps it may be greater in appearance than in reality. As silk is sold by troy weight, Mr. Bertezen's pound was probably no more than twelve ounces. Miss Rhodes very evidently calculated by averdupois weight; had Miss Rhodes's been adjusted by the former weight, the number of cocoons, for five pounds of silk, had been twenty-one thousand six hundred. Still the difference is very considerable. Mrs. Williams, in her letter, (Vol. II. of these Transactions) has mentioned two hundred and forty-four cocoons, producing nearly an ounce and a

half: a calculation, by this rule, extended to five pounds troy weight, would give fourteen thousand six hundred and forty. But Miss Rhodes supposes that Mrs. Williams includes the whole of the waste silk, as well as that reeled off. I do not see any reason for such a supposition. I last year bred fewer than one hundred worms (merely for the sake of experiments, and continuing the breed), and suffered them all to perforate their cocoons. Only fifty of these could be wound off, which was done in the method described in a former letter. The reeled silk produced from these fifty cocoons, weighed exactly one hundred grains: if from this we calculate the number sufficient for five pounds troy, we shall have fifteen thousand five hundred and fifty. As these were wound off dry, so much of the silk could not be taken from them, as is generally done when reeled in hot water, where oftentimes nearly the whole of the silk is reeled. The silk which remained on those fifty cocoons, after reeling, weighed thirty-three grains. If we only allow half of this weight to be added to that reeled off, it will reduce the number necessary for five pounds, to thirteen thousand four hundred and five. Here the difference, when compared with Mr. Bertezen's, is not very considerable.

"But it is possible that Mr. Bertezen's silk might have been weighed by averdupoise weight; in which case I am inclined to think, as the round number twelve thousand is given, that he might have calculated, without any actual enumeration, according to a rule mentioned in the pamphlet which he published on the subject of silk-worms, by allowing one hundred and fifty cocoons, of the average weight of five grains, to produce one ounce of

organzine, which, at sixteen ounces to the pound, gives exactly twelve thousand for five pounds. The passage which contains this rule, I beg leave to transcribe from Mr. Bertezen's book.---"These cones," meaning those which he obtained from worms bred in England, the year before he published his account, "weighed, after the gathering, six grains each: some weighed five, and the weakest four, though the worms were not of the first class. It is easy to calculate, that, in order to have one ounce of organzine from such cones, one with another, one hundred and fifty may be sufficient." In this account I do not understand the meaning of the expression, *after the gathering*. On the first reading, it should seem to mean, immediately after the gathering or collecting them from the broom, heath, or other twigs they were spun in; but this cannot be the intention, as, in this case, with the crysalids included, they must have weighed a vast deal more; neither can it mean after the crysalids were killed and become dry, as, even in this case, they must have weighed considerably more, since the dried crysalids, even of the common breeds, weigh on an average four grains: it must therefore mean the whole silk produced by the worm, without any insect included in it; and if this is the proper interpretation, the weight is very extraordinary indeed. In those cocoons which I have examined, the reeling silk has, on an average, amounted to about two grains and a quarter from each: the dried crysalis has weighed about double the reeling silk, and the reeling silk has been rather more than double the waste silk.

"Mr. Pullein, in his Essay on the Culture of Silk, which is by much

much the best treatise I have met with on the subject, and which I have but lately had an opportunity of consulting, tells us, that "three thousand three hundred silk pods, with the crysalids in them (that is, alive or unbaked) weigh about twelve pounds; these twelve pounds will make about sixteen ounces of reeled silk, besides about eight ounces of flos." This gives of reeling silk to each cocoon two grains and one third. In a paper containing an account of the management of silk-worms, published in the Second Volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, communicated to Dr. Morgan of Philadelphia, from Messrs. Hare and Skinner, of London, and said to be obtained from one of the first houses in Italy, we are told that one hundred and fifty ounces of good cocoons yield about eleven ounces of silk, from five or six cocoons: if you wind coarser, something more. This I calculate to give no more than two grains and one twentieth to each: whereas Mr. Bertezen's worms produced, on an average, three grains and one fiftieth, although the worms, he tells us, were not of the first class.

"I have been told by a person who saw them, that Mr. Bertezen's worms and cocoons were amazingly large, and that he even shewed one cocoon very little inferior in size to a common hen's egg.

"It is not however always the consequence, that the larger the cocoon the more valuable; since we have it from respectable authority (the paper just mentioned in the American Philosophical Transactions), that the good cocoons are those which are brought to perfection strong and little: that the cocoons of the mountains are better than those of the plain; it is true

they are not so large as those of the plain, but the worm is proportionably less. If therefore this extraordinary large breed is not to be come at, we surely ought to be contented with possessing, and the possibility of possessing, such breeds as we know will produce, in this country, as large a quantity of silk, as is, on an average, produced by silk-worms in the best silk country in Europe. There is likewise another reflection, from which we may draw some consolation, that, the larger the worm, the more food must it proportionably devour. With regard to the importation of foreign breeds, it is the opinion of Mr. Pullein, "that neither animals nor plants, when transported from one climate to another of a different temperature, are immediately naturalized; that there is some time required, and often some succession of generations, before their nerves and fibres can adapt themselves to the different influence of the air and sun." The consequence he draws from hence is, that it cannot be expected by us, that silk-worms, bred from eggs, imported recently from Italy or France, can immediately thrive; those therefore who attempt the breeding of silk-worms in England, had better raise their stock from eggs, which have, from some preceding generations, had their originals among us. This opinion, it will be said, Mr. Bertezen's very successful experiment effectually contradicts: but Mr. Bertezen's experiment does not apply in this case, as, if I am not mistaken, he made use of artificial heat.

"As an instance to confirm the above reasoning of Mr. Pullein, I might mention, that the worms produced from those eggs you was kind enough to favour me with, obtained

tained from Turin, proved much more tender and delicate than the breed I was before possessed of; nor was the silk they spun, nearly so strong as that spun by the latter. However, it is but just to say, that the Turin worms appeared to be a variety quite distinct from the others; their eggs, when first received, were smaller, and continue to be so in succession: the worms are not so large, and have some peculiar marks on them. The cocoons they spun were mostly white, or flesh-coloured, of a different and irregular shape, some of them almost globular: the thread of the cocoon seemed smaller and more delicate, and was more firmly stuck together with the natural gluten, so that it could not be reeled off but in very hot water. One peculiarity attending the Turin worms, was, that they refused lettuce leaves, and chose rather to die than to taste them.

"In a former letter I informed you, that I procured a quantity of mulberry seed, with an intention of raising a nursery of young trees from it. This was sown in the month of April, 1789; the largest part of it, and the best seed, on a bed of dung, which was intended for a slight hot-bed; but the dung being very stale, and having fermented before, did not heat at all, at least not perceptibly: the remainder was sown on a border, under a south wall. The seed on the dung-bed vegetated rather earlier than the other, and grew very well during the summer, many of the plants rising six inches in height. With a view to prevent the ill effects of the frost, the bed was covered, at the approach of winter, with a coating of moss, which had been immersed in scalding water: this I thought necessary to kill the

eggs and larva of insects, as well as the seeds of weeds which it might contain: this precaution, however, with respect to frost, was entirely useless, as the winter proved so exceedingly mild. In the spring, I counted upwards of three thousand apparently healthy plants. In the latter part of the succeeding summer, they were attacked with a disease which shewed itself in putrid spots on the leaves, which by degrees rotted off: on examining these plants, in the autumn, when about to transplant them, they were almost all of them found to be cankered off just at the surface of the ground. What was the cause of this disorder, I cannot with certainty pronounce; but am inclined to impute it, jointly to the wetness of the season, and the roots of the plants striking into the dung: those which were sown on the common earth, in the south border, were not so much affected by this disease, yet some of them were killed by it. The summer of 1789, as well as the last, was so unfavourable to the ripening of mulberries, that I could get no good seed. I still hope that some effectual method will be found out, of raising them from cuttings; but, however that be, we may be assured that, as soon as there is a demand, mulberry-trees will be multiplied by some means or other. This is not barely my opinion, but the opinion of a person much better worth listening to. "It is demonstrable," says the excellent Evelyn, "that mulberries, in four or five years, may be made to spread all over this land; and, when the indigent young daughters, in proud families, are as willing to gain three or four shillings a day for gathering silk, and busying themselves in this sweet and easy employment, as some do to get four-pence a day for hard work

work at hemp, flax, and wool, the reputation of mulberries will spread in England." The misfortune is, we are uncertain which kind of mulberry-trees, whether the white or the black, we ought particularly to attend to the propagation of; the sentiments of writers on this subject, and the practice of the different silk countries, according to the accounts given us by travellers, are so exceedingly various. It is curious to compare a few of them. From Du Halde we gather, that the white mulberry is chiefly used in China; Mr. Swinburne tells us that, in Calabria, the red sort, I suppose he means the black, is invariably the food they make use of; and that it is preferred by them to the white sort for several reasons which he mentions; although he informs us in the same page, that he believes it to be the effect of prejudice, as the Chinese, Piedmontese, and Languedocians, prefer the white sort. In his travels through Spain the same author tells us, that, in Valencia, the trees are all of the white kind. In Grenada, where the best silk is produced, they are all black. Mr. Hanway, in his account of his Travels in Persia, mentions a shrub mulberry, which, being annually pruned, produces the most proper leaves for the silk-worms: he does not say whether the mulberry-trees in that country were in general the black or the white fruited; yet he mentions being treated, on the 17th of May, with large white mulberries as an entertainment, which, he says, are a delicious fruit, at Astrabad. From hence we are certain that they have the white mulberry in Persia. Mr. Pullein tells us, that the black mulberry-leaves are said to be made use of in Persia for rearing silk-worms; yet he seems rather inclined to prefer the white. Bar-

ham and Evelyn are decidedly for the white; Mr. Young writes me, that "it is very singular that the black mulberries are never used, I believe. I have seen noble trees of that sort, in Provence and in Piedmont, but never stripped, having been planted merely for the fruit: I made many inquiries, and was told, that the silk was good for nothing. If the leaves would do, those trees would pay from one to two louis-d'or each per annum; yet no use is made of them." Mr. Bertezen allows, "that, in Italy and France, they make use of the white mulberry leaf; despising the black so much, that, in some parts, it is considered as poison to silk-worms;" yet he assures us, that he himself by all means prefers the black, and gives his reasons for that preference. He adds, however, "that in well-regulated nurseries abroad, on account of the advantages of the two kinds of mulberry leaves, they are both employed." Had not Mr. Bertezen given this information, I should have imagined that it could seldom happen that both kinds should be used in the same nursery with advantage.

"The black mulberry leaf is evidently much more succulent than the white; and therefore I should be ready to conclude, that a change at any time, from the white to the black, would be very likely to cause the worms to burst; chiefly from its containing more substance. I once gave my sentiments in favour of the black mulberry leaf: since that time I have observed that the white has seemed more agreeable to the worms, and that they have seemed to thrive best with that food. In order to have the most agreeable and wholesome food for the worms, it is, I presume necessary, that the trees which produce that food should be in the most thriving state: for the trees to flourish,

flourish, they must grow in such soil as is well suited to their nature; this congeniality of soil may be different, for the different kinds of mulberry. From what I have observed, the white seems to prosper in a moister and stiffer soil than the black would: it should seem therefore, that we should be directed in our choice of the sort to be planted, by the soil we have to plant in. If our soil is dry, sandy, or gravelly, we should make choice of the black; if it be a rich loamy, and somewhat moist soil, we should choose the white. A stiff clay, and a soil that is very wet, is unfit for either; but the surest way would be to try both, and to multiply that sort which throve best.

I am, SIR, Yours, &c.

G. SWAYNE."

POSTSCRIPT.

"Are there yet those who object the unsuitness of the climate to the scheme of raising silk in this country? What would they say were they to read the under-written communication from a gentleman of credit, on the continent, to a celebrated agriculturist?"

"Not less than five thousand four hundred pounds weight of silk has been raised last year (1789), in the cold, mostly sandy, territories of Prussia." What could not be raised in the milder regions of Great-Britain and Ireland, under equal encouragement! a produce which employs but six weeks of the agriculturists and the labourers work!"

On the USE of OAK LEAVES in TANNING.

[By the same Gentleman, in a Letter to Mr. MORE.]

S I R,

"**K**NOWING that the bark of the oak was a chief material in the art of tanning leather, and conceiving that every other part of that tree was fraught with the same astringent principle, through which the bark becomes so efficient in that art; the thought had often occurred, that the leaves might be advantageously applied for the same purpose. Having in my possession a quantity of those leaves, which had been collected on account of the galls attached to them, I was desirous of ascertaining the proportion of astringent matter

contained in them, and of comparing it with that contained in the bark. It was some time before I could think of a method of doing this; and whether the method at length used was fully adequate to the intention, must be left to the determination of those who have more knowledge in chemistry than I can pretend to.

"The well-known property which this astringent matter possesses, of uniting or striking a black colour with the calx of iron, suggested to me that its quantity might probably be ascertained, by extracting the matter, through the medium of hot water, in which it is known to be so

able, saturating the extract with a known weight of the calx of iron, and afterwards filtering, drying, and weighing it. Supposing martial vitriol to contain iron in a very proper state for this experiment, the first thing I had to do, was, to ascertain the weight of iron in a given weight of vitriol; and this I attempted by the following process: I weighed five pennyweights of vitriol, dissolved it in water; and added a like weight of vegetable fixed alkali; which immediately precipitated the iron: the mixture was then thrown on a paper filtre, the weight of which was noted down; and, after being plentifully elutriated with hot water, the residue was dried and weighed. Its weight, exclusive of the filtre, was two pennyweights thirteen grains. This proportion of iron in martial vitriol, differs from that given by professor Neumann, from his Analysis (see Lewis's translation of Neumann's Chemistry, Vol. I. p. 278); but it is necessary to mention, that the vitriol which I made use of had been kept in a dry place, uninclosed, in a glass vessel, by which it had lost much of its water of crystallization; and this accounts for the difference. At the same time, and from the same parcel of vitriol, I weighed several other portions, for after-experiments.

"The weight of iron, in a given weight of vitriol, being known, I then attempted to follow the process above suggested; but, upon trial, found that the coloured particles were so minute, or so intimately mixed, that they passed with the fluid through the filtre: this I attributed to the presence of the vitriolic acid, and its close attachment to the coloured particles. With a view

therefore to destroy this suspected combination, by presenting to the acid a substance with which it has a nearer affinity, I added some mild salt of tartar, which instantly produced the desired effect, and brought on an entire separation of the coloured mass. I then went on with my intended experiments, in the following manner:

"I took a half-peck measure full of dried oak leaves, well pressed down, from which I had before separated several ounces of mushroom galls, and having put them in a brass kettle, with a sufficient quantity of water, boiled them therein for two hours. The decoction was then poured from the leaves, and fresh water added to them; this was likewise boiled for a considerable time, till it was judged that the water had extracted all the astringent matter: both decoctions were then boiled down, in the same kettle, to one gallon. — In a certain measure of this concentrated extract, I dissolved five pennyweights of green vitriol, and afterwards added the like weight of salt of tartar: this mixture was then thrown on a filtre of sinking paper, (the weight of which was three pennyweights); and after being perfectly elixated with hot water, the residuum was dried and weighed:

Dwts. Grs.

The filtre, with its contents weighed	6	14
Subtract the weight of the filtre	3	9
	3	14
Subtract the calx of iron	2	13
There remains of astringent matter	1	1
	Two	

"Two pints of this reduced extract were still farther evaporated to one pint; and a like measure of this was treated as the former:

	Dwts. Grs.	
The filtre with its contents, weighed -	7	1
Subtract the filtre, which weighed -	2	15
	4	10
Subtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of astringent matter -	1	21

"I then obtained from a tanner two pounds of oak bark, which was perfectly dry, and, after cutting into thin shavings with a plane, boiled it in three portions of water for several hours, till, from the colour as well as the taste of the last decoction, the astringency seemed to be perfectly extracted. These several decoctions were added together, and evaporated to the same quantity as those of the leaves, namely, one gallon. An equal measure of this as above, produced by the like treatment, a residuum which, with its filtre

	Dwts. Grs.	
weighed -	7	10
Subtract the filtre, which weighed -	2	19
	4	15
Subtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of an astringent matter -	2	2

"A quart of this reduced extract was further concentrated to a pint, and an equal measure of this was treated as before:

	Dwts. Grs.	
The filtre, with its contents, weighed -	9	12
Subtract the filtre which weighed -	2	15
	6	21
Subtract the calx of iron	2	13
Remainder of astringent matter -	4	8

"These experiments do not exactly; since, in those with the leaves the amount of astringent matter, in the second experiment, ought to have been double that of the first, and, in those with the bark, the astringent matter of the first experiment ought to have been half as much as that of the second. The supposition of a small inaccuracy in the weighing, or a small loss in the process of these experiments, will tend to reconcile them: where the error lay, in the first instance, I cannot pretend to guess. In the first experiment with the bark, the filtre caught fire while it was drying; and although it was extinguished almost immediately, yet there must have been a loss of some grains from it. Notwithstanding the experiments do not perfectly accord, yet I think we may fairly deduce from them, provided the method of trial be not objected to, that half a peck of leaves contain nearly as much astringent matter as one pound of bark. Oak bark was sold in this neighbourhood last season, for five guineas a ton. In its marketable state it is by no means sufficiently dry for preservation; and the tanners are obliged to dry it more perfectly, and, at a considerable trouble and expence, they likewise get it cleaned from much extraneous matter. The loss of weight, from these operations, cannot, I should suppose, be estimated at less than twenty shillings per ton. What I mean is that, if a ton of bark cost the tanner, in the first purchase, five guineas, the same weight of bark, when properly dried and cleaned, will stand him in six pounds five shillings: for the sake of easier calculation, we will say six pounds. I have heretofore had oak leaves collected for the purpose of making hot-beds for melons (for which they

are excellent), at three pence and four pence per sack of four bushels, or thirty-two half-pecks, which according to the conclusion above, are equal to thirty-two pounds of bark. Thirty-two pounds of bark at six pounds per ton, come to one shilling and eight pence halfpenny and a fraction. If then my premises stand unimpeached, it will follow that the tanner might obtain as much astringent matter in leaves for four-pence, as costs him in bark five times that sum : whether it would equally answer his purpose, remains to be proved. There would be undoubtedly much trouble, and some expence, in drying the leaves, which would be necessary, in order to preserve them ; and they would occupy much room. Perhaps for these reasons, the most economical plan would be, to obtain a concentrated extract from them, on or near the place where they should be collected, which might be conveyed and afterwards stored in casks. This likewise remains as the subject of experiment ; but, before leaves can in any way be legally used by the tanner, it is necessary that the act of parliament be

repealed, which confines him to the use of ash and oak bark : this restriction was probably laid, not solely from the belief that those substances were the most proper for the purpose of tanning leather, but likewise to encourage the planting and nurturing of those valuable timber-trees. Be this as it may, at present it rather operates to their destruction, than preservation or increase ; since the high price which oak bark now bears, proves an irresistible temptation with needy proprietors, to cut down their oaks before they arrive at a proper age for timber. Should oak leaves ever come in much request for tanning, this doubtless would prove an antidote to the rage of felling, and an effectual preservative of timber ; since no one surely would ever think of felling his oaks prematurely, whilst they yielded him an annual profit by standing.

I am,

Your most obliged humble servant,

GEORGE SWAYNE".

OBSER.

OBSERVATIONS on BRITISH WOOL, SHEEP, &c. By the
REV. CHARLES ONLEY.

[From the SIXTH VOLUME of LETTERS and PAPERS on AGRICULTURE, PLANTING, &c. Selected from the CORRESPONDENCE of the BATH and WEST of ENGLAND SOCIETIES, for the ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURES, ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.]

“SIR,
“THE premium offered by the Bath Agricultural Society, for ascertaining in the western counties, by any experimental method, the best breed of sheep in *carcase* and *wool*, seems perfectly judicious. Both these being equally essential to us: the one as adding to the supply of food; the other, to the means of industry in obtaining it. The great mistake of either, separately attended to, I conjecture to be; the rearing on an enormous carcase a very coarse, though long wool; which can only be applied to those inferior manufactures, in which the ingenuity is so trivial, that the raw material makes nearly half the value of the fabrick; or the rearing on a small carcase, of moderate meat, a small quantity of that fine wool, so essential to the more delicate and artful manufactures. Wool of this sort, at the rate of one to two pounds per sheep, is collected here from the most ragged rambles of our commons; and worth, when culled, half-a-crown a pound; the extent, shortness, and sweetness, of their feed, throwing the value into the small fleece. But to encourage, or even permit, as in spite of our boasted improvements is still done, a collection of commonage, for affording a scanty pittance of short feed, on a wide ramble, in order to gather in return a few fleeces, comparatively, of even the finest wool, would be

supporting the boast of manufacture at the expence of food and population. At such expence is the pride of Spain in her flocks now supported, a policy far from enviable! That the finest broad-cloth has gradually decreased in goodness, and the narrow cloth equally improved, is very palpable; and has probably arisen from an increase by cultivation of that sort of pasturage, which maintains a far greater number of the best sheep with some diminution in their fleece of finer wool;—too great a mixture of Spanish with English wool in the fabrick, in order to remedy this decline of our own, only procuring the usual fineness at the expence of the old texture.

“Since the improved culture of Norfolk and Suffolk, by converting extensive sheep-walks into fine inclosures of wheat, barley, clover, and turnips, with rye and tares; the wool of their provincial species has decreased in fineness; but been amply compensated by the larger quantity raised on more numerous flocks, supporting and supported by the most improved agriculture; and at the same time supplying the market with some of the best winter mutton. The Sussex South-Down breed, lately introduced into these counties will feel the same effect of change, from short, natural, and extensive, to confined, succulent and artificial pasturage; and however profitable on the whole to the grazier, and bene-

beneficial to the community, as from the greater numbers supported on a given quantity of pasturage every late trial at present confirms; yet from the very beneficial mode of their support, will gradually decline in the delicacy of their fleece, unless amply and annually supplied with additions to the flock from the original stock on the Downs. The wool of them in this neighbourhood has been sold hitherto at 2d. and 3d. per pound lower than the same in Sussex; and the wool of the second year of importation from Sussex, of the same sheep, was not equal to that of the first.

"I have been informed, by a very eminent manufacturer, that many years since, an attempt, from a supposed similarity of pasture, was made to introduce the long-wooled Lincolnshire breed into the hundreds of Essex. The staple was perfect at the first year, declined in the second, and was lost at the fifth. Repeated new supplies and crossings might have kept up somewhat of the species, and settled at last a near approach to it. This is now trying here between the Norfolk and the South-Downs; and promises a breed that may unite very tolerable wool with a very fine carcase; equally proper for the fold and artificial pasturage; of a bulk superior to the South-Downs, inferior to the Norfolk, but smaller in the bone, rounder in the form, tamer in disposition, and thriving with equal profit on less food.

"From the drawing and description of the *monks*, a wild sheep of Tartary, and supposed by some naturalists to be the primitive race; the Norfolk, of all our species, seems most like this original. A lean long neck, large curved horns, a rising back-bone, when standing the fore-legs straight, the hinder bent inwards,

strong in his whole make, agile in his movements, and in look wild and bold. Neither this, nor any other provincial sort, have been attempted to be reared to an higher degree of perfection, by perseverance in culling, preserving, and occasionally crossing the more peculiarly perfect ones of the breed, till the Leicestershire Society astonished the kingdom, and I may say, all Europe, with their skill in the trial, their success in the event, and the incredible return to their perseverance and sagacity, from the price paid by those who most laudably aimed at sharing in the pride and benefit of such improvement. If any little artifice of trade hath been exerted in this extraordinary speculation, the publick has probably shared fully in its result, by the ardour raised and excited to follow up such an example, by equal attempts; which, if in other counties, more suitable for soil and situation for that purpose, can produce a finer staple of wool on a carcase tolerably equivalent, will probably be still more beneficial; in not only supplying the market with fine meat, but the manufactory with a fine wool.

"That the extreme fineness in wool may, in some climates be united with the longest staple, I have proof in a very small quantity that I took from one of a few rough fleeces, brought as a little adventure by the captain of an East-India ship from the Manillas; it is white as snow, and soft as silk; was bought by the very ingenious manufacturer at eight shillings the pound, and so readily acknowledged by him to have a far superior value in the purposes to which, from its delicacy, it could extensively be applied; (the advanced price of the raw material being comparatively as nothing to the value of the improved manufacture

ingenuity can make of it); that an order was given to collect in the East-Indies, at a more advanced price, any quantity that could be procured of the same. Yet such was the influence of the *l'Esprit du Corps* (of which all professions have their full share) that even this instance did not convince the propriety of allowing, by an open sale, the best price as the necessary encouragement for raising at home the best wool the soil and climate would allow, and of thus preventing the manufacturers of our coarsest and most artificial fabricks from assuming, to the restraint of every fine one, too large a portion of our wool; by the encouragement thus given to the grower, to consider the quantity as more valuable than the quality, of his fleeces. A most glaring absurdity, which, as far as legislative approbation of it can go, must continue till that period, when a reform in our mode of election and representation shall have, agreeably to the spirit of the constitution, restored to the landed interest an influence and energy equivalent to that of the manufacturers.

It is prower to deserve than to receive public encouragement; and from a taste extremely promoted in my opinion, among country gentlemen, by the writings of Arthur Young, &c. of amusing themselves in agricultural pursuits, it seems as if the improvement of sheep and wool would rise under its oppression, and be shewn to have deserved a fairer treatment. Grazing ought ever to be the leading object in the farming of mere gentlemen; and to them, that of sheep will be the most amusing, and the least hazardous. The veriest farmer, to a full flock must have, and extremely confide in, for every profit, a regular shepherd; the gentleman needs no more;

and with a little additional allowance will, in this traffick, and this alone, stand on a safe footing for his amusement, as his tenant does for his support, against waste, idleness, and imposition. For the arable necessary for the supply of artificial feed during winter and spring, need be only in such very moderate quantity, as to require little labour and expence: the most extensive lawn is thus turfed by the close bite, and thickened by the manure of the flock; the finest wool, for that should certainly be a principal object, is gradually obtained; and the breed, found by experience most suitable to it, maintained on a soil kept by that very means in a constant state of improvement. Exclusive of the private advantage of thus cultivating a demesne in the most profitable mode, and the rational entertainment resulting from experiment on an animal whose varieties are so great, as to receive from change of climate and food a perceptible distinction of form and qualities; the general benefit of every county, immediately consulted by the only means in which the common farmers can gain the chance at an easy charge, and speedy rate, to have the best breeds gradually conveyed within their reach, and the kingdom thus stocked with what is most profitable under its present circumstances.

To a considerable increase of population, we must certainly attribute the alarming report of a committee, that this kingdom does not at present grow more corn than is necessary for its own consumption. It is therefore in policy a criminal disgrace to permit the wretchedness to remain unimproved, even when they are a tolerable sheep walk, when by an apportionment of wages to individuals, under the present

rotation of crops on arable land, flocks, upon the whole of superior value, might be kept up in not inferior numbers; and with due encouragement, not less delicate in the wool. At the same time, they would contribute by the fold to raise corn for the support of that multitude to which the manufacturing of their fleece affords employment, and in consequence has added to the increase.

"From the North of Scotland, where the climate renders grazing the only proper agriculture, we may expect, under the attention, industry, and expence of its patriot ad-

venturers, the best breed for the finest fleece, and consequently, I presume, of less valuable carcase. But in England, to reach perfection in the latter, and approach to it in the former, is agreeable to our sky and soil; necessary to our culture and population; and every encouragement and reward that rouses competition for their mutual attainment, excited by public virtue, and regulated by good sense.

I am, respectfully, your's, &c.

CARLES ONLEY

Stisted-Hall, Essex, Jan. 31, 1792."

ON PLANTING, GRAFTING, and MAKING CYDER, by M^r.
I. N. MORSE.

[From the same Volume.]

"SIR,

A Premium being offered by the Bath and West of England Society for the best practical essay, founded on experience, on raising apple-stocks, and the most successful method of grafting and raising apple-trees for the orchard; together with the best essay on gathering apples, making them into cyder, and of managing that cyder until it shall become fit for use; induces me to transmit through your hands the method I have successfully practised. If it should be considered worthy the attention of the Society, I shall esteem it the highest honour.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
J. N. MORSE
Dec. 5, 1791.

"After the apples are ground in a mill, and the juice for cyder (or if crabs, the verjuice) is pressed from the rind, stalks, core and kernels; this is called the *must*, and should be crumbled quite small, and laid thin on a board floor to dry: for if it be laid thick, it will heat and destroy the vegetation of the kernels. To prevent its heating it should often be turned with a malt-shovel.

"Prepare a piece of ground by well digging and clearing from weeds, keeping the surface smooth; and in February or March lay the must thereon, and shovel-turn it in, that it may be two inches deep; in about six weeks the young plants will appear, and must be kept clear from weeds; let them remain two or three years in the seed-bed, when they should be taken up, and the tap-root cut off, as also some of

the spreading branches. There now should be another piece of ground prepared by double digging, wherein to transplant the stocks, laid out in beds four feet wide; plant them in rows across the beds about one foot distance between the rows, and eight or ten inches distance in the rows; let them stand here three years; when they must again be taken up, the roots and tops dressed and planted in rows about eighteen inches distance in the rows, and three feet between the rows; but four feet is better, as it will be more room to dig the ground between them, which should be done at least once a year, and kept clean from weeds, &c. by hoeing. Transplanting them twice, and pruning their roots, makes them root better and stronger, and commonly rise with a wig or fibery root.

"They are to stand in this nursery until of sufficient size to plant in orchards; some may be large enough when ten years old, others not until fourteen or fifteen; for they may be of very different sizes, although sown and planted at the same time. Here they are to be carefully tained up straight, and pruned every year, by cutting off five or six of the largest knots or sprays each year, and not many more in one year, as it would make the stock grow top-heavy and throw out more branches. This pruning should be done in the spring season, as the wounds will heal soonest when the sap is rising; but if pruned in autumn or winter, the wounds will be long in healing, and be very black, and continue so for years.

"Stocks ought to be strong for planting orchards, that they may the sooner grow out of the way of cattle, which very often does them great injury. The size I choose to plant is from one inch and a quar-

ter to one inch and a half in diameter at the grafting place; that is, about five feet six inches from the ground.

"The method I pursue in planting orchards is, first lay out the field by setting up stakes equidistant; 20 or 22 yards from each other, I look upon as the best distance. After they are properly arranged, dig a hole considerably larger than will take the roots of the stock, that the earth may be soft and mellow for them to strike therein more freely: have your stock ready with the roots and head pruned, particularly those that were bruised in raising; place it upright in the hole. If some better mould, such as street-shovelings, or a compost made with rotten dung, good mould and lime (lime kills the ants, which are very destructive to stocks and trees), were mixed with the soil to fill the hole, it will expedite the growth of the stock. Care should be taken to fill up every vacancy between the roots, shaking the stock well whilst filling; when filled, tread the earth down to the roots pretty hard, then have a stake four or five feet long driven sideways in the ground leaning against the stock, pointing to the west wind, and firmly tie the stock to the stake with an osier twig, placing a hayband between the stock and the stake, to prevent galling; this will prevent the wind shaking the stock, which very often injures it, and prevents its taking root. We should then have six or eight black-thorns, pointed and stuck in the ground round the stock, reaching up to the head; these should be tied in two places with twigs, to prevent cattle or sheep from brousing on, or rubbing or peeling the stock, which they are very apt to do, particularly young sheep. I have had stocks peeled quite round by sheep. The greatest

of the wool, when sheep rub against them, injures and retards their growth. Where wood is plenty, if three posts be erected triangularly round the stock, and laths nailed to the posts, it is the best fence. The stocks must now stand three years to take full roots; at the expiration those that have made free shoots should be grafted with what sort of apples the planter may please.

"The method of grafting these large stocks is that in the cleft, and performed as follows: first, with a saw cut off the head of the stock in a smooth place, at five feet or five feet six inches from the ground, pare it very smooth; then with a strong knife and mallet cleave the stock about one and half inch down, a little on one side the heart of the stock; draw out the knife and put a wedge, driving it easy in the slit at the top to keep it a little open. Then with a knife made for that purpose, only open the slit about one and half inch long, half an inch wide on the rind, bringing it to a feather-edge near the heart, and to a point at the bottom of the slit. You must now have your grafts or scions ready, which must be cut with a keen knife very smooth to fit, and place it in the cleft, so that the rind of the graft may exactly meet the rind of the stock. If the stock be large enough you may put another graft on the other side; when rightly placed, draw out the wedge at top, taking care not to displace the grafts, and the stock will close in and hold fast the grafts, when you must have some smooth clay mixed with fine hay, made into pledgets, and wind round the grafts and stock, making it smooth on the outside; this will keep the wet and air out of the crown of the stock, and the sun from exhausting the sap. The best time for performing this business is in February and March. Whip-

grafting is practised with great success, and generally on small stocks about half an inch in diameter. The graft or scion nearly the size of the stock. This stock must be cut off in a sloping direction, and the graft also, about one and half inch in length; pare both stock and graft smooth, and to fit each other, particularly betwixt the wood and rind, that the sap may freely circulate; then cut a slit or tongue about half an inch in the scion upward, the same in the stock downward, to receive the tongue in the scion; in that manner fix the graft in the stock; immediately tie a string of soft bafs or yarn round to keep the stock and graft in its right position, and immediately cover the place with some grafting clay. In May or June the bandages must be taken off.

"Saddle-grafting is somewhat similar; the stock being cut off sloping, and the scion made to fit, and tied on as in whip-grafting.

"Apples should be gathered when full ripe, and will quit the tree by gentle shaking; if gathered before ripe, the cyder will be rough and hard, and seldom pleasant or good flavoured. Lay them on the ground in a fruit-yard, better if upon a gravel walk, as the wet will run from them and they will lie dry in the bottom; should not lie thicker than ten or twelve inches, and are better kept without than within doors. Care should be taken to place fruits of equal ripeness and good qualities by themselves; for if of different ripeness the cyder will be apt to ferment too much, which will cause it to grow hard, and never be rich, full, and fine-flavoured.

"When the fruit is thoroughly mellow, it must be committed to the mill for the purpose of cyder-making, made with a stone chafe and roller, something similar to a bark or a sugar-mill. The roller

drawn round the chafe by a horse, Here it should be ground to a pulp, that no bit of apple may be seen, and until you cannot hold it in your hand, if you take a handful and squeeze it; the kernels and rind will then be well broken, and will give the liquor a fine flavour. Let it be put into tubs or hogheads with one head out, and remain there two days, then press it through hair-cloths. I use fourteen, or fifteen, putting about two pails full in each, turning up the sides and corners; then put another on until the whole are filled, when press it with a screw; put the juice into hogheads; after it has been there a few days it will work and throw up a thick substance at the bung-hole, somewhat like barm, but of a darker colour; when this appears it generally is dropt fine, and should be immediately racked into a clean cask; for, if the substance be suffered to fall, the grounds from the bottom will rise, and the whole will be in a ferment and very foul, and perhaps must be racked three or four times before it can again be separated and got fine; and will run a risque of making the cyder harsh. So long as it remains fine and free from fer-

menting, it may remain in the cask; but if it ferments much it should be racked, and the grounds or lees taken from it; it often requires four or five rackings. Cyder made with different sorts of apples keeps best by breaking and mixing together; but this should not be done until it is fine, when the proprietor may blend it to his palate. After the whole is done, a bung may be placed over the bung-hole, but should not be close stopt until February or March, when it will be fit for sale or use.

"If cyder do not fine, some people use isinglass. For one hoghead of a hundred gallons, beat about one ounce and a half and pull it to pieces; add to it about two quarts of liquor, and whisk it together: next day add more liquor, and whisk it: repeat this until it be dissolved, and beaten fine. Rack your foul liquor, throw in the dissolved glass, and stir it together with a stick. As soon as it drops fine, rack it off into a clean cask.

"Cyder should not be bottled until sixteen or eighteen months after it is made, as it would endanger the breaking the bottles.

J. N. MORSE."

P O E T R Y.

ODE on his MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

I.

H EARD ye the blast whose sullen roar
 Burst dreadful from the angry skies?
 Saw ye against the craggy shore
 The waves in wild contention rise?—
 On the high cliff's embattled brow
 The castle's ruin'd towers lie low,
 And, as the corn-van's winnowing sail
 Drives the loose chaff before the gale,
 The winds in giddy eddies sweep
 The scatter'd navy o'er the deep.—
 Yet harmless as the halcyon breeze
 That gently lifts the summer seas,
 The tempest breaks on Albion's coast,
 Its strength controul'd, its fury lost;
 Down on the surge she looks with dauntless face,
 And sees it idly lash her white cliff's rocky base.

II.

Not more secure her rocky shores
 Defy the rude wind's stormy host,
 Not with more idle vengeance roars
 The billow 'gainst Britannia's coast,
 Than her firm breast, by virtue arm'd,
 By glory's purest radiance warm'd,
 Defies loud Discord's rising sound,
 And mocks the tumult raging round.
 For Freedom o'er her favour'd head
 Her adamantine shield has spread,
 And looking far with brow serene
 Beyond Europa's troubled scene,
 On distant climes her cares display
 Her guardian power's celestial ray,
 The sacred beam till sultry Afric see
 Burst Slavery's galling yoke, and boast her sons are free.

N 4

Freedom

III.

Freedom on this congenial shore
 Her holy temple rear'd of yore,
 Tho' Faction to its solid base
 Has oft applied his iron mace,
 Tho' Tyranny's gigantic powers
 Oft tried to shake its massy towers,
 Cemented firm with patriot blood
 Thro' many an age unhurt the mighty frame has stood;
 And still her sons, a mingled line,
 Warm in her hallow'd cause combine.—
 Offspring of those whose fearless ranks
 Bore from old Thames' high trophied banks
 Her vaunted charter, which unites
 A monarch's with a people's rights;
 Of those whose spears tremendous gleam
 By Caledonian * Banna's stream,
 While stern Carnarvon's archers fly
 Before the van of Liberty;
 Offspring of those whose patriot host
 On fair Jerne's sister coast
 Saw Tyranny's expiring pride
 Whelm'd deep in Boyne's ensanguin'd tide;
 In dread array they stand round Britain's throne,
 And guard, at Freedom's call, a Monarch all her own.

IV.

To welcome George's natal hour,
 No vain display of empty power,
 In flattery steep'd, no soothing lay
 Shall strains of adulation pay;
 But Commerce rolling deep and wide
 To Albion's shores her swelling tide,
 But Themis' olive-cinctur'd head,
 And white-rob'd Peace by Vict'ry led,
 Shall fill his breast with virtuous pride,
 Shall give him power to truth allied;
 Joys which alone a patriot King can prove—
 A nation's strength his power, his pride a people's love.

DESCRIPTION of DEATH coming out of his GLOOMY MAN-
 SION at the CALL of SATAN.

[From Calvary, a Poem, by RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Esq.]

HE said; and now a deep and hollow groan,
 Like roar of distant thunders, shook the hall,
 And from before the cloud-envelop'd throne
 The adamantine pavement burst in twain

* Battle of Bannock-burn.

With

With hideous crash self-open'd, and display'd
 A subterranean chasm, whose yawning vault,
 Deep as the pit of Acheron, forbade
 All nearer access to the shad'wy king.
 Whereat the imprison'd winds, that in its womb
 Were cavern'd, 'gan to heave their yeasty waves
 In bubbling exhalations, till at once
 Their eddying vapours working upwards, burst
 From the broad vent enfranchis'd, when, behold!
 The cloud that late around the throne had pour'd
 More than Egyptian darkness, now began
 To lift its fleecy skirts, till through the mist
 Th' imperial phantom gleam'd; monster deform'd,
 Enormous, terrible, from heel to scalp
 One dire anatomy; his giant bones
 Star'd through the shrivell'd skin, that loosely hung
 On his sepulchral carcase; round his brows
 A cypress wreath tiara-like he wore
 With nightshade and cold hemlock interwin'd;
 Behind him hung his quiver'd store of darts
 Wing'd with the raven's plume; his fatal bow
 Of deadly yew, tall as Goliath's spear,
 Propp'd his unerring arm; about his throne,
 If throne it might be call'd, which was compos'd
 Of human bones, as in a charnel pil'd,
 A hideous group of dire diseases stood,
 Sorrows and pains and agonizing plagues,
 His ghastly satellites, and, ev'n than these
 More terrible, ambition's slaught'ring sons,
 Heroes and conquerors stil'd on earth, but here
 Doom'd to ignoble drudgery, employ'd
 To do his errands in the loathsome vault,
 And tend corruption's never-dying worm,
 To haunt the catacombs and ransack graves,
 Where some late populous city is laid waste
 By the destroying pestilence, or storm'd
 By murdering Rus or Tartar blood-besmeur'd
 And furious in the desp'rate breach, to plant
 His eagles or his crescent on the piles
 Of mangled multitudes, and flout the sky
 With his victorious banners. Now a troop
 Of shrowded ghosts upon a signal given
 By their terrific monarch start to fight,
 Each with a torch funereal in his grasp,
 That o'er the hall diffus'd a dying light,
 Than darkness self more horrible: The walls
 Of that vast cenotaph, hung round with spears,
 Falchions and pole-axes and plumed helms,
 Shew'd like the armory of some warlike state:
 There every mortal weapon might be seen,

Each

Each implement of old or new device,
Which savage nature or inventive art
Furnish'd to arm the ruffian hand of war,
And deal to man the life-destroying stroke:
And them betwixt at intervals were plac'd
The crowned skeletons of mighty kings,
Cæsars and Caliphs and barbarian Chiefs,
Monsters, whose swords had made creation shrink
And frighted peace and science from the earth.

PART of the ADDRESS of the GODDESS of BOTANY to the
SYLPHS; including a Description of the Marriage of CUPID and
PSYCHE, and the Story of THYRSIS and ÆGLE.

[From the Botanic Garden, Part I.]

AS when at noon in Hybla's fragrant bowers
Cacalia opens all her honey'd flowers;
Contending swarms on bending branches cling,
And nations hover on aurelian wing;
So round the Goddess, ere she speaks, on high
Impatient Sylphs in gawdy circlets fly;
Quivering in air their painted plumes expand,
And coloured shadows dance upon the land.

I. " Sylphs! your light troops the tropic Winds confine,
And guide their streaming arrows to the Line;
While in warm floods ecliptic breezes rise;
And sink with wings benumb'd in colder skies,
You bid Monsoons on Indian seas reside,
And veer, as moves the sun, their airy tide;
While southern gales o'er western oceans roll,
And Eurus steals his ice-winds from the Pole.
Your playful trains, on sultry islands born,
Turn on fantastic toe at eve and morn;
With soft susurrant voice alternate sweep
Earth's green pavilions and encircling deep:
Or in itinerant cohorts, borne sublime
On tides of æther float from clime to clime;
O'er waving Autumn bend your airy ring,
Or waft the fragrant bosom of the Spring.

II. " When morn, escorted by the dancing hours,
O'er the bright plains her dewy lustre showers;
Till from her sable chariot eve serene
Drops the dark curtain o'er the brilliant scene;
You form with chemic hands the airy fudge,
Mix with broad vans, with shadowy tridents urge,

Sylphs!

* D
haroug
from a
Spence

Sylphs ! from each sun-bright leaf, that twinkling shakes
 O'er Earth's green lap, or shoots amid her lakes,
 Your playful bands with simpering lips invite,
 And wed the enamour'd Oxygene to Light.—
 Round their white necks with fingers interwove,
 Cling the fond pair with unabating love;
 Hand link'd in hand on buoyant step they rise,
 And soar and gladden in unclouded skies.
 Whence in bright floods the vital air expands,
 And with concentric spheres involves the lands;
 Pervades the swarming seas, and heaving earths,
 Where teeming Nature broods her myriad births;
 Fills the fine lungs of all that *breathe* or *bud*,
 Warms the new heart, and dyes the gushing blood;
 With life's first spark inspires the organic frame,
 And, as it wastes, renews the subtle flame.

“ So pure, so soft, with sweet attraction shone
 Fair Psyche *, kneeling at the ethereal throne;
 Won with coy smiles the admiring court of Jove,
 And warm'd the bosom of unconquer'd Love.—
 Beneath a moving shade of fruits and flowers
 Onward they march to Hymen's sacred bowers;
 With lifted torch he lights the festive train
 Sublime, and leads them in his golden chain;
 Joins the fond pair, indulgent to their vows,
 And hides with mystic veil their blushing brows.
 Round their fair forms their mingling arms they fling,
 Meet with warm lip, and clasp with rustling wing.—
 —Hence plastic Nature, as Oblivion whelms
 Her fading forms, repeoples all her realms;
 Soft joys disport on purple plumes unfurl'd,
 And Love and Beauty rule the willing world.

III. 1. “ Sylphs ! your bold myriads on the withering heath
 Stay the fell Syroc's suffocative breath;
 Arrest Simoom in his realms of sand,
 The poison'd javelin balanc'd in his hand;—
 Fierce on blue streams he rides the tainted air,
 Points his keen eye, and waves his whistling hair;
 While, as he turns, the undulating soil
 Rolls in red waves, and billowy deserts boil.

You seize Tornado by his locks of mist,
 Burst his dense clouds, his wheeling spires untwist;

* Described from an ancient gem on a fine onyx in possession of the duke of Marlborough, of which there is a beautiful print in Bryant's *Mythol.* vol ii p 392. And from another ancient gem of Cupid and Psyche embracing, of which there is a print in Spence's *Polymetis*, p. 82.

Wide o'er the West when borne on headlong gales,
 Dark as meridian night, the monster sails,
 Howls high in air, and shakes his curled brow,
 Lashing with serpent-train the waves below,
 Whirls his black arm, the forked lightning flings,
 And showers a deluge from his dæmon-wings.

2. " Sylphs ! with light shafts you pierce the drowfy fog,
 That lingering slumbers on the sedge-wave bog,
 With webbed feet o'er midnight meadows creeps,
 Or flings his hairy limbs on stagnant deeps.
 You meet Contagion issuing from afar,
 And dash the baleful conqueror from his car ;
 When, guest of Death ! from charnel vaults he steals,
 And bathes in human gore his armed wheels.

" Thus when the Plague, upborne on Belgian air,
 Look'd through the mist and shook his clotted hair,
 O'er shrinking nations steer'd malignant clouds,
 And rain'd destruction on the gasping crouds ;
 The beauteous *Ægle* * felt the venom'd dart,
 Slow roll'd her eye, and feebly throbb'd her heart ;
 Each fervid sigh seem'd shorter than the last,
 And starting friendship shunn'd her, as she pass'd.
 —With weak unsteady step the fainting maid
 Seeks the cold garden's solitary shade,
 Sinks on the pillowy moss her drooping head,
 And prints with lifeless limbs her leafy bed.
 —On wings of love her plighted swain pursues,
 Shades her from winds, and shelters her from dews,
 Extends on tapering poles the canvas roof,
 Spreads o'er the straw-wave matt the flaxen woof,
 Sweet buds and blossoms on her bolster strows,
 And binds his kerchief round her aching brows ;
 Soothes with soft kifs, with tender accents charms,
 And clasps the bright infection in his arms.—
 With pale and languid smiles the grateful fair
 Applauds his virtues, and rewards his care ;
 Mourns with wet cheek her fair companions fled
 On timorous step, or number'd with the dead ;
 Calls to her bosom all its scatter'd rays,
 And pours on *Thyrsis* the collected blaze ;
 Braves the chill night, caressing and caress'd,
 And folds her hero-lover to her breast.

* When the plague raged in Holland in 1636, a young girl was seized with it, had three carbuncles, and was removed to a garden, where her lover, who was betrothed to her, attended her as a nurse, and slept with her as his wife. He remained uninfected, and she recovered, and was married to him. The story is related by Vinc. Fabricius in the *Misc. Cur. Ann. Il. Obs.* 188.

Lefs bold, Leander at the dusky hour,
 Eyed, as he swam, the far love-lighted tower;
 Breasted with struggling arms the tossing wave,
 And sunk benighted in the watery grave.
 Lefs bold, Tobias claim'd the nuptial bed,
 Where seven fond lovers by a fiend had bled;
 And drove, instructed by his angel-guide,
 The enamour'd Demon from the fatal bride.—
 Sylphs! while your winnowing pinions fann'd the air,
 And shed gay visions o'er the sleeping pair;
 Love round their couch effused his rosy breath,
 And with his keener arrows conquer'd death.

RINALDO in the VALLEY of DESPAIR.

[From Rinaldo, a Poem, translated from the Italian of Torquato Tasso,
 by JOHN HOOLE.]

RINALDO thence a different track pursu'd,
 Uncertain where, and while in heaven he view'd
 Eight times Aurora from her tresses shed
 The morning dews and tinge the clouds with red,
 The warrior rov'd: at length when Phoebus' ray
 Had brought on earth the ninth revolving day,
 A straight and level path his steed convey'd
 To reach a valley black with dreary shade.
 There sat a shape, that seem'd of human kind,
 On his sad arm his drooping head reclin'd:
 Squalid his mien; tears trickled from his eyes
 With upward gaze directed to the skies;
 While from his lips, in chill affliction's tone,
 He breath'd the loud complaint and mingled groan.

Soon as the knight approach'd this mournful vale,
 He felt increasing pangs his heart assail:
 Such pangs he never till that day confess'd,
 Such pangs as all his vital powers oppress'd.
 Onward he pass'd, and silent still pursu'd
 The guiding path, till nearer now he view'd
 This child of woe; and, as he gaz'd, he drew
 Infectious grief, that deep and deeper grew.

Between two hills conceal'd the valley lies,
 Two hills that intercept the cheering skies
 With horrid gloom, where scarce a joyless ray
 Through lazy vapours gives a doubtful day,
 Such as we see ere yet reviving light
 Restores the colour'd tints obscur'd by night.
 The earth around displays a baleful scene,
 With plants and herbage of funereal green:

There

There trees, of forms unknown to mortal eye,
 From fable leaves envenom'd juice supply,
 Where black ill-omen'd birds securely rest,
 And build, in odious flocks, their frequent nest;
 These, each to each, in shrieks their wants impart,
 In shrieks that pierce the shuddering hearer's heart!

Lo! stretch'd on earth unblest Rinaldo lies,
 Tears following tears, and sighs succeeding sighs:
 Where'er he turns, some object present breeds
 New cause to mourn, and endless torture feeds.
 Afar, or near, Despair around him flows
 His sad variety of countless woes!

Ah me! (he cry'd) in this congenial gloom,
 Here may I weep at full my wretched doom!
 With me, alas! how fits this dismal shade,
 This dire retreat for sorrow's dwelling made!

Thus let me live, for so my lot ordains,
 The little space of life that yet remains;
 Till here I food for hungry ravens prove,
 A victim, Clarice, to thee and love!
 All day and all the live-long night he pour'd
 His soul in anguish and his fate deplor'd;
 While every moment skimm'd before his sight
 A thousand forms of horror and affright!

ADDRESS and CONSOLATION of the BARDS to CARAC-
 TACUS, when embarking as a PRISONER for ITALY.

[From Songs of the Aboriginal Bards of Britain, by GEORGE
 RICHARDS, A. M.]

O Prince, when loos'd from mortal clay
 Thy spirit mounts the aerial way,
 And joins our fathers' armed shades,
 Brandishing their gleamy blades,
 Tell them the cause in which they died,
 Is Albion's buckler, Albion's pride:
 Tell them each spot, whereon they bled,
 With life-blood of the foe is red:
 Tell them our babes are taught to wield
 The curled axe and bloody shield:
 Though Rome's aerial eagle, streaming gore,
 Sails darkly shadowing Britain's naked shore,
 Though frowning from the cliff's projected height
 Her haughty battlements our plains affright;
 Yet tell them, their own dauntless zeal,
 To guard and dignify our country's weal,
 Glows in their faithful sons; and when again
 They draw the morning gale on Sarum's plain,

Their

Their limbs shall move unshackled, and their veins
Wander through sinews undebas'd by chains.
That holy spark of freedom's flame,
They struck with life into our moulding frame,
Tell them, deep in northern snow,
On stormy hills, in mossy bogs,
'Mid sickly marshes, blue with fogs,
On many a shiver'd cliff's dark hanging brow,
Whose fearful fragments fill the vale below,
Pure, vigorous, glowing, we maintain;
To prove our high descent from free-born fires;
And, when their souls are veil'd in earth again,
To warm them in the womb with their own generous fires.

That flame, O patriot prince! shall glow
In native lustre on thy martial brow,
When thou return'st, beneath the beams of day
(To animate a kindred clay)
Then, when thou goest all terrible to wield
Trifling's blazing falchion o'er the fields
When from thy awful port the hosts retire,
Like stars before the sun's ascending fire;
When thy tall plumes in all their terrors rise,
And flame, like lightning, flashes from thy eyes;
Then shall our scythed chariots, as of yore,
Wheel round the giddy steep
That overhangs the deep,
And headlong roll our foemen to the shore;
Again shall Druids look superior down
On mortal kings, and awe them with a frown;
The potent wand shall wave its magic round;
Through holy groves the golden axe resound;
And altars, bright with flames, illumine
Another Mona's solemn gloom.
Then to the silent midnight orbs of fire,
On moonshine banks of haunted streams,
'Mid grey oaks mellow'd by the night's wan beams,
The bard shall touch his silver wire,
And soothe the sleeping wanderer's fairy dreams:
While, as the soft-suspended numbers fall,
Through the tall pines, that up the cavern'd steep
Rise midway waving o'er the deep,
In each soft murmuring gale
A warrior's troubled spirit seems to moan,
Or Misery's wasted form to pour her feeble groan.
Go then, O Albion's pride! and dauntless stand
At Cæsar's throne: think on thy native land,
Thy long illustrious line of free-born fires,
And the proud blood that circles through thy veins,
Though low debas'd by chains,
Though pale and wasted by the tyrant's hand,

'Tis

'Tis thine to glow with thy fam'd father's fires;
 To bear unconquer'd the high mind;
 Thy dignity of being to revere;
 What great souls own, what generous warriors feel,
 In simple boldness to reveal;
 Though their own Jove, with red right arm wroth'd,
 In which the forked lightning blaz'd,
 Sat, as prepar'd to strike, and bent his brow severe.

STORY, illustrating the INFLUENCE of MEMORY on the MIND,
 in SOLITUDE, SICKNESS, and SORROW.

[From the Pleasures of Memory.]

ONCE, and domestic annals tell the time,
 (Preserv'd in Cumbria's rude, romantic clime)
 When Nature smil'd, and o'er the landscape threw
 Her richest fragrance, and her brightest hue,
 A blithe and blooming forester explor'd
 Those nobler scenes Salvator's soul ador'd;
 The rocky pass half hung with shaggy wood,
 And the cleft oak flung boldly o'er the flood.
 High on exulting wing the heath-cock rose,
 And blew his shrill blast o'er perennial snows;
 When the rapt youth, recoiling from the roar,
 Gaz'd on the tumbling tide of dread Lodoar;
 And thro' the rifted cliffs that scal'd the sky,
 Derwent's clear mirror charm'd his dazzling eye.
 Each osier isle, inverted on the wave,
 Thro' morn's gray mist its melting colours gave;
 And, o'er the cygnet's haunt, the mantling grove
 Its emerald arch with wild luxuriance wove.
 Light as the breeze that brush'd the orient dew,
 From rock to rock the young adventurer flew;
 And day's last sunshine slept along the shore,
 When lo, a path the smile of welcome wore.
 Imbowering shrubs with verdure veil'd the sky,
 And on the musk-rose shed a deeper dye;
 Save when a mild and momentary gleam
 Glanc'd from the white foam of some shelter'd stream.
 O'er the still lake the bell of evening toll'd,
 And on the moor the shepherd penn'd his fold;
 And on the green hill's side the meteor play'd;
 When, hark! a voice sung sweetly thro' the shade.
 It ceas'd—yet still in Florio's fancy sung;
 Still on each note his captive spirit hung;
 Till o'er the mead a cool, sequester'd grot
 From its rich roof a sparry lustre shot.

A crystal

A crystal water cross'd the pebbled floor,
And on the front these simple lines it bore :

Hence away, nor dare intrude !
In this secret, shadowy cell,
Musing Memory loves to dwell
With her sister Solitude.

Far from the busy world she flies,
To taste that peace the world denies.
Entranc'd she sits ; from youth to age,
Reviewing Life's eventful page ;
And noting, ere they fade away,
The little lines of yesterday.

Florio had gain'd a rude and rocky seat,
When lo, the Genius of this still retreat !
Fair was her form—but who can hope to trace
The pensive softness of her angel-face ?
Can Virgil's verse, can Raphael's touch impart
Those finer features of the feeling heart,
Those tenderer tints that shun the careless eye,
And in the world's contagious circle die ?

She left the cave, nor mark'd the stranger there ;
Her pastoral beauty, and her artless air,
Had breath'd a soft enchantment o'er his soul !
In every nerve he felt her blest controul !
What pure and white-wing'd agents of the sky,
Who rule the springs of sacred sympathy,
Inform congenial spirits when they meet ?
Sweet is their office, as their nature sweet !

Florio, with fearful joy, pursu'd the maid,
Till thro' a vista's moonlight-chequer'd shade,
Where the bat circled, and the rooks repos'd,
(Their wars suspended, and their counsels clos'd) ;
An antique mansion burst in awful state,
A rich vine clustering round its Gothic gate.
Nor paus'd he here. The master of the scene
Mark'd his light step imprint the dewy green ;
And, slow-advancing, hail'd him as his guest,
Won by the honest warmth his looks express.
He wore the rustic manners of a 'squire ;
Age had not quench'd one spark of manly fire ;
But giant gout had bound him in her chain,
And his heart panted for the chase in vain.

Yet here Remembrance, sweetly soothing power !
Wing'd with delight Confinement's lingering hour.
The fox's brush still emulous to wear,
He scour'd the county in his elbow-chair ;
And, with view-halloo, rous'd the dreaming hound,
That rung, by starts, his deep-ton'd music round.

Long by the paddock's humble pale confin'd,
 His aged hunters cours'd the viewless wind;
 And each, with glowing energy pourtray'd,
 The far-fam'd triumphs of the field display'd;
 Usurp'd the canvas of the crowded hall,
 And chas'd a line of heroes from the wall.
 There slept the horn each jocund echo knew,
 And many a smile and many a story drew!
 High o'er the hearth his forest-trophies hung,
 And their fantastic branches wildly flung.
 How would he dwell on each vast antler there!
 This dash'd the wave, that fann'd the mountain air.
 Each, as it frown'd, unwritten records bore,
 Of gallant feats and festivals of yore.

But why the tale prolong?—His only child,
 His darling Julia on the stranger smil'd.
 Her little arts a fretful sire to please,
 Her gentle gaiety, and native ease,
 Had won his soul—but ah! few days had past,
 Ere his fond visions prov'd too sweet to last.

When evening ting'd the lake's ethereal-blue,
 And her deep shades irregularly threw;
 Their shifting sail dropt gently from the cove,
 Down by St. Herbert's consecrated grove;
 Whence erst the charter'd hymn, the taper'd rite,
 Amus'd the fisher's solitary night;
 And still the mitre'd window, richly wreath'd,
 A sacred calm thro' the brown foliage breath'd.

The wild deer, starting thro' the silent glade,
 With fearful gaze, their various course survey'd.
 High hung in air the hoary goat reclin'd,
 His streaming beard the sport of every wind;
 And, as the coot her jet-wing lov'd to lave,
 Rock'd on the bosom of the sleepless wave;
 The eagle rush'd from Skiddaw's purple crest,
 A cloud still brooding o'er her giant nest.

And now the moon had dimm'd, with dewy ray,
 The few, fine flushes of departing day;
 O'er the wide water's deep serene she hung,
 And her broad lights on every mountain flung;
 When lo! a sudden blast the vessel blew,
 And to the surge consign'd its little crew.
 All, all escap'd—but ere the lover bore
 His faint and faded Julia to the shore,
 Her sense had fled!—Exhausted by the storm;
 A fatal trance hung o'er her pallid form;
 Her closing eye a trembling lustre fir'd;
 'Twas life's last spark—it flutter'd and expir'd!

The father strew'd his white hairs in the wind,
 Call'd on his child—nor linger'd long behind:

And

And Florio liv'd to see the willow wave,
 With many an evening-whisper, o'er their grave.
 Yes, Florio liv'd—and, still of each possess,
 The father cherish'd, and the maid caress'd !
 For ever would the fond enthusiast rove,
 With Julia's spirit thro' the shadowy grove ;
 Gaze with delight on every scene she plann'd,
 Kifs every flowret planted by her hand.
 Ah! still he traced her steps along the glade,
 When hazy hues and glimmering lights betray'd
 Half-viewless forms; still listen'd as the breeze
 Heav'd its deep sobs among the aged trees;
 And at each pause her melting accents caught,
 In sweet delirium of romantic thought !
 Dear was the grot that shunn'd the blaze of day ;
 She gave its spars to shoot a trembling ray.
 The Spring, that bubbled from it's inmost cell,
 Murmur'd of Julia's virtues as it fell ;
 And o'er the dripping moss, the fretted stone
 In Florio's ear breath'd language not his own.
 Her charm around the enchantress Memory threw ;
 A charm that soothes the mind, and sweetens too !

ODE to TERROR. By the Rev. Mr. HOLÉ.

[From Poems, chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall, in
 Two Volumes.]

AROUND me night and silence reign—
 My beating breast
 Seems with some huge weight oppress'd,
 And strives to shake it off in vain.
 Oh, let me close my orbs of sight,
 And in my bosom check the panting breath !
 Encircled by the shades of night,
 Let me here unnotic'd rest !
 And yet, as if the hand of death
 Lay heavy on me, moisture cold bedews
 My shivering limbs: and fancy views
 Scenes of unknown terrors rise.
 Advancing footsteps strike my ear ;
 Low-murmurs in the forest sound :
 The rustling leaves are strew'd around.
 Reluctant, yet compell'd by fear,
 I ope my anxious eyes.

Now wildly through the extended plain,
 With the moon's mild light array'd,
 I gaze—yet all dismayed,
 Would fain, but dare not close their lids again.

See through the path in yonder grove,
 Silent and slow a phantom move!
 Pale grief is on his brow imprest,
 And darkly down his snow-white vest
 From his gor'd bosom sanguine streams descend.
 He stops, he turns, on me he bends his view,
 His course unknown he waves me to pursue—
 Oh, let me hence my tottering footsteps bend!
 Alas! in vain I seek to fly,
 My powerless limbs their aid deny;
 And fear, that gave the spectre birth,
 Rivets me motionless to earth.

Let me shake off this causeless dread:
 Let me my fortitude resume!
 In vain—for at this awful hour,
 Bursting the carments of the tomb,
 Ascend the spirits of the dead,
 And roam thro' night compell'd by magic's wond'rous power.
 This is the time, when o'er the corse
 Festering in death, with accents hoarse
 The raven croaks, or beats with ominous wings
 The murderer's window—at the sound
 Trembling he starts, he glares around,
 And feels the thrilling pangs of guilt's infix'd stings.

This is the time, waiting their destin'd prey,
 And shunning day's detecting eye,
 In covert hid un pitying ruffians lie.
 To his lov'd home the traveller bends his way,
 That home he never more shall view!
 At once up starts the savage crew;
 By earthly fiends inclos'd he stands:
 For mercy at their feet he bends;
 He lifts his pleading eyes;
 In anguish clasps his hands;
 Conjures them by his dear domestic ties—
 But lo! the ruthless sword descends:
 Cold in his breast he feels
 The deadly point: he feebly reels,
 Forth bursts the vital stream; he gasps, he dies.

Hark, loudly-echoing through the glade,
 Shrieks of distress my ears invade:
 Nearer and nearer rolls the sound—
 Like thee, poor wretch, 'twill soon be mine,
 This transient being to resign:
 I feel, I feel the life-bereaving wound.
 My soul within me sinks dissolv'd!

My pity, hapless man ! was thine,
But oh, I could not, durst not give thee aid !

Illusions fly ! the peaceful power
Of silence reigns o'er hill, o'er dale, and bower :
An awful stillness that my soul affrights—
For now on yon drear heath,
Hags profane, and hell-born sprights,
Plan schemes of future woe, and scenes of death,

Muttering slowly spells profound,
In mystic circle round and round
The necromantic fire they go,
Kindled from the realms below.
Now dusky wreaths of smoke arise,
Now fiercer flames ascend the skies,
As 'mid the blaze they charms unhallow'd throw.

Now they vanish from my sight—
Mingling with the shades of night,
On yonder sable cloud they fly,
And urge the wrathful tempest through the sky.
They bid its wings of darkness sweep
The surging billows—wide around
They foam, they roar ; the rocks rebound,
The anxious Pilot's art is vain :
Down to the unfathom'd deep
The vessel sinks, and o'er it boils the main.
Now horror-proof, with deadly aim,
While the moon, trembling at the sight,
Veils her silver front in night,
They wing the lightning's shafts of flame
Through sable clouds disparting wide ;
Spread ruin through the peaceful plains,
And fire the cots of lowly swains ;
And sink to dust the castle's towering pride.

Protect me, save me ! whence was driven
That beam which shot athwart the heaven ?—

It gave a dreadful light—
Ah, whence proceeds this sudden gloom,
Dark as the mansions of the tomb,
That clothes the brow of night ?
My faltering tongue amazement chains,
And ice seems creeping through my veins.

Alas ! ideal terrors have disjoined
My powers of reason, and unhing'd my mind.

'Twas but a Meteor's sudden glance : again
 The moon, yon blackening cloud withdrawn,
 Streams radiance o'er the dewy lawn,
 And skirts the wood with light, and gilds the distant plain.

Fell spectre of the haggard eye,
 Wild gesture, and erected hair,
 Quick from my presence fly !
 Ease, ease awhile my heart oppress,
 Lest, lost and woe-begone, Despair
 Should seal me for her own,
 And Reason, banish'd from her throne,
 To Madness should resign my tortur'd breast.

SONNET to the LARK on DARTMOOR. By Mr. EMMETT.

[From the same Work.]

SWEET soaring minstrel of the wild, I hear
 The pleasing music of thy tuneful throat,
 As welcome o'er the desert to mine ear,
 As to benighted hinds the matin note,
 I thank thee, warbler, for thy cheering lay,
 But why in such a barren lonely dell,
 While other scenes the vernal sweets display,
 A wing'd recluse art thou content to dwell ?
 O, yet I trace the motives in thy song,
 For freedom now the lofty burthen bears,
 And now a tenderer strain is pour'd along,
 And love is breath'd with all its charming cares :
 Thus, though c'n here sequester'd dost thou prove
 Life's dearest blessings, Liberty and Love.

ODE on the M O R N I N G.

[From Poems by G. DYER, B. A.]

ΜΕΤΑ ΟΙΟ, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ ΤΥΧΙΑ,
 ΤΕΒΟΛΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜΠΕΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ ΕΑΡ. THEOGN. ΕΙΣ ΤΥΧΙΑΝ

CHILD of the light, fair morning hour,
 Who smilest o'er yon purple hill !
 I come to woo thy cheering pow'r,
 Beside this murm'ring rill *.
 Nor I alone—a thousand songsters rise
 To meet thy dawning, and thy sweets to share

* ΑΔΥ ΤΙ ΤΟ ΨΗΘΥΣΜΑ, ΚΑΙ Α ΠΙΤΟΣ, ΑΙΠΟΛΕ, ΤΗΝΑ
 Α ΠΟΤΕΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΑΙΣ ΜΕΛΙΣΤΕΤΑΙ THEOC. ΕΙΔΥΛΛ. Ι.

Whi

While ev'ry flow'r that scents the honied air,
Thy milder influence feels, and sheds its brightest dyes.

And let me hear some village swain
Whistle in rustic glee along;
Or hear some true love's gentle pain
Breath'd from the milkmaid's song.
Wild are those notes, but sweeter far to me
Than the soft airs borne from Italian groves:
To which the wanton muse and naked loves
Strike the wild lyre, and dance in gamesome glee.

And rosy health, for whom so long
Mid sleepless nights I've sigh'd in vain,
Shall throw her airy vestment on,
And meet me on the plain.
Gay laughing nymph, that loves a morning sky;
That loves to trip across the spangled dews;
And with her finger dipp'd in brightest hues,
My faint cheek shall she tinge, and cheer my languid eye.

Then will I taste the morn's sweet hour,
And, singing, bless the new-born day;
Or, wand'ring in Amanda's bow'r,
Rifle the sweets of May:
And to my song Amanda shall attend,
And take the posie from the sylvan muse;
For sure the virtuous fair will not refuse
The muse's modest gifts, her tribute to a friend.

O D E to a F L Y.

[From Poems by F. SAYERS, M. D.]

GAY child of summer, who on burnish'd wings
Unceasing ply'st thy brisk and mazy flight,
Tasting with rapture all that Nature flings
Profusely round—still courting new delight,
Come, in thine airy dance, and freely sip
The clear juice sparkling to my thirsty lip,
And wheeling sportive o'er my tempting board,
Cull the red nectarine for thy luscious meal,
Or from the peach its pulp of fragrance steal,
And calmly rifle autumn's choicest hoard.

Then buzzing haste thee to the sunny field,
Or drink the perfume that the moorlands yield,
Or swiftly to some flow'ry vale repair,
There jocund float adown the dimpling stream,

And meet thy breth'ren in the setting beam,
And bathe thy ebon sides in purple air.

While thoughtless sailing on the scented gale,
Beware yon slimy threads, the woof of death,
'The speckled spider will empierce thy mail,
And quench thy spirit with his tainted breath.
Oh may no tempest shade thy mirthful day,
Nor glue those filmy wings with whelming rain !
Oh may no feather'd foe molest thy way
And fluttering bear thee to his infant train !

May no fierce inmate of the curled brook,
While o'er his head thou speed'st thy circling flight,
Snatch thee unheeding to his watery hook,
And ruthless force thee from the cheerful light.

Long, long may summer lengthen out thy year,
And spare a life so bright with varied joy,
A little life which glides uncheck'd by fear,
Tho' chilling winter hovers to destroy.

How different man—he forms the lowering cloud
Of gloomy care his happier hours to shroud,
Fixing on doubtful ill his restless eye,
How wiser far, like thee, with gladsome heart
To catch the transports Nature's gifts impart
And frolick careless of futurity.—

ADDRESS to the ACADEMICIANS who attended the FUNERAL of
their late PRESIDENT.

[From a Monody to the Memory of Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, by
Mrs. MARY ROBINSON.]

YE solemn mourners, who, with footsteps slow,
Prolong'd the sable line of public woe ;
Who, fondly crouding round his plumed bier,
Gave to his worth th' involuntary tear ;
Ye children of his school who oft have hung
On the grac'd precepts of his tuneful tongue :
Who many an hour in mute attention caught
The vivid lustre of his polish'd thought !
Ye, who have felt, for ye have taste to feel,
The magic influence o'er your senses steal,
When eloquently chaste, from wisdom's page
He drew each model for a rising age !
Say, is no kind, no grateful tribute due,
To Him who twin'd immortal wreaths for you ?

Who,

Who, from the dawn of youth to manhood's prime,
 Snatch'd hidden beauties from the wings of time;
 Who gave new lessons to your wond'ring sight,
 Drawn from the chaos of oblivious night;
 Where chain'd by Ignorance, in ENVY's cave,
 The ART he courted found a chilling grave;
 Where native genius faded, unadmir'd,
 While emulation's glorious flame expir'd;
 Till REYNOLDS, braving ENVY's recreant spell,
 Dragg'd the huge monster from her thorny cell;
 Who, shrinking from his mild benignant eye,
 Subdued, to Stygian darkness fled—TO DIE!

Now round the brows of British Genius play
 The broad effulgent beams of mental day!
 See, native taste the vivid scene imbues
 With the rich lustre of the rainbow's hues!
 See, from each pencil varying beauties rise,
 While the proud canvas glows with mingling dyes;
 See, fancy gives to every mimic form,
 New power to fascinate, new grace to charm,
 While o'er each finish'd, each attractive part,
 NATURE stand's wond'ring at the touch of ART.

O, if Philanthropy can boast the pow'r,
 To sooth affliction's dark and dreary hour;
 If HE who meekly shunn'd the flatterer's gaze,
 Whose splendid talents shrunk from venal praise!
 Who, in retirement's consecrated bow'rs,
 Strew'd the rough path of life with modest flow'rs;
 Or with a soft'ring hand to genius just,
 Twin'd his own laurel round each youthful bust;
 Can bid your grateful bosoms proudly glow
 With innate praise,—*beyond the pomp of woe*,
 Now true to native worth assert his claim
 To the *best diadem*! THE WREATH OF FAME!

And thou, CONTENTION; fiend, of ENVY born,
 Hide in some haunt profane thy mien forlorn;
 Howl in some flinty cave's impervious gloom,
 Nor break the sacred silence of the tomb!
 Go, prey on hearts congenial with thy own,
 Drink their big tears, and mingle in their groan;
 Sate thy mean rage upon some *Idiot's* breast,
 But let the fainted shade of GENIUS REST.

Beneath yon lofty dome that props the skies,
 Low on "the lap of Earth" your Patron lies;
 Cold is that hand, that gave the touch divine,
 Which bade the mimic orbs of reason shine;
 Clos'd is that eye, which beam'd with living light,

That

That gave the mental soul, to mortal sight !
 For, by the matchless wonders of his art,
 The outward mien bespoke the hidden heart !
 Taste, feeling character, his pencil knew,
 And TRUTH acknowledg'd e'en what FANCY drew !
 So just to nature every part combin'd,
 Each *feature* mark'd the tenour of the *mind* !
 'Twas his, with varying excellence, to show
 Stern manhood's dignity, and beauty's glow !
 To paint the perfect form, the witching face,
 With GUIDO's softness, and with TITIAN's grace !
 The dimpled cherub at the mother's breast,
 The smile serene, that spoke the parent blest ;
 The POET's vivid thought, that shone divine,
 Through the rich mazes of each finish'd line !
 The Tale that bids the tear of pity flow
 The frenzied gaze of petrifying woe ;
 The dying Father, fix'd in horror wild,
 O'er the shrunk image of his famish'd child. —

AH ! STAY MY MUSE—nor trace the madd'ning scene,
 Nor paint the starting eye, the frantic mien ;
 Turn from the picture of distracting woes ;
 Turn from each charm, that beauty's smile bestows ;
 Go, form a wreath, TIME's temple's to adorn,
 Bedeck'd with many a *rose*—and many a *thorn* ;
 Go, bind the HERO's brow with deathless bays ;
 Or, to calm friendship chaunt the note of praise ;
 Or with a feather, stol'n from fancy's wing,
 Sweep with light hand the gay fantastic string ;
 But leave, oh, leave, thy fond lamenting song,
 The feeble echo of a wond'ring throng :—
 Canst thou with brighter tints adorn the rose,
 Where Nature's vivid blush divinely glows ?
 Say, canst thou add one ray to Heaven's own light ;
 Or give to Alpine snows a purer white ?
 Canst thou encrease the diamond's burning glow,
 Or to the flow'r a richer scent bestow ?
 Say, canst thou snatch, by sympathy sublime,
 One kindred bosom from the grasp of TIME ?
 AH, no ! then bind with cypress boughs the lyre,
 Mute be its chords, and quench'd its sacred fire ;
 For dimly gleam the POET's votive lays,
 Midst the vast splendour of A NATION'S PRAISE.

VERSES to a FLY taken out of a BOWL of PUNCH, by PETER
PINDAR Esq.

[From Odes to Kien Long, the present Emperor of China.]

A H! poor intoxicated little knave,
Now senseless, floating on the fragrant wave;
Why not content the cakes alone to munch?
Dearly thou pay'st for buzzing round the bowl;
Lost to the world, thou busy sweet-lipp'd soul—
Thus death, as well as pleasure, dwells with punch.

Now let me take thee out, and moralise—
Thus 'tis with mortals, as it is with flies,
For ever hankering after Pleasure's cup:
Though FATE, with all his legions, be at hand,
The beasts, the draught of CIRCLE can't withstand,
But in goes every nose—they *must*, *will* sup.

Mad are the passions, as a colt untam'd!
When PRUDENCE mounts their backs, to ride them mild,
They fling, they snort, they foam, they rise inflam'd,
Insisting on their own sole will so wild.

Godsbud! my buzzing friend, thou art not dead;
The fates so kind, have not yet snipp'd thy thread—
By heav'ns, thou mov'st a leg, and now its brother,
And kicking, lo, again thou mov'st another!

And now thy little drunken eyes uncloze
And now thou feelest for thy little nose,
And finding it, thou rubbest thy two hands;
Much as to say, "I'm glad I'm here again"—
And well mayst thou rejoice—'tis very plain,
That near wert thou to DEATH's unsocial lands.

And now thou rollest on thy back about,
Happy to find thyself alive, no doubt—
Now turnest—on the table making rings;
Now crawling, forming a wet track,
Now shaking the rich liquor from thy back,
Now flutt'ring nectar from thy silken wings:

Now standing on thy head, thy strength to find,
And poking out thy small long legs behind;
And now thy pinions dost thou briskly ply;
Preparing now to leave me—farewell Fly!

Go,

Go, join thy brothers on yon sunny board,
And rapture to thy family afford—

There wilt thou meet a mistress, or a wife,
That saw thee drunk, drop senseless in the stream;
Who gave, perhaps, the wide-resounding scream,
And now sits groaning for thy precious life.
Yes, go and carry comfort to thy friends,
And wisely tell them thy imprudence ends.

Let buns and sugar for the future charm;
These will delight, and feed, and work no harm—
Whilst PUNCH, the grinning merry Imp of sin,
Invites th' unwary wanderer to a kiss,
Smiles in his face, as though he meant him bliss,
Then like an alligator, drags him in.

THOMPSON'S VERSES on the DEATH of his MOTHER.
From an ORIGINAL, in the Poet's own Hand-writing, in the Collection
of the EARL of BUCHAN.

[From the EARL of BUCHAN's Essays on the Lives and Writings of
FLETCHER of SALTOUN, and the Poet THOMPSON.]

YE fabled muses, I your aid disclaim,
Your airy raptures, and your fancied flame:
True genuine woe my throbbing breast inspires,
Love prompts my lays, and filial duty fires;
The soul springs instant at the warm design,
And the heart dictates every flowing line.
See! where the kindest, best of mothers lies,
And death has shut her ever-weeping eyes;
Has lodg'd at last peace in her weary breast,
And lull'd her many piercing cares to rest.
No more the orphan train around her stands,
While her full heart upbraids her needy hands!
No more the widow's lonely fate she feels,
The shock severe the modest want conceals,
Th' oppressor's scourge, the scorn of wealthy pride,
And poverty's unnumbered ills beside.
For see! attended by th' angelic throng,
Through yonder worlds of light she glides along,
And claims the well earn'd raptures of the sky.—
Yet fond concern recalls the mother's eye;
She seeks the helpless orphans left behind;
So hardly left! so bitterly resign'd!
Still, still! is she my soul's divinest theme,
The waking vision, and the wailing dream;

Amid

Amid the ruddy sun's enliv'ning blaze
 O'er my dark eyes her dewy image plays,
 And in the dread dominion of the night
 Shines out again the sadly pleasing sight.
 Triumphant virtue all around her darts,
 And more than volumes ev'ry look imparts—
 Looks, soft, yet awful, melting, yet serene,
 Where both the mother and the saint are seen.
 But ah! that night—that torturing night remains
 May darkness dye it with its deepest stains,
 May joy on it forsake her rosy bow'rs,
 And screaming sorrow blast its baleful hours,
 When on the margin of the briny flood
 Chill'd with a sad presaging damp I stood,
 Took the last look, ne'er to behold her more,
 And mix'd our murmurs with the wavy roar,
 Heard the last words fall from her pious tongue,
 Then wild into the bulging vessel flung,
 Which soon too soon, conveyed me from *her* sight
 Dearer than life, and liberty and light!
 Why was I then, ye powers reserved for this?
 Not sunk that moment in the vast abyss?
 Devour'd at once by the relentless wave,
 And whelm'd for ever in a wat'ry grave?—
 Down, ye wild withes of unruly woe!—
 I see her with immortal beauty glow,
 The early wrinkle care-contracted gone,
 Her tears all wiped, and all her sorrows flown;
 Th' exalting voice of Heav'n I hear her breathe,
 To sooth her soul in agonies of death.
 I see her through the mansions blest above,
 And now she meets her dear expecting love.
 Heart-cheering sight! but yet alas o'erspread
 By the damp gloom of grief's uncheering shade,
 Come then of reason the reflecting hour,
 And let me trust the kind o'er-ruling power,
 Who from the right commands the shining day,
 The poor man's portion and the orphan's stay!

ADDRESS to the SHADE of THOMPSON, on crowning his BUST
 with a WREATH of BAYS, by Mr. ROBERT BURNS.

[From the same work.]

I.

WHILE virgin Spring, by Eden's flood,
 Unfolds her tender mantle green;
 Or pranks the sod in frolic mood,
 Or tunes Eolian strains between;

While

II.

While Summer with a matron grace
 Retreats to Dryburgh's cooling shade,
 Yet oft delighted stops to trace
 The progress of the spiky blade;

III.

While Autumn, benefactor kind,
 By Tweed erects her aged head,
 And fees with self-approving mind,
 Each creature on her bounty fed;

IV.

While maniac winter rages o'er
 The hills whence classic Yarrow flows,
 Rousing the turbid torrent's roar,
 Or sweeping wild a waste of snows;

V.

So long, sweet poet of the year,
 Shall bloom that wreath thou well hast won,
 While Scotia with exulting tear
 Proclaims that Thomson was her son.

DOMESTIC

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1792.

THE History of the Domestic Literature of the year 1792, presents to us a very numerous catalogue of publications, many of which reflect considerable honour on the industry and abilities of our countrymen. At the head of this list we meet with some productions, from which the student in Biblical criticism may derive much valuable assistance. Of this description is "Ecclesiastes, a new Translation from the Original Hebrew, by Bernard Hodgson, LL. D. Principal of Hertford College, Oxford." The qualifications of Dr. Hodgson for engaging in such a task as the present, have been already displayed in his translation of Solomon's Song, and the Book of Proverbs; accounts of which were inserted in this department of our work for the years 1786, and 1788. Those publications justly established his character in the learned world, as a judicious commentator, and able critic; and added his name to a very respectable list of modern advocates for the honour and credit of revelation. The same ingenuity and learning are discoverable in this translation of Ecclesiastes: of which book, our common version is in many places obscure, and in many places unintelligible. With the lights which Dr. Hodgson affords, the beauties of its moral aphorisms are considerably heightened, the gravity and

dignity of the preacher more uniformly preserved, and his reasonings rendered more weighty and forcible. We wish, however, that he had been less sparing and concise in his critical notes.

It is with great pleasure that we are enabled to announce a new labourer in the fields of Biblical Literature, the Rev. Thomas Wintle, B. D. Rector of Brightwell in Berkshire, and late Fellow of Pembroke College. This gentleman has published "Daniel, an improved Version attempted; with a preliminary Dissertation, and Notes, critical, historical, and explanatory." This work, with bishop Lowth's and Mr. Dodson's Translations of Isaiah, Dr. Blaney's Jeremiah, and bishop Newcome's Ezekiel and the minor prophets, completes the number of those new and more correct English versions of the prophecies, which cannot but be held in high estimation by learned foreigners as well as natives, and for which the laborious collations of Kennicott had paved the way. And it is but justice to say, that the author is worthy of being received as a coadjutor by those respectable names. The work which he undertook was, from several circumstances, peculiarly difficult; and he has executed it in a manner that does credit to his industry, learning, ingenuity, and candour. Mr. Wintle's

tle's version is made "to adhere as nearly as possible to our present English translation; though, in order to give a just and faithful sense of the original, it has often been found necessary, especially in the prophetical parts, to make very considerable variations." These variations are supported by a variety of learned notes, which the scholar will peruse with much pleasure and improvement. To this work is prefixed an elaborate and judicious dissertation, containing a history of the persons mentioned by Daniel, a vindication of the antiquity and authenticity of his book, together with many important observations on the language in which it was written, and on the historical and prophetical matter which it contains.

In our last year's Register we noticed the appearance of "a Translation of the New Testament, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 3 vols." This work is a valuable and important one. The author is well known from his various critical writings, to possess that intimate acquaintance with the Greek language, and that correctness of taste, which eminently qualified him for such an undertaking. And the rules which he prescribed to himself in the execution of it, were such as, in our opinion, were most likely to insure its acceptance and utility. The chief of these were, "to adopt the received version upon all possible occasions, and never to supercede it, unless some low, obsolete, or obscure word, some vulgar idiom, some coarse or uncouth phrase, some intricate construction, some harsh combination of terms, or some misrepresentation of the sense, demanded an alteration:" and also,

to make his "Translation as completely vernacular without vulgarity, as was consistent with those inducements to variation specified as above: that it might be rendered as perfect a specimen as he could make it, of pure unaffected English diction." These rules he appears to us, on the whole, to have followed with considerable success; and to have introduced a great variety of important and essential emendations of the commonly received version. It will not be imagined that we subscribe to all his alterations: but we think that he has done much towards supplying us with a translation of the New Testament, in the spirit, and simplicity of the original, for which those who are attached to the study of the sacred writings will feel themselves much indebted to him. The third volume contains a number of learned and ingenious notes, illustrative of difficult passages, or intended to justify the alterations which he has made from the common version. These notes are preceded by a dedication, and a preface: in the latter of which Mr. Wakefield acknowledges the obligations which he is under to different philologists and commentators, and with his usual freedom, and in his usual manner, issues his critical censures on the polemical labours of some of the champions of orthodoxy.

The "Enquiry into the Prophetical Character of the Romans as described in Daniel, chap. viii. 23-25. by Thomas Zouch, M.A. Rector of Wycliffe, in Yorkshire," is a publication which discovers great ingenuity in the author, as well as an intimate acquaintance with the history and manners of that celebrated people. The part of the prophecy of Daniel

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which he here undertakes to explain, has been generally applied to Antiochus Epiphanes. Mr. Zouch, however, considers it to be more properly applicable to the Romans, in whom alone he finds the characteristic features described in the prophet's vision.

Those who are acquainted with the excellent character of Dr. Newcome, bishop of Waterford, will perceive, without any surprize, the unusual spirit of openness and candour which appears in his "Review of the chief Difficulties in the Gospel History relating to our Lord's Resurrection: intended to retract some Errors contained in the author's Greek Harmony, and to shew that Dr. Benson's Hypothesis is satisfactory." For this rational and perspicuous elucidation of a difficult and important part of scripture, accompanied with notes, dictated by judgment and true critical skill, Biblical scholars, and the christian world in general, are much indebted to the learned prelate.

Another critical treatise, equally to be commended for candour and judgment, is "the Scripture Doctrine concerning the coming of Christ unfolded upon Principles which are allowed to be common to the Jews, both in ancient and modern Times, &c. Pt. I. by N. Nisbett, M. A." Mr. Gibbon, and after him Dr. Edwards, had suggested a difficulty which they conceived to be insuperable, respecting the prediction of our Lord, relative to his second coming. This prediction, they contended, had excited an universal belief in the apostolic age, that the end of the world, and the kingdom of Heaven were at hand; but that we have no evidence from history, of its having been accomplished to

this day. Mr. Nisbett successfully combats this difficulty. From the analogy of prophetic language, the sentiments of the disciples in particular, and the Jews in general, and the agreement of the passage in question with other passages of scripture, he shews, that the prediction could only refer to the establishment of our Lord's religion after the destruction of Jerusalem, which put an end to the Jewish polity; and that it was completely fulfilled in that event. In an Appendix, the author offers some just remarks on the miracles of the gospel, and on Dr. Edwards' Observation on the natural Irresistibility of an undoubted Miracle, which deserve the attention of the theological student.

The design of a "Dissertation on a passage of Scripture little noticed, in Vindication of the Messiah against modern Sceptics, on his triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, &c. by Thomas Osborne," according to the information of the author, is chiefly to "shew that the wild ass of the wilderness was intended by Providence as an emblem of the wicked man, whom as the Messiah came purposely to convert and reclaim, so he likewise tamed this type of him whilst he was fasting in the wilderness." We believe the author to be serious and well intentioned; but we conceive his hypothesis to be truly fanciful, and likely to excite the ridicule of wicked wags.

Among the treatises which have appeared during the year 1792, in defence of Divine Revelation, it would be improper to omit noticing "the Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses considered; being the Substance of a Discourse before the University, by Herbert Marsh, B. D. Fellow of St. John's College,

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Cambridge." This little work bears honourable testimony to the abilities and learning of its ingenious author. The arguments for the cause which he espouses, are such as will not be objected against by the candid and impartial: they are such as are universally deemed admissible and fair, in determining the genuineness of ancient profane writings; and are arranged with great conciseness and perspicuity. We recommend the perusal of them to those of our readers who may have been led to entertain any doubts on the subject, and who have not leisure or inclination for extensive enquiries.

The "short View of the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion, by the Rev. John Nichol, Minister of Warnford, Northumberland," is a plain and useful treatise, designed chiefly for the benefit of the unlearned; and is drawn up in such a manner, as to be unexceptionable to persons who may differ widely in their theological systems.

The treatise entitled "Intimations and Evidences of a Future State, by the Rev. T. Watson," is well adapted to counteract the influence of cold and comfortless scepticism. It is written with spirit and animation; and is at the same time argumentative and convincing. Mr. Watson has divided his work into two parts. In the first part he treats of the evidence for a future state, deducible from reason, and natural religion. This is elucidated by him under a variety of topics, in discussing which, he gives sufficient proofs of his possessing an ingenious and reflecting mind; notwithstanding that he sometimes descends to a minuteness of argument, from which, in our opinion, he might have re-

frained without any injury to his subject. In the second part our author collects together the evidences of a future state which christianity affords; and concludes with general illustrations of the importance of the doctrine, in several practical points of view. On the whole, though Mr. Watson may not have advanced any thing that is new on this important subject, he has combined his materials in such a manner, as to render his work both instructive and pleasing.

"The Dissonance of the four generally received Evangelists, and the Evidence of their respective Authenticity examined, by Edward Evanfon, A. M." is a bold and singular work, to proceed from the pen of a firm believer in the divine authority of the christian revelation. Sometime before the commencement of our annual labours, Mr. Evanfon published "a Letter to the Right Rev. Richard Hurd, D. D. Lord Bishop of Worcester;" in which, beside endeavouring to prove that the accomplishment of predicted events is the only permanent, and the only satisfactory evidence of the divine origin of christianity, he likewise advanced it as his opinion, that we have no evidence that St. Matthew wrote that gospel which goes under his name, or that it is any other than a spurious publication, which first made its appearance about the reign of Trajan. For this opinion he contends very copiously in the present work; and passes a similar judgment on those under the names of Mark, and John, considering only the greater part of Luke's gospel to be genuine; with the evidence for which he is fully satisfied, and therefore makes it the standard by which to judge of the authenticity of the other gospels.

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He likewise strikes out of the authentic scripture canon, the epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, Hebrews, the epistles of James, Peter, John, Jude, and those to the seven churches of Asia in the book of Revelation. In this work Mr. Evanston discovers considerable learning and abilities; and delivers a variety of observations relative to interpolated or suspicious passages of scripture, which are deserving of the serious and candid attention of Biblical scholars. His avowed object is "the investigation of truth, and the promotion of moral virtue and human happiness, by endeavouring to demonstrate the sure and certain grounds on which the genuine religion of Christ is founded; which, he is persuaded, can only be effected by clearing the pure and simple seed of the divine word from the gross, fictitious varnish and filthy rubbish, with which idolatrous superstition hath so long clogged and overwhelmed it." Of the author's sincerity in making such a declaration, we have every reason to be satisfied. But that he hath fully established his opinion respecting the spuriousness of the different parts of the New Testament, which are included in his ample Index Expurgatorius, we are by no means convinced. His readers will determine for themselves, whether what he hath advanced is sufficient to outweigh the reasonings of preceding writers in favour of the authenticity of the books which are commonly received as canonical; and, more particularly, the laborious investigations of the excellent Dr. Lardner.

In our last year's Register we announced the publication of a treatise by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, in

which the expediency and propriety of public or social worship was called in question. This attack upon a practice which hath obtained from the earliest times, and under every different form of religion, was quickly followed by a number of replies, by able writers of both sexes.

Among others, Mrs. Barbauld published "Remarks on Mr. Gilbert Wakefield's Enquiry, &c." which are equally elegant, forcible, and convincing. Mrs. Barbauld, without omitting to give a proper explanation of those texts which, in Mr. Wakefield's opinion, militate against social worship, insists chiefly on the utility of the practice. This she has happily illustrated, in a variety of views, and in a manner that has more of novelty in it, than might have been expected on a subject so frequently discussed. Towards the conclusion of this excellent pamphlet, Mrs. Barbauld offers remarks on the present mode of conducting public worship among the Dissenters, and hints for its improvement; several of which merit the candid and deliberate attention of that body of men.

Another female who published "Curfory Remarks on an Enquiry, &c." under the name of Eusebia, is entitled to considerable praise, for the good sense, and just sentiments, which distinguish her pages. They are likewise to be commended for the becoming spirit and pleasing language in which they are written.

The "Defence of public or social Worship, in a Letter addressed to Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. by James Wilson, M. A." is a publication which does honour to the author's argumentative powers, and his well tempered zeal for a practice

which, in our opinion, he hath satisfactorily proved to be a christian duty. The obligation to this duty, he deduces chiefly from the example of Christ and his apostles.

Dr. Priestley's "Letters to a young Man, occasioned by Mr. Wakefield's Essay, &c." are distinguished, like the other polemical writings of the author, by an intimate acquaintance with the subject of discussion, great acuteness of argument, and a plainness and perspicuity of style which are peculiarly impressive. To these letters is added a reply to Mr. Evanfon's objections to the observance of the Lord's day, in which the fitness and utility of that practice are very ably vindicated. In the preface, Dr. Priestley defends the literary character of the late Dr. Price, and the conduct of the trustees of the Hackney College with respect to Mr. Wakefield, against some severe strictures and animadversions which that gentleman had introduced into a second edition of his Enquiry.

Mr. Wakefield's "short Strictures on the Rev. Dr. Priestley's Letters to a young Man, &c." consist chiefly of such bitter personalities as do little credit to any cause, or any writer: they bear no relation to the contest respecting social or public Worship.

The "Thoughts on public Worship, Part I. containing a full Review of Mr. Wakefield's Objections to this Practice, with suitable Answers, by J. Bruckner," possess very considerable merit. They abound in sound argument, extensive learning, and pointed raillery where any part of Mr. Wakefield's reasoning or phraseology justified him in using the scourge. On the historical and critical part of the ques-

tion, Mr. Bruckner's thoughts are peculiarly excellent.

Mr. Burges's "Remarks, &c." are intended to vindicate public worship on the ground of its expediency and utility; and the general excellence of the liturgy of our established church, against the censures of Mr. Wakefield. To some just observations of his own, the author has added a variety of extracts on the subject, from Hooker, Wollaston, Scott, Sharp, Paley, Porteus, &c. &c.

Mr. Parry's "Vindication of public and social Worship, &c." is chiefly founded on the evidence of the New Testament, and the nature and design of christianity. It contains a judicious, spirited, and satisfactory refutation of Mr. Wakefield's doctrine.

Mr. Pope, in his essay entitled "Divine Worship, founded in nature, and supported by Scripture Authority, &c." enters more largely into the subject than most of the writers who have engaged in this controversy; and is at least equally successful with those on whom we have already bestowed our commendation, in his replies to the objections of Mr. Wakefield. To this essay are added Strictures on some Parts of Mr. Wakefield's *Silva Critica*, and English Version of the New Testament, which discover Mr. Pope to be possessed of considerable learning and ingenuity, and that his antagonist is not always an original, or an infallible critic. The Advertisement, and the Appendix to this essay, contain some severe animadversions on the acrimonious personalities which have appeared in Mr. Wakefield's writings.

On the same side of the question were likewise published "Remarks, &c."

&c. by a Layman;" a judicious and useful "Defence of public or social Worship, a Sermon," by Dr. Disney; and a sensible and elegant compendium of "Christian Arguments for social and public Worship, a Sermon," by Mr. Simpson.

Mr. Wakefield's "General Reply to the Arguments against the Enquiry into public Worship," contains in it but little that is argumentative, or that effects the merits of the question in debate. The author, indeed, seems, in some measure, to have altered his opinion upon the subject. For he now intimates, that he would have no objection to join in short and general devotional forms, selected chiefly, if not entirely, from the scriptures. And in a second edition of his "Enquiry," he sketches a plan of public worship in which he could acquiesce.

With these publications, most probably, the controversy will terminate.

The "Arguments against and for the sabbatical Observance of Sunday, by a Cessation from all bodily Labour, &c. by E. Evanson, M. A." consist of a re-publication of several papers which appeared some years ago in the Theological Repository, under the signature of Eubulus, with the answers to them, and an additional letter to Dr. Priestley, in continuation of the same subject. The object of Mr. Evanson in this publication is to prove, that the practice of resting from labour one day in seven is a civil institution, wholly unauthorized by christianity, and highly injurious to society, by annihilating the seventh part of all human industry. With respect to the former part of the author's object, very different opinions have been entertained by christian writers.

But this diversity of sentiment has not been considered as affecting the question relating to the expediency and utility of devoting one day in seven to rest, and the purposes of moral and religious instruction. The objections of Mr. Evanson against that practice, are chiefly drawn from the abuses with which it is frequently attended. These we conceive to be greatly overbalanced by the advantages which are proved to accompany it, by the author of the letter in answer to the papers of Eubulus, which are republished in this treatise, and in the reply of Dr. Priestley, which was noticed by us under a former article.

The idea of the publication entitled "Enchiridion Theologicum, or a Manual for the Use of Students in Divinity, &c. in five Volumes," seems to have been suggested by the collection of tracts published some years ago by bishop Watson; which, probably, appeared to Dr. Randolph, the editor of this work, to be very deficient as a collection of orthodox theological writers. The treatises here republished, are offered by him to the student in divinity, "that by keeping his eye steadily fixed on these as his land marks, he may be in less danger of being perplexed by the sophistry of infidels or sectaries. It is another object of the present plan, to shew the genuine sense of the church of England in her earliest days, both as to the grounds of separation from the church of Rome, and the doctrines, which after a long struggle having entirely emancipated herself from that yoke, she at length finally adopted and ratified." The following is a list of the pieces of which these volumes consist, many of which are scarce, or to be met with

only in voluminous publications: King Edward's Catechism; Ridley's Protestatio, and Treatise against Transubstantiation; Jewel's Apology; Nowell's Catechism; Taylor's Advice to his Clergy; Pearson's Annales Paulini; Stillingfleet's Discourse on Scripture Mysteries, and second Dialogue of the Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared; Gastrell's Considerations on the Trinity; Conybear's Discourses on Miracles, Scripture Mysteries, Subscription to Articles of Religion, the Expediency of a Divine Revelation, and on Scripture Difficulties; Gibson's Pastoral Letters; Leslie's short Method with the Deists; and Bentley's Remarks on Free-thinking. These works are recommended as having had "the sanction of public authority, and which may therefore be relied on as containing the final and decided opinions of our reformers, approved of in the general by the church at large."

With a similar zeal for preserving among the clergy an attachment to the true faith and discipline of the church of England, the bishop of Chester has published "a List of Books intended for the Use of the younger Clergy, and other Students in Divinity" within his diocese. The character of the books in this list will be best understood from the right rev. Editor's own words. "My principal object," says he, "has been in the two first classes to select such only as are most obviously employed in maintaining the fundamental doctrines of our faith, and in vindicating and establishing the articles, rites, and ceremonies of the church of England, carefully avoiding such as avowedly controvert those doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, or indirectly oppose them." But if these doctrines,

rites, and ceremonies, are sanctioned by holy writ, why dread the closest investigation into their evidence? to proscribe such authors as call in question their truth and propriety, some will attribute to a consciousness of weakness in the cause, others to cowardice in its defenders.

The above list was soon followed by "a Letter to the Students in Divinity in the Diocese of Chester, occasioned by a late publication of a List of Books, &c. Intended as a Supplement to that Work." The writer of this letter considers the prelate's List, as an unfair attempt "to narrow the grounds of liberal enquiry, and to prejudicate questions of importance. As an imposition designed against their reasoning faculty, and against that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free." He therefore calls upon the students in divinity in the diocese of Chester, to do justice to themselves; and assists them, in these supplemental pages, in finding the books which will give them information on subjects which must be of importance to those who consult the truth and interests of the Christian faith. Among other names, not in the bishop's List, this author's catalogue contains those of Hoadly, Hare, Locke, Clarke, Lowman, Benson, Sykes, Lardner, Leechman, Mosheim, Farmer, Watson, Law, Leland, Taylor, Newcome, Paley, Priestley, &c. &c.

The "Address delivered to the Clergy of the Deaneries of Richmond, Catterick, and Boroughbridge, &c. by Thomas Zouch, A. M." strongly urges on them the necessity of a diligent attention to theological studies; and particularly recommends to their notice the tract published by the bishop of Chester,

Chester, with the List of Books intended for the Use of the younger Clergy. We think that the List would be incomplete without the supplement; and, therefore, recommend them both to be incorporated in one catalogue. We have no doubt but that the dispassionate and industrious enquirer, would consider the enlarged to be an amended List.

The "Hints and Helps to the Clergy of every denomination, designed to promote the Credit, the Comfort, and the Usefulness of their Lives," appears to be the offspring of a serious and well meaning mind, and contains much good and friendly advice. Such advice, however, has often been delivered in a more pleasing and unexceptionable manner, to those who are not conversant in the phraseology of the Tabernacle.

Our next article, which is an interesting and important one, is entitled "the Necessity of introducing Divinity in the regular Course of Academical Studies considered; and other Regulations suggested for the Improvement of the present Mode of Education at the University of Cambridge, by Robert Acklorn Ingram, M. A." Mr. Ingram offers a variety of arguments to shew the inexpediency and absurdity of the mode of education followed in our public seminaries, especially as it respects those who are designed for the clerical order. He very rationally accounts for the defects in their character and influence, from the general defect, in these seminaries, of almost every study which has any immediate connexion with revealed religion, in particular, of what is distinguished by the appellation of divinity; and from the Universities making it the interest of students

to neglect it, as hereby they have the more time for the pursuit of those studies by which they have to gain public credit, and academical emoluments. Of Mr. Ingram's plan, which our limits will not permit us to detail, we can only insert the following parts, which appear to us to be highly judicious and necessary: "that the attainment of academical honours and emoluments by students designed for the clerical office, should be made to depend, in part at least, upon their proficiency in theological knowledge; that instruction in divinity should be consigned to persons who have little or no other employment to engage their attention, and whose interest should be made to depend, in a considerable degree, upon their diligence and ability; and that every year a public examination of the theological students should take place, and their names be classed according to the proficiency they shall appear to have made. But is not Mr. Ingram aware, that the consistent advocates for subscription to established formularies of faith, must oppose his plan? He would open the door for discussion, and freedom of enquiry. Alas! these are the troublers of Israel. Either their progress must be prevented, or uniformity of sentiment will be overturned to its foundations.

The same subject has been discussed, in a judicious and liberal manner, by Herbert Marsh, B. D. in "An Essay on the Usefulness and Necessity of Theological Learning, to those who are designed for Holy Orders." What he says relative to the impartiality necessary to the faithful interpretation of scripture, is peculiarly excellent.

The design of "A Short Address to the Protestant Clergy of every

Denomination, on the Fundamental Corruption of Christianity," is to persuade the world, that the establishment of the clerical order, as a separate body of men, is not a divine institution; that it owes its rise to superstition and credulity, and is productive of the greatest injury rather than of benefit to civil society. The author's arguments are plausible, but not weighty. If fairly appreciated, they apply to the abuses of the institution, not to the institution itself; and are not likely to make converts among the serious and thinking part of mankind.

Those members of our established church who are attached to its constitution, but who are sensible that abuses exist, the correction of which would render its reputation and utility more extensive, will not withhold their approbation from "the Moderate Reformer; or, a proposal to correct some Abuses in the present Establishment of the Church of England, in a manner that would tend to make it more useful to the Advancement of Religion, and to increase the respect and attachment of the People to its Clergy; and, likewise, to improve the Condition of the inferior Clergy, by a Friend to the Church of England." The author of this Treatise is a sensible, judicious, and dispassionate writer. The subjects of reform to which he chiefly adverts, are intended to produce a more equal and respectable provision for the clergy. With respect to the revision of the articles and the liturgy, so frequently the subject of discussion, he says but little, as he conceives that it would be attended with considerable difficulties. He is, however, so far from being an enemy to a revision, that he thinks if it were once "well done, to the

satisfaction of the clergy and people, it would certainly prove a great blessing to the nation." We think that many of the particulars suggested by this moderate reformer, deserve the deliberate attention of the friends of the Church of England.

The "Thoughts on the Necessity and Means of a Reform in the Church of England, by a Friend to Religion and his Country," are the productions of a spirited and able writer, who carries his ideas of necessary reformation to a much greater length than the author of the last mentioned article. The changes for which he contends, are great, extensive, and radical. The necessity of such changes he argues from the general ignorance of the clergy in theology; the negligent manner in which their duty is generally performed by them; the prevalence of pluralities, and non-residence; the education of the clergy, and the mode of their introduction to livings; the usual methods of rising to the higher dignities of the church; the unequal distribution of its revenues; the mode of paying the clergy; and the almost total want of discipline among them. On these topics, the author expatiates with great force and boldness; and afterwards suggests two different plans of reformation; either of which, he thinks, would tend to remedy these evils. For the particulars of these plans, we must refer our readers to the work itself. We may observe, however, that the object of the first is, to establish strict discipline for regulating the education, and the manners of the clergy, and to equalize the revenues of the church, without preventing men of talents and piety from rising to stations of eminence and importance; and,

that the object of the second, which the author greatly prefers, though he thinks that the minds of the people are not yet prepared for receiving it, is to destroy the establishment of any one system of opinions, and mode of worship; to let a certain sum be assessed on every man's estate, and to oblige him to give his assessment for the support of religion; but to let him choose to what sect he pleases to give it. The latter plan, our readers will perceive, is borrowed from the constitutions of some of the American states.

The author of "*Vindiciæ Llandavenses; or Strictures on the Bishop of Llandaff's Charge, in a Letter to his Lordship,*" seems to be possessed of a pious and amiable mind; but we do not think that his animadversions are distinguished by any great display of argumentative powers. This, perhaps, is to be attributed to the cause, as much as to the advocate. The points which he attacks are, the learned prelate's Observations on the Connexion between Church and State, the Sentiments which he expressed respecting the French Revolution, and the Penal Statutes and restraining Laws which still exist in this Country. But while he differs widely on these subjects, he is equally zealous for propagating that Christian candour and charity, which the bishop so ably recommends; being "assured, that one breach of the law of love is of more importance in the sight of God than a thousand speculative errors which disturb not the quiet of others, or a thousand speculative truths which have no influence on ourselves."

In our Register, for the year 1790, we announced the publication of
"An Enquiry into the Nature of

Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, &c. by G. Dyer, A. B." which we mentioned in terms of warm commendation. During the present year, a second edition of that work hath appeared, corrected, altered, and much enlarged. To the opinion which we formerly gave of this work, we have only to add, that the author's corrections and enlargements, are honourable testimonies to his industry and integrity. In forming his sentiments, and delivering his observations, he appears to have been influenced by pure and unaffected reverence for the Divine Being, and disinterested love to mankind.

In the same volume, we announced the first part of "*Strictures upon Primitive Christianity, by the Rev. Dr. Knowles, &c. by Edward Hamilton, esq.*" During the present year, that gentleman has published a second part of his singular work, which the reader will find to be a continuation of the same novel, and paradoxical opinions, and of the same freedom and boldness of assertion, supported by an equal, and in no one instance, as far as we have been enabled to discover, by a stronger degree of evidence. As a specimen of his modesty, we have remarked, that he acknowledges to have read only about a third part of Dr. Priestley's History of the Christian Church; and yet pronounces sentence on the whole, as containing more errors than pages, when heresies are the subjects. To prove the spuriousness of the books of the New Testament, he conjectures, that the leaders of the Christians, while their missionaries were engaged in propagating the gospel, were busily employed, chiefly at Alexandria, in composing those books, and ascribing them to former ages and persons.

sons. And, notwithstanding, that he has not yet read either Philo or Josephus, he entertains no doubt but that he shall hereafter be able to prove that they are only ideal persons; and, that the writings ascribed to them, are Christian forgeries; and, also, that no such persons as Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, or any of those, usually called Christian Fathers, ever existed!!

In the same volume, we were liberal in our commendation of the abilities and candor discovered by Mr. Nisbett, in his "Observations on the Miraculous Conception of our Saviour, &c." Since the appearance of that work, the same author has published "An Appeal to the Public, occasioned by a Letter from the Rev. J. Pope, a Dissenting Minister, at Stand, near Manchester; containing a Charge of the Use of the unworthy Method of Misrepresentation and false Citation, in some Observations on the Miraculous Conception." This letter from Mr. Pope, it appears, was a private letter, published without the writer's permission. We are far from being convinced of the propriety of such conduct. We are, at the same time, far from being satisfied with the severity of Mr. Pope's attack on Mr. Nisbett. Inadvertent he acknowledges himself to have been. And, notwithstanding that he may have omitted attending to some parts of Dr. Priestley's argument, which may be thought to bear hard against his hypothesis, we still think too highly of his integrity and candour, to suppose that he can have been guilty of intentional and wilful misrepresentation.

To the last mentioned publication, succeeded "Observations on the Miraculous Conception, and

the Testimonies of Ignatius and Justin Martyr on that subject: in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Mr. Nisbett; occasioned by his Appeal to the Public, and his Observations on Dr. Priestley, &c. by John Pope." In this work, Mr. Pope, after complaining of Mr. Nisbett, for publishing his private letter to him, without his consent, points out several of the arguments of Dr. Priestley, on the subject of the miraculous conception, of which not the least notice was taken by Mr. Nisbett. This conduct Mr. Pope condemns, as an unfair suppression of the evidence on the question. He afterwards offers a variety of arguments to prove, that the accounts of the miraculous conception, given by Matthew and Luke, bear every mark of forgery and imposture; and that each of those Gospels, in their genuine state, commenced with what now appear as their third chapters. These arguments are followed by Enquiries into the Genuineness of Ignatius's lesser Epistles, to which Mr. Nisbett refers, as evidence, that the belief of the miraculous conception prevailed in the first century; and, into the credit due to the testimony of Justin Martyr, upon which Mr. Pope contends that but little reliance can be placed. To these are added remarks on Mr. Wakefield's Criticism on Matthew xxvii. 5. in which our author contests the sense which that gentleman has given to that passage of scripture, notwithstanding that he is supported in it by several ancient versions, and the opinions of many respectable commentators. Without deciding on the questions at issue between the respective combatants, it would be injustice to Mr. Pope not to acknowledge, that we conceive him to be entitled to a very high share of praise, for the industry,

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learning, and ingenuity which he has discovered throughout these Observations; and, that he is eminently qualified to engage in the controversy in which he has chosen to take a part.

"The Origin of Arianism disclosed, by John Whitaker, B.D." is the production of an author who has been long known in the literary world; and who has been distinguished, in his controversial writings, for his zealous attachment to orthodoxy, and the bold decisive tone in which he has asserted and maintained his opinions. Notwithstanding that the subject on which he writes has been frequently discussed, Mr. Whitaker flatters himself that he has advanced something new and just, and has introduced a train of historical argumentation, which is at once novel in its direction, comprehensive in its scope, and decisive in its efficacy." And, in truth, there is no small degree of novelty in his fundamental and positive assertions, that the ancient Hebrews professed the Trinitarian faith; that they received it from their ancestors the patriarchs, and retained it through all the periods of their history till the time of our Saviour; that they expected their Messiah to be the Son of God, and as such to be "equal with God, an assessor with God upon the throne of Heaven, and the grand judge of all the universe." After endeavouring to establish the evidence of these assertions by quotations from the New Testament, and from ancient Jewish, and other writings, particularly from Philo, all properly illuminated by his own ingenious commentaries, our author proceeds to shew, that towards the beginning of the second century, on a sudden, the Jews "veered

round the whole compass of their belief in this point," and embraced the doctrine of the meer humanity of their Messiah; and, that the monster Arianism, thus generated among the Jews, was transmitted by them to Christians, and afterwards to Mahometans. For the history of the progress of this monster, through succeeding times, to the present day, we refer our readers to the work itself. Towards the conclusion, Mr. Whitaker indulges to the most indignant declamation against modern Arians and Socinians, and especially Dr. Priestley, in language that by no means betrays "the poor and cold spirit of our meanly philosophical times," and which is expressive of the most uncharitable zeal, and the most disgusting self conceit, and spiritual pride. Whatever be the truth respecting the person of Christ, we do not think that Mr. Whitaker, notwithstanding the great labour and ingenuity which he has employed, has written what will have any considerable effect towards terminating the controversy.

A much more commendable spirit appears in the "Scriptural Revision of Socinian Arguments, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, by the Rev. F. Randolph, M. A.;" in which the author's zeal for Trinitarianism does not lead him to overstep the bounds which good manners, and Christian charity prescribe to polemics. Mr. Randolph, in opposition to Dr. Priestley, undertakes to prove, from historical evidence, that the faith of the early Christians will not warrant the interpretation of scripture language for which the Dr. contends; and cites several passages from the Epistles of Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, and Clement, which contain intimations of their belief of a

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divine nature in Christ. In examining the scripture language, as far as it relates to this question, our author does not attempt to bring forward any passages which have not already been quoted in the controversy, but to vindicate such interpretations of those commonly adduced, as are favourable to the generally received doctrine. Mr. Randolph's pamphlet is sensible and ingenious. It shews that the author has read much, and reflected on the subject; and does credit to his temper and candour.

The "Reasons for Unitarianism, or the Primitive Christian Doctrine, addressed to the serious Consideration of the Inhabitants of the Diocese of St. David's, &c. by a Welch Freeholder," are brought forwards by a shrewd and able auxiliary on the side of Dr. Priestley. His pamphlet contains a bold attack on the doctrines generally reputed orthodox, and a forcible representation of the arguments drawn from reason and scripture, to prove the absolute unity of the divine Nature, and the proper humanity of Christ; together with such other doctrines connected with these, as have been the subjects of discussion between Dr. Priestley and his various opponents. In a well written Preface, the author offers some spirited and just strictures on the bishop of St. David's Charge. And, in his Introduction, he contends, with a manly and becoming freedom, for the right of private judgment, and the necessity of using that right, if we would correct the errors and corruptions which human systems have incorporated in Christianity. Towards the conclusion, he traces these errors and corruptions to their sources; and presents his readers with a short account of Unitarianism in

its present state. The author writes under an evident conviction of the importance of the doctrines for which he contends, and a zealous desire to promote the interests of truth and virtue.

The "Conversations on Christian Idolatry, in the year 1791, published by Theophilus Lindsey, M. A." consist of dialogues, "which have, their foundation in real life, though somewhat varied in their manner and circumstances," on the unity of the divine Nature; and in defence of Unitarians against the charge of illiberality and want of candour, in pronouncing Trinitarian worship to be idolatrous. In contending, however, for the propriety of that epithet, Mr. Lindsey observes, that this idolatry of Christians is of a very different nature from Heathen idolatry, which is so condemned in the sacred writings, and which countenanced vicious and immoral practices. Christian idolatry, he allows, may exist without any criminality: it may be "an error of education, a wrong bias of the understanding, not of the heart, and will not be imputed to those who enjoy not the means of correcting it." Towards the conclusion of his work, our author shews, with what ease necessary alterations and improvements might be introduced into the Liturgy of the Church of England, so as to render it unexceptionable to those who disbelieve in the doctrine of the Trinity; and how impossible it is for such persons, honestly and acceptably, to join in its worship, before such alterations are admitted. This work is written with great plainness and perspicuity, and in that mild temperate spirit which eminently appears in the publications of Mr. Lindsey.

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The "Address to Dr. Priestley, containing desultory Observations on the general Inutility of religious Controversy, and on some Assertions of the Doctor's, contained in his Letters to Mr. Burke, by William Pettman," is intended to decry discussion, and the use of reason, as far as religion is concerned; and to recommend an acquiescence in the doctrines generally received in the orthodox world. In this work, the author assumes positions, to which those who have been accustomed to conceive free enquiry to be favourable to the extension of knowledge, and the discovery of truth, will by no means subscribe. And, notwithstanding that his avowed object is to show the inutility of religious controversy, he enters the lists with zeal and warmth, in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity. The texts of scripture, and the arguments which he produces, are such as have been repeatedly urged by preceding writers on the same side of the question.

"Jesus Christ, the only true God, being a Defence of that fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Religion, against Arianism and Socinianism, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, &c. by J. Bellamy," is a production of the Swedenborgian school, which we are not sufficiently enlightened to understand. The author says, indeed, that his system "is easily comprehended and explained; that there is nothing intricate or mysterious in it." If so, we know not to what combination of words the terms mysticism and obscurity can be applied.

"The "Letters to Dr. Priestley, containing Proofs of the sole, supreme, and exclusive Divinity of Jesus Christ, whom the Scriptures declare to be the only God of

Heaven and Earth, and of the Divine Mission of Emanuel Swedenborg, &c. by Robert Hindmarsh," were published with the concurrence of the New Jerusalem Church, as a defence of their principles against Dr. Priestley, with whose opinions they disclaim the most distant agreement either in words or in reality. They are intended, likewise, as an avowal or illustration of the sentiments of the baron's followers. To us, however, they appear still to be involved in clouds and darkness.

"The Pre-existence and Divine Nature of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, argued from the collective Voice of Scripture, and the concurrent Voice of Reason, &c. by A. Moon," is intended as a preservative against the mystical notion of the Trinitarians on one side, and the lax principles of the Socinians on the other. The author appears to possess a serious and well-meaning mind, and to be friendly to liberal views of religion; while he looks, with a jealous eye, on the freedom which some bold polemics have taken with the sacred writings.

"The Doctrine of Grace illustrated, in Six Letters, from a Minister of the Reformed Church, to John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, translated from the original Latin, by William Cowper, esq." describe, what in puritanical language is called the experience of a minister on the Continent, who, after having indulged to sophistical and sceptical reasonings about the Divine Being, and the truths of the Christian religion, has felt the heavenly birth, and become a zealous preacher of that faith which he once laboured to destroy. We have no doubt of the sincerity and uprightness of the
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author of these Letters, which will be read with pleasure by those who entertain similar notions respecting the divine influence on the human mind, and the mysteries of the Calvinistic Creed.

Dr. Disney's "Letters to the Rev. Vicesimus Knox, D. D. occasioned by his Reflections on Unitarian Christians, in his Advertisement prefixed to a volume of his Sermons lately published," accuse that gentleman of going out of his way to depreciate the cause of the divine unity, to mislead the public judgment, to fix the prejudices of the multitude, and to kindle their malignant passions against those who do not believe the doctrine of the Trinity. These charges Dr. Disney appears to have substantiated without any considerable difficulty; and he has bestowed that chastisement on Dr. Knox, which was provoked by his unbecoming conduct. He has likewise offered a variety of observations on the nature and effects of theological controversy, the injurious nature of error, and on the danger of stifling enquiry and repressing the discovery of truth, which deserve the doctor's attention as a christian and as a minister.

The "Free Remarks," occasioned by the above letters, by Henry Barry Peacock, are not so much employed in the vindication of Dr. Knox, for the sentiments and language which he adopted, as in condemning the severity of Dr. Disney's strictures; and in condemning Unitarians in general for want of charity in their sermons, their tracts, and conversation; for "pouring through every channel the increasing torrent of their abuse and calumny, on every minister of the church of England without exception." His own torrent of

abuse Mr. Peacock has chosen to divert into more than one channel; for he has accused the friends to the abolition of the slave trade, of inhumanity, and Mr. Porson of want of learning and critical skill in his controversy with archdeacon Travis.

The "Vindication of the Honour of God, in a scriptural Refutation of the Doctrines of eternal Misery and universal Salvation," contains a comprehensive view of the arguments against the popular doctrine of eternal damnation, as the punishment of sin; and a particular and critical discussion of the different texts of scripture from which it has been deduced. The opinion which the author embraces, and which he supports with much force and ingenuity, is, that the impenitently vicious "shall suffer a total extinction of vitality in the second death." Embracing this opinion, he is an enemy to the doctrine of universal salvation, or universal restoration, the advocates for which are rapidly increasing in the old and new worlds. This doctrine, which his benevolence might lead him to entertain, appears to him to be totally irreconcilable with the language of scripture. To those who wish to see these subjects treated in a liberal, calm, and dispassionate manner, we recommend the perusal of this sensible and well written treatise.

Mr. Carey's "Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, &c." contains the speculations of a serious and well meaning person, who, considering the disproportion which the number of Christians bears to that of the rest of the inhabitants of the globe, who remain to be converted to the faith,

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draws an argument from this circumstance to recommend institutions for the more effectual propagation of the gospel. If, however, the gloomy picture which the author hath drawn of christians, in all countries, and of all denominations, were taken from nature, we should say that the religious state even of heathens must be rendered worse by intercourse with them. The success of missionaries from such a vicious and profligate body, would be the greatest evil that could befall the human species.

The "Explanation of the Catechism of the Church of England, for the Use of Sunday Schools, by Wm. Cox, M. A." contains a familiar and concise illustration of the church catechism, well adapted to the comprehension of those for whom it is intended, and insisting principally on those parts that inculcate religious and moral duties. In drawing up this illustration the author informs us, that he chiefly consulted Pearson on the Creed, Barrow on the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer, Clarke's Exposition, Ward's Commentary, and Secker's Lectures on the Catechism.

Dr. Gregory's "Family Prayers for the Philanthropic Reform, with a short Catechism, and an Address to the Children," are likewise deserving of much commendation, on account of their being judiciously adapted to the capacities of the children for whose use they were drawn up, and to make proper moral and religious impressions on their minds. When men of such respectable literary talents devote their attention to the truly philanthropic employment of instructing and cultivating the minds of young persons in the lowest classes, who, without such friendly

guides, might prove useless, if not pernicious to society, they deserve well of their country, which ought to rank them among its best benefactors.

To the friends of piety and liberality, the publication of "the Works of the Right Rev. Jonathan Shipley, D. D. Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, in 2 Vols." will prove a very acceptable circumstance. The first volume contains sixteen sermons, on practical and useful subjects, which, in point of sentiment are rational, candid, and instructive; and, as compositions, judicious, interesting, correct, and elegant. The second volume contains four Charges delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. Asaph; a Speech on the Appeal from a Decree in the Court of Chancery in Favour of Literary Property in the Year 1774; a speech on the Bill for repealing the Penal Laws against Protestant Dissenters in 1779; and a republication of the celebrated Speech intended to have been spoken on the Bill for altering the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and of three occasional Sermons. Dr. Shipley's charges contain a variety of just and manly observations, of a political as well as of a religious nature, and very important advices suited to the clerical character, which are interesting at all times, and more particularly so at the present period. His ideas of government, of political corruption, of the wisdom of temperate innovations, and his liberality towards dissenters from the establishment, which are expressed in his charges, speeches, and sermons, reflect the highest honour on his memory as a statesman and as a divine. From the Advertisement of the editor, we learn, that though he has no reason to be-
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lieve that any part of the bishop's works, now first appearing in print, was originally intended for public inspection, yet he has neither presumed to make, nor admit, any alterations in them. We rejoice that the solicitations of many persons, nearly connected with the author, induced him to superintend the production before the public of such valuable unsophisticated relics of one of the most venerable and useful divines who have adorned the bench in modern times.

In our Register for the year 1789, we inserted an account of a volume of sermons on "the Grounds and Credibility of the Christian Religion, preached at the Bampton Lecture, by the Rev. Richard Shepherd, D. D. F. R. S. &c." During the present year that gentleman has published a small volume of "additional Discourses, as a Supplement to his former Work." In this volume he resumes, and illustrates more fully, several of the topics which he had formerly discussed: and dwells particularly on the success attending the promulgation of the christian religion, by means naturally inadequate to the purpose, and in opposition to powerful obstacles; on peculiar circumstances attending the miracles of Christ; and on the circumstances, characters, and zeal of the apostles, with other proofs of their veracity. These additional discourses bear the same character with those in Dr. Shepherd's larger volume: and they are offered by him to the public, as a seasonable antidote to the reasonings of modern heretics and philosophers.

Dr. Eveleigh's "Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1792," at the

Bampton Lecture, were intended by the author to comprize a summary view of the nature, history, and evidences of christianity, adapted to the use of young and uninformed minds; and are dedicated to the under-graduates of the University of Oxford. With such a view, in such a beaten track, and within such narrow limits, it will be expected that the comprehensive subjects of his discourses can be treated only in a confined and superficial manner. Nor does Dr. Eveleigh profess to give more than a compendium of some of the important arguments which occur on these topics. He, however, advises the young persons to whom he dedicates his sermons, to consult more full and laborious treatises particularly the discourses delivered at Mr. Boyle's Lectures. With his Defence of Christianity he carefully intermixes a defence of the articles, rites, and ceremonies of our national church, and the requisition of a strict conformity to its establishment; and gives an accurate historical sketch of the barriers which have at different periods been provided against the "Enthusiasm of Innovation." The style in which these discourses are written, is perspicuous, easy, and correct.

Dr. Sturges' "Discourses, chiefly on the Evidences of natural and revealed Religion," are a valuable addition to the many excellent volumes in defence of religion, which form a conspicuous and respectable department in English literature. They are valuable, not only on account of the just reasoning and important remarks in which they abound, but for their judicious arrangement, and pleasing style. With these recommendations they will be more acceptable and useful

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to general readers, than more abstract and systematic discourses. The principal subjects discussed in them are, the natural evidence of the being of a God, a Providence, and a future state; the fitness and efficacy of the means employed by God in revealing his will to mankind; the sufficiency and clearness of the proofs of divine revelation from miracles; the force of the evidence arising from prophecy; the confirmation given by Christianity to the doctrine of a future state; the seasonableness of the time of our Saviour's appearance; the doctrine of scripture concerning the death of Christ as a sacrifice for sins, and concerning the influence of the holy spirit; and the different characters of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. To these are added some Discourses on more miscellaneous subjects; and an Appendix, containing some important remarks on Mr. Hume's Essay on a particular Providence and future State, and Dialogues concerning natural religion.

The volume of "Sermons chiefly intended to promote Faith, Hope, and Charity, by Viceimus Knox, D. D." contains a number of discourses on practical subjects, which abound in useful observations and remarks, delivered in a familiar and pleasing style. We can by no means, however, pronounce them to be compositions worthy of the talents generally ascribed to Dr. Knox, and of which his Essays afford unequivocal specimens. They neither discover that solidity of judgment, nor that boldness and animation of language, nor that regularity and connexion of parts, which were to have been expected from an author who had acquired such a share of public approbation. But what is

still more reprehensible in them is, the needless and improper mixture they contain of speculative and mystical theology; the undue stress which the author places on an implicit faith in disputable tenets, which he represents to be the only grounds of christian obedience and christian hope; and the contempt and illiberality with which he treats those who venture to differ from the commonly received opinions, and to oppose established systems. We have noticed, in a former article, the rebuke which Dr. Knox has received, on this account, from the pen of Dr. Disney.

The "Sermons on the present State of Religion in this Country, and on other Subjects, by the Rev. Septimus Hodson, Chaplain at the Asylum," are drawn up in a pleasing and popular strain; and are to be commended, on the whole, for the just and useful reflexions, and the warm and persuasive exhortations, to religion and virtue, with which they abound. In the first five sermons Mr. Hodson gives a lamentable representation of the degeneracy of the times, and the corruption of public manners, which we conceive to be rather too gloomy and exaggerated. We think, likewise, that some of the author's observations, when cautioning his hearers against confounding religion with morality, and the length to which he carries the doctrines of self-denial and renunciation of the world, to be not a little exceptionable. For the plan of these sermons Mr. Hodson acknowledges himself to be indebted to a late popular pamphlet, entitled "An Estimate of the Religion of the fashionable World." The remaining part of the volume consists of three excellent discourses on the duties of parents and children, one

on the relative duties of minister and people, and an anniversary sermon at the Asylum.

The volume of "Sermons on various and particular Occasions, by William Hawtayne, Rector of Elstree, Herts," contains twenty discourses on different subjects, which are plain, practical, and useful. We cannot, however, speak of them in very high terms as regular and polished compositions.

The "Discourses on the Influence of the Christian Religion in Civil Society, by the Rev. James Douglas, F. A. S. &c." are not to be mistaken for a regular and connected set of Sermons, on the subject held out in the title page. The topics which they discuss are miscellaneous; and their design is, chiefly, practical. They appear, however, to have been composed with blameable haste and negligence; to which we are willing to attribute much of the obscurity and incorrectness which pervade them.

The two volumes of "Sermons upon various Subjects, by the Rev. John Penn, L. L. B." are principally recommended by the pious intention of the author, and their strict conformity with the fundamental doctrines of orthodoxy. Their arrangement is diffuse and irregular, their style frequently obscure, and their language sometimes too familiar and vulgar to escape the reprehension of the mildest critic.

The "plain Sermons for plain People, by Hannah Sowden," are short, but judicious and useful lessons, on moral and religious subjects, adapted to the capacities of ordinary readers, and delivered in perspicuous and easy language. Whatever is controversial is carefully avoided, and such sentiments only insisted on, as are universally

acknowledged to be of importance. The design with which these discourses were written is highly to be commended: and they are more deserving of encouragement, on account of the paucity of volumes in the long catalogue of English sermons, which are at the same time suited to the comprehension of the lower classes, and unexceptionable in the principles which they inculcate.

The two volumes of "Sermons on practical Subjects, by the Rev. Philip Holland," are a posthumous publication. Judging, however, from intrinsic evidence, we should imagine that they were designed by the author, for a more lasting existence than what commonly attends compositions for the pulpit. The subjects of them, as the title intimates, are chiefly moral and practical. The sentiments which they contain must have proceeded from a mind accustomed to reflexion, well stored with knowledge, enlarged by liberal and comprehensive views, and possessed of true christian candour and benevolence. Some of them are distinguished by a strain of just reasoning, and excellence of observation, that render them peculiarly valuable. As compositions they are calm and didactic, rather than rhetorical; and clothed in perspicuous, accurate, and simple language.

The "Sixteen Sermons on the most interesting Subjects to Seamen, &c. by J. Malham," contain a variety of important and useful observations, on religious and moral topics, judiciously adapted to the situation of the persons for whose use they are principally intended, and delivered in a style and language that is, in general, animated and impressive. The serious spirit and temperate friendly expostulation, which pervade these sermons, entitle the author to the attention

and gratitude of the honest tar; whose warlike ardour will not be impaired, and whose generous social qualities will be rendered more valuable to himself, as well as to the community, by following the preacher's advice. To the sermons to seamen, the author has added six on the festivals of the Church of England.

Mr. Taprell's "Lectures on the Lord's Prayer, with an introductory Discourse," are serious and affectionate addresses on the different subjects suggested by the Lord's Prayer; which indicate a pious temper in the author, and a desire to impress on the minds of his readers sentiments of devotion, and religious duties. Their style and phraseology will not be exceptionable to plain orthodox christians.

Mr. Hawker's "Sermons on the Divinity of Christ," contain a collective view of the evidence from scripture for a doctrine, which he conceives to be the chief corner stone of the edifice of christianity, on the removal of which the whole building will immediately totter. They were originally written for the benefit of the author's parishioners; and are now published with a view to increase the number of believers in that doctrine, and to testify that the author is one among the supposed small number of the clergy, whose professions are happily blended with their convictions. If it should be thought that Mr. Hawker has offered no additional arguments to those which have been advanced by former writers on the same side of the question, he shews, notwithstanding, that he is well acquainted with the controversy; and that he can defend his opinions with warmth and zeal, without parting with his candour and good temper. The style of these sermons is popu-

lar and animated, and the language, in general, correct and pleasing.

Mr. Jardine's three Discourses, illustrating "the unpurchased Love of God in the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ, a great Argument for Christian Benevolence," together with his remarks on the discourses of the late Dr. Caleb Evans, entitled "Christ Crucified, &c." support the unitarian side of the question, and controvert the doctrines of the atonement, the pre-existence of Christ, and the Trinity. They are written in a lively and animated style, and display the author's intimate knowledge of his subject, ingenuity of criticism, and adroitness as a theological disputant. In zeal, and a thorough conviction of the truth and importance of his cause, Mr. Jardine is not a whit inferior to the last mentioned champion of the orthodox faith; nor does he appear to be less influenced by a candid and benevolent spirit.

The "Charge intended to have been delivered to the Clergy of Norwich, at the primary Visitation of George, Lord Bishop of that Diocese," contains the lamentations of the late pious and worthy prelate over the increase of heresy; and the warmest exhortations to his clergy, to adopt every measure in their power for the preservation of the orthodox faith. The points on which he particularly expatiates are, the doctrine of the Trinity; the corrupt nature of man; the saving power of faith; the essential difference between morality and religion; and the divine authority of episcopal and of civil government. The piety and evident good intentions of Dr. Horne are more conspicuous features in this charge, than comprehension of thought, and vigour of reasoning. The candid

reader, however, will attribute this, in part, to the bishop's very infirm state of health when he composed it.

The "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the Primary Visitation of that Diocese, in the Year 1792, by Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham," is partly political, and partly pastoral. In the political part the bishop approves himself a firm supporter of the present administration; applauds the measures which have been adopted to repress the efforts of reformers and innovators; descants on the present symmetry and beauty of our happy constitution; and urges his clergy to shew their gratitude to the sovereign for his paternal care, by inculcating principles of peace and public order, and "by discountenancing those impracticable theories, which tend to alienate the affections of our fellow citizens, from the laws and constitution of their country." His lordship, in the next place, condemns, in terms of severity, the different attempts made to repeal the penal statutes respecting religion, which, he says, "were enacted for protecting the fundamental doctrines of christianity from blasphemy and corruption;" and insists on the wisdom of those provisions of civil authority, which check "the unrestrained latitude of professing and propagating private opinions on the subject of religion." In the pastoral part of this charge, Dr. Barrington delivers to his clergy similar advice with that contained in the charge of Dr. Horne; reprobates the conduct of those who divest christianity of its peculiar doctrines, and reduce it to "the cold and indifferent substance of what is called philosophy;" and delivers brief obser-

vations on the most eligible modes of instruction from the pulpit, and the proper character of a faithful minister. Were there any more valuable situation in the established church than that which the bishop of Durham already fills, he certainly would be entitled to it, from the zeal and ardour which he discovers in her defence. This is what will be granted by persons who entertain very opposite political and theological sentiments, from what this charge inculcates; and who conceive that his principles, carried to their proper extent, would be favourable to the introduction of civil and religious bondage. The style and language of this charge, with some few exceptions, are perspicuous, animated, and elegant.

The single Sermons of the year 1792 have been exceedingly numerous; and many might be selected from the mass which, if our limits permitted us, would deserve to be distinctly noticed. For an account of these, however, we must refer our readers to the different periodical journals, whose plans enable their editors to be more minutely attentive to the multitudinous productions of the English press.

In Philosophy, our attention is drawn, in the first place, to "the Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, by Dugald Stewart, F. R. S. Edin. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh." This is a very laborious and valuable work, on a subject not merely of speculative curiosity, but of the highest importance, as it comprehends in it the principles of all the subordinate sciences, and is connected with all the pursuits of human life. In his Introduction Mr. Stewart enlarges on the utility of the study of the human

human mind; the good effects which this study, if properly pursued, would have on education; and the advancement which would be made in the philosophy of mind, if we were possessed of a more rational and useful system of logic than has hitherto been framed. The work is afterwards divided by him into seven chapters: to which he has added notes and illustrations. The first chapter treats of the powers of external perception; the second of attention; the third of conception; the fourth of abstraction; the fifth of the association of ideas; the sixth of memory; and the seventh of imagination. On these various topics Mr. Stewart has condensed into his work a vast mass of original and important matter, and displayed a number of essential and valuable truths, with an ingenuity and accuracy that entitle him to a very high rank among modern philosophers. We are far from admitting all his opinions. And the opposers of the northern school will not acquit him of many fundamental errors. They will join with us, however, in applauding the comprehension, energy, and liberality of thought which he discovers; and in acknowledging the important service which his work may render, in illustrating and extending our acquaintance with the human mind. The style and language of this work are, in general, pure and classical.

The object of the "Philosophical and Literary Essays, by Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh, in 2 Vols." is to bring to a final issue the question concerning liberty and necessity, by mathematical reasoning. And he offers it to the public, as perfectly new and singular in every respect: and as a demonstration of the same kind, and the same force, with

those of pure geometry, and of mechanical philosophy. This work may be divided into three parts. The first consists of a long Introduction, in which Dr. Gregory offers a number of preliminary observations on the importance and necessity of such an investigation in the present state of science; and on the chief causes which have contributed to frustrate the labours of metaphysicians more than those of physical enquirers. Many of these observations are sensible and ingenious, and illustrated by apposite examples. The direct and heavy charge, however, by which they are accompanied against the whole body of Necessarians, of a want of probity and veracity, is highly to be condemned as illiberal and unphilosophical. What we consider as the second part, forms the body of Dr. Gregory's work, in which, after an explanation of certain algebraical formulæ, or canons of universal application, he undertakes to demonstrate the following proposition: "that there is in mind a certain independent self-governing power, which there is not in body: in consequence of which there is a great difference between the relation of motive and action, and that of cause and effect in physics; and by means of which a person, in all common cases, may, at his own discretion, act either according to or in opposition to any motive, or combination of motives, applied to him; while body, in all cases, irresistibly undergoes the change corresponding to the cause, or combination of causes, applied to it." The third part of the work consists of an Appendix, containing objections to the author's reasoning, and answers to them. Dr. Gregory has evidently bestowed great pains and attention on this treatise; and

has been happy in the manner in which he has illustrated several abstract metaphysical questions. But that the data or axioms which he requires should be conceded to him; that the argument which he uses is unexceptionable; and that the application of his process decides the point at issue by legitimate mathematical deduction, will not, we apprehend, be granted by every metaphysician who is of the same school with our author. The Necessarian will pronounce the whole to be false reasoning, and object to the fundamental supposition on which it is built.

Such is the verdict of an anonymous author who has published a short treatise, entitled "Select Parts of the Introduction to Dr. Gregory's Philosophical and Literary Essays, methodically arranged, and illustrated with Remarks, by an Annotator." This writer asserts, that Dr. Gregory "has ascribed to all necessarians an hypothesis which no necessarian will admit; for not one can be found who will allow that a motive stands in exactly the same relation to the action which follows it, as one billiard-ball does to another which it strikes; or as the weight in the scale does to the motion and final situation of the balance." He does not enter, however, into a particular and laboured reply to Dr. Gregory's main argument. That task it should seem, he considers to be unnecessary, as the Dr. has not advanced any thing that seriously affects the doctrine of necessity, or that calls for a formal defence of it. He even goes so far as to question Dr. Gregory's qualifications for the task which he had imposed upon himself; and, by a selection of his different observations on the axiom, that every effect

must have a cause, endeavours to prove that his reasonings are inaccurate, inconsistent, and unintelligible. It will be regretted by many of his readers, that the author, who exhibits sufficient evidence of his acuteness, and acquaintance with the subject, has not entered immediately and fully into the main question.

The "Thoughts on moral Government and Agency, and on the Origin of moral Evil, in Opposition to the Doctrine of absolute, moral, christian, and philosophical Necessity, &c. by L. Butterworth," are the production of an author who, in advancing to the combat, is liberal and modest enough to express his apprehensions of the great difficulty and intricacy of the subject; and his doubts, whether any person possess sufficient abilities, so to solve the question in dispute, as to leave no room for farther objection or investigation. He considers, however, the cause of virtue and religion to be intimately connected with it; and that fatal consequences to both must result from the spread of the doctrine of necessity. With this persuasion, he is desirous of contributing something towards bringing the matter to such an issue, as may serve to fix the wavering minds of men, on the solid basis of truth. We cannot say that Mr. Butterworth offers any thing which will appear new to those who are acquainted with the principal writings in this controversy; or which the advocate for the doctrine of necessity will think entitled to a distinct and particular answer. His work, however, is methodical and argumentative, and well written in point of style and language.

The "two Letters on the Savage State, addressed to the late Lord Kaimes,

Kaims, by David Doig, L. L. D. F. S. S. A." are employed in contesting the doctrine of the universality of a savage state in the earliest ages of the world: a doctrine which has been embraced by great authorities both ancient and modern, and which Lord Kaims has made the basis of his Philosophy of Human Nature. After opposing to these authorities, others, of at least equal respectability; in favour of a contrary hypothesis, Dr. Doig enters into a learned and ingenious discussion of the question; and adduces a variety of arguments from history, analogy, and the state of civilization in different nations, to shew that his lordship's system is destitute of any solid foundation. This work, though a small one, possesses much merit; and deserves the attention of those who are desirous of investigating a subject, which has divided the philosophic world from a very early period.

The next article which calls for our notice, belongs partly to the ethical class, and partly to those of theology, political economy, and ecclesiastical history. It is entitled, "Miscellanies, philosophical, medical, and moral." This volume consists of six different essays. The first contains Observations on the Literature of the primitive Christian Writers; being an attempt to vindicate them from the Charge of Rousseau and Gibbon, that they were Enemies to Philosophy and human Learning. The second Essay is chiefly a Panegyric on the Character of Pamphilus of Casarea, one of the earliest Christian Martyrs. The third Essay, consists of Hints respecting the State and Education of the People, which are highly important and benevolent. The fourth Essay is entitled, Thoughts on the Origin of human

Knowledge, and on the Antiquity of the World. The fifth and sixth consist of Remarks on Professor Meiners's History of ancient Opinions respecting the Deity, and an account of Dr. Ellis's work on the Origin of sacred Knowledge. These Essays are the productions of an ingenious and sensible mind, well stored with knowledge and information, and liberal and comprehensive in its views. They contain much matter that is instructive and useful, as well as interesting and entertaining.

In our last year's Register we announced a translation from the Italian, of the "Analysis of the Science of Legislation," by the Chevalier Filangieri; and expressed our hope that the translator would be encouraged to lay before the public, the whole of the work of an author, who is highly and deservedly celebrated on the continent, for his ingenious and spirited legal and political investigations. It is with great pleasure that we have received from Mr. Kendal, who it appears was the translator of the Analysis, the first volume of that very valuable performance; and a promise of continuing the translation, should that volume meet with adequate encouragement. At a period like the present, when the principles of government are the subject of universal discussion, and of increasing attention, such a publication is peculiarly seasonable. And we would recommend to the careful perusal of our countrymen, his observations on the British constitution, in which, with equal freedom and ability, he points out its defects and errors, whilst he is not insensible of its merits.

In our History of French literature, in the same volume, we gave

a general account of the design and character of the following treatises: "the Constitutions of the principal European States, and of the United States of America, by M. de la Croix, Professor of Public Law at the Lyceum, in 3 Vols.;" and "the Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires, by Mr. Volney." The English reader has it now in his power to judge of the merit and importance of those elaborate and interesting publications; as the former has been translated into his native tongue, with notes, by the translator of the Abbé Raynal's Letter to the National Assembly of France, &c. and the latter by a person who appears to have been well qualified to do justice to the sense and spirit of the original.

The "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States of America, in which are unfolded the Principles of free Government, &c. by James Wilson, L. L. D. Professor of Laws in the College and University of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, &c. and by Thomas McKean, L. L. D. Chief Justice" of that commonwealth, consist of extracts from the debates on the constitution, which has since been adopted in America; which contain many just and sensible remarks on the science of government, and a very ingenious eloquent defence of the republican representative system.

The treatise entitled "Principles of Government, deduced from Reason, supported by English Experience, and opposed to French errors, by the Rev. R. Nares, A. M." is intended to overturn the old whiggish doctrine, that every man has naturally and essentially a right to govern himself, or to be governed by his own consent; and to establish

in opposition to it the maxim, "that the sources of all good government, and essentially of all right to govern, are wisdom and goodness." Many of Mr. Nares's readers will conceive that his maxim is a libel upon the greater part of the governments that have existed, or that do exist in the world. The sentiments, however, which occur throughout the whole of his treatise, enforcing submission to a fixed establishment, and explaining the benefits resulting from an hereditary monarchy, and an aristocratic order, as a medium power between king and people, and the high notions which he entertains concerning the kingly character, will oblige them to acquit him of publishing it with any seditious intention. His reasonings are plausible and ingenious; but frequently built on data, or a construction of words, which his opponents will contend to be erroneous and inadmissible. The tone which he assumes, when speaking of the advocates for different principles of government, is not very compatible with modesty or liberality.

The design of "Jura Anglorum, the Rights of Englishmen, by Francis Plowden, Esq." is to counteract "the attempts which have been lately made, with much rancour and much insolence, to misrepresent and vilify our constitution," and to prove it to be "the most perfect work of human polity." In endeavouring to fulfil the task which he had assigned himself, our author has transcribed with great freedom from the works of former writers on the same subject; to whose opinions he has added a variety of reasonings and observations of his own, which have nothing sufficiently novel or interesting in them to claim any peculiar attention, While

While appreciating the merits of different "modern state architects," and detecting the political heresy of the "malecontents of the hour," Mr. Plowden has not been sparing of invective, which he has poured on different descriptions of persons, without any proper and liberal discrimination.

To the political economist, the "Tracts on the Corn Laws of Great Britain, by George Skene Keith, A. M." will suggest many important and useful observations. The titles of these tracts are, An Enquiry into the Principles, by which all Corn Laws ought to be regulated; Application of these principles to the corn laws of Great Britain, now collected into one act of parliament; Enquiry into the expediency of repealing all our corn laws, and laying the corn trade entirely open; and Outlines of a new Corn Bill, or of a Bill to amend the late Corn Act, which commenced Nov. 15, 1791. In these Tracts Mr. Keith joins the respectable opponents to the corn bill, whose treatises were noticed by us in our last year's Register, and supports their objections, together with additional ones of his own, with great ingenuity and force. The principles which he lays down on the nature of corn laws, and the application of them to the present state of things in this country, are deserving the attention of the legislature, should the wisdom of that body direct them to a revision or an amendment of the present act.

The "Considerations on the Causes of the high Price of Grain, &c. by Catherine Phillips," are evidently the production of a sensible, humane, and benevolent mind; and give a popular view of

various topics, which are interesting to every member of the community. Whether they were suggested by a deep acquaintance with the subject, and a comprehensive policy, we must leave her readers to determine. Among other propositions for reducing the high prices of provisions, we meet with the following: to erect public granaries to be opened in times of scarcity; to abolish tythes of all kinds; to lessen the number of dogs; to increase the number of small farms; to diminish the unwarrantable waste of wheat in the articles of hair powder and starch; to enact certain restraining laws relative to the prices of sugar, &c. to encourage the home fisheries by means of premiums, &c; to make use of oxen for tillage in preference to horses; and to improve waste and barren lands.

The object and design of the next article which calls for our notice, will be sufficiently understood from its title-page, which we shall insert, premising only, that it contains a great variety of facts and observations, interesting to the commercial world as well as to the practical farmer. It is called "Observations on the different Breeds of Sheep, and the State of Sheep Farms in some of the Counties of England, drawn up from a Report transmitted to Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, Chairman of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool; by Messrs. Redhead, Laing, and Marshall, Store Farmers in the Counties of Roxburgh and Northumberland; together with Thoughts on the different Breeds of Sheep that ought to be propagated in Great Britain; Remarks on the State of Sheep Farming in the West Highlands, &c. &c."

The "Letter to every House-keeper

keeper in London, on Behalf of parochial Industry Schools, for every Child who has no other Opportunity of receiving Instruction in the several Duties of Life," is a short, but sensible and interesting publication, which deserves the attentive perusal of every person who is a well-wisher to the improvement of society.

The treatise "on the Prevention of Crimes, and on the Advantages of solitary Imprisonment, by John Brewster, A. M." is likewise deserving of commendation, as suggesting some useful hints to those humane and patriotic persons, whose attention is devoted to the melioration of their species.

Such also is the character of the "Appeal to the Humanity and Equity of the Nation, and on the Execution of Criminals, by Samuel Nealy." The author, in a plain and sensible manner, urges the necessity of correcting the sanguinary spirit of our penal code, and of sentencing criminals to shame and hard labour, rather than to death, if we would effectually represent to the mass of the people, the unhappy consequences of vice and degeneracy.

The same object has employed the pen of the Rev. E. Gillespy, in his "Disquisition of the Criminal Laws, shewing the Necessity of altering and amending them, &c." Mr. Gillespy not only expatiates on the impolicy and inexpediency, but disputes the right of society to put felons to death for stealing a little temporary property. The plan of punishment which he recommends, is that of obliging them to work for the benefit of that society which may have been injured by their depredations.

The treatise, entitled "the Evils of Adultery and Prostitution, with

an Enquiry into the Causes of their present alarming Increase, and some Means recommended for checking their Progress," is a publication abounding in just and interesting observations, of the highest importance not only to the happiness of individuals, but to the interests of the community. Were we to commend the author for any particular parts of his work, it would be for his Reasonings against the advocates for licensed prostitution, his Structures on the publications that are established and encouraged for the express purpose of disseminating lax and infamous morals, and his Observations on the effects of indiscriminate novel-reading. But in the estimation of every friend to the good order of society, and decency of manners, the whole of his tract will merit praise.

"The Rights of Juries defended, together with Authorities of Law in Support of those Rights, &c. by Charles Earl Stanhope," is a publication which does great credit to the noble lord's extensive legal information, and sound constitutional principles. It exhibits, with great force, the importance and value of "that impregnable fortress of the English constitution, the trial by jury;" and warmly cautions the people not to suffer it to be overthrown, "by the violent efforts, or artful designs of the enemies of public freedom." Since the passing of Mr. Fox's libel bill, the power is decidedly in their hands; and if they deserve the blessing, they will preserve it.

The "summary Hints for remedying various Defects in the Laws of Arrest and Imprisonment for Debt," are the productions of a liberal and humane writer, who, from the calm temperate manner in which

which he delivers his opinions, and the numerous cases of extreme hardship under the existing laws which he adduces, is entitled to the dispassionate attention of the legislature. He is not an advocate for speculative changes in government, but points out evils, which it would be criminal to connive at, or suffer to remain unredressed, in any well regulated constitution; which seriously affect the preservation of social union, tranquillity, and happiness.

The "Dissertation shewing that the House of Lords in Cases of Judicature, are bound by precisely the same Rules of Evidence, as are observed by all other Courts, &c. by Edward Christian, Esq. Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge," is a publication in which the learned professor discovers great ability and acuteness, and produces a variety of cases in which the practice of the house of lords, in their judicial capacity, and the opinions of many eminent men, support his position. This dissertation was occasioned by some severe animadversions in the house of commons, on a former treatise by our author on the subject of Mr. Hastings's Impeachment.

The short treatise "on the Law relative to Arbitration, containing adjudged Cases on that useful subject, to the present Time, digested and arranged under familiar heads; together with an Appendix of useful Precedents, by John Wilson," will be found of considerable use, in numerous cases, in directing arbitrators to the points which chiefly demand their attention. In such a commendable method of settling disputes, every help that may preclude the necessity of appealing to

the courts of law, is a real service done to the public.

The "Treatise on Conviction on penal Statutes, by William Boscowen, Esq. Barrister at Law," contains a summary of the rules, which have been laid down by the superior courts, in the cases mentioned in the title-page; which will be found useful to magistrates in the discharge of the most difficult and important parts of their function.

The "New Law Dictionary, intended for general Use, as well as for Gentlemen of the Profession, by Richard Burn, L. L. D. late Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle, and continued to the present Time, by John Burn, Esq. his Son, in 2 Vols." may be recommended as an useful appendix to Dr. Burn's other works; especially to those who are not acquainted with the professional terms which occur in them.

Among the publications in law, more immediately designed for the use of professional men, we find continuations of the following works: "Reports of Cases in the King's Bench, Vol. IV. Parts V. VI. VII. by Dornford and East;" "Reports of Cases in the Common Pleas, 32 Geo. III. Vol. II. Pt. I. by H. Blackstone, Esq.;" and "Reports of Cases in Chancery, from Michaelmas to the Resignation of Lord Thurlow, 32 Geo. III. by W. Brown, Esq."

The following are new publications: "The History of the Law of Shipping and Navigation (which, as a Book of Reference, will be of considerable Use to Merchants, as well as to the Profession) by J. Reeves, Esq.;" "A Treatise of Equity, Vol. I. by J. Fonblanque;" "An Enquiry into the State of the legal and judicial Polity of Scotland,

land, by J. Martin, Part I.;" "The Practice of the Courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas, Pt. I. by John Baker Sellon, Esq.;" "A Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Naval Courts Martial, with an Appendix, containing original Papers and Documents illustrative of the Text, &c. by John M^rArthur;" "Exemptions from the Payment of Tythes of the Lands of the Monasteries dissolved by Henry VIII. as argued in the Case of Devie against Lord Brownlow, in Chancery;" "The Practice of the Court of Great Session for Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, &c. by R. Foley, Secondary of the Circuit;" "A Systematical View of the Laws of England, the Vineyard Lectures at Oxford, by R. Woddeson, Esq.;" "The Law of Costs, by J. Hullock;" "The Law of costs in Civil Actions, by W. Tidd; and "The Practice of the Law, by J. F. Schiefer, Esq."

The following republications have likewise appeared during the year 1792: "Wood's Body of Conveyancing, a new Edition, with great Improvements, by J. J. Powell, Esq. Vol. III." which completes the work; "Bott's Decisions on the Poor Laws, much enlarged, by F. Const, 2 Vols.;" "A Digest of the Laws of England, by Sir J. Comyns, a new Edition, in 6 Vols. by S. Kyd, Esq.;" "Reports of Cases, by the same, a new Edition, in 2 Vols. by S. Rose, Esq.;" "Croke's Reports, a new Edition, in 4 Vols. by T. Leach, Esq.;" and "Cases in Crown Law, in the King's Bench, from the 4th Geo. II. to the 32 Geo. III." by the last mentioned gentleman.

In the department of mathematics, British Literature, during the year 1792, hath been uncom-

monly barren. Excepting the treatise entitled, "Perpetual and determinable Annuities reduced to Level, or a comparative View of long and short Annuities; with 3 per Cent. reduced, and 3 per Cent. consols. at the Bank of England, &c. by William Blewett Author of Tables for buying and selling Stock," we do not recollect having met with any publication that is purely mathematical. This work, as is obvious from the title-page, will be principally acceptable to gentlemen who are accustomed to frequent the stock exchange, to whom it may prove an useful pocket companion.

One other publication only, of a mathematical nature, have we to announce to our readers; which is "The Architecture of M. Vitruvius Pollio, translated from the original Latin, by W. Newton, Architect, Vol. II. Folio, Royal Paper." This is a continuation of a curious and splendid work, the completion of which, on account of its fidelity, and the numerous just criticisms and remarks of the translator, and the excellent engravings by which it is illustrated, has been long wished for by the public. The subjects of the present volume are, the proper situation, proportions, and dispositions of private buildings; pavements, plaistering, painting, and stucco work; the qualities of water, and how to conduct it; the principles of distilling; machines necessary in building, and for raising water; and military mechanics and architecture. These particulars are illustrated by twenty well-executed engravings.

[It is with great pleasure that we again give the post of honour to Mr. Herschell, in the department of natural

natural philosophy. The Philosophical Transactions, whose annual delay continues to increase, have, in the volume for this year appeared in a more splendid form, and deserve attention rather from the importance, than the number of the articles. Of these Mr. Herschell's are the most conspicuous. His artificial eyes, which he has constantly rendered more acute, have been directed to the ring of Saturn; have ascertained its thickness, and shewn that it is not formed of a continuous substance through its whole breadth. This very distant planet is also found to be supplied with an additional source of reflected light, by the discovery of a fifth satellite, whose motions, so far as they have been ascertained, appear to obey the usual general law. The dark parts of our own satellite have been also more accurately examined, and some luminous points, whose nature or design have not yet been discovered, appear in it. One of the now numerous class of wandering stars is added to the list, and, what may be owing to a similar excentricity, the periodical appearance of α Ceti is more clearly ascertained. It has been usual, with respect to Mr. Herschell, to find nihil simile aut secundum; but another paper, in the same collection, by M. Schroeter, entitled "Observations on the Atmospheres of Venus and the Moon, their respective Densities, perpendicular Heights, and the Twilight occasioned by them," deserves particular attention. The author shews, from accurate observation, that the planet and the satellite, though supposed destitute of air, really have their respective atmospheres, which, in different situations, influence their appearance. The separate treatise on the

"Horizontal Sun and Moon" is connected with astronomy, but, from its real influence on the science, or its general importance, deserves only to be mentioned. Geometry and chronology, so far as they depend on astronomical observation, have not made considerable progress. Mr. Topping's letter to Mr. Cavallo "On the Measurement of the Base Line on the Coast of Coromandel" is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, and will be of great service in ascertaining the respective positions of different places, in the peninsula of India. Mr. Wilkins' Paper on the civil year of the Hindoos, and Mr. Mariden's Letter to Dr. Blagden, correcting an error in his Chronology of the Hindoos, both in the late volume of the Transactions, are judicious and correct. The second volume of the Asiatic Researches might have furnished us with additional information in this respect. We hoped to have been able to add its contents in this sketch, but have not, from various causes, been able to consider it hitherto with sufficient attention. Mudge's Time-keeper, connected both with astronomy and scientific geography, has lately received its just reward from parliament. The facts, on which the claim was grounded, were published during this year: and they seem to be equally strong and authentic.

If we descend from other worlds to our own atmosphere, we shall find, that the phenomena, which occur in it, have shared the attention of philosophers. Mr. Read's Meteorological Journal on Atmospheric Electricity, in which he has contrived to collect the small particles of this fluid floating in the air, and to render its nature conspicuous, deserves commendation

tion and imitation. It is by imitation, and comparing the states of the air at different places, and the same period, that we can detect this fleeting body in its changes, and in its influence on atmospheric phenomena. Since the period of the publication of the volume in which this Paper appeared, we find the Journal published separately, with some judicious remarks on the floating electricity, styled by him "spontaneous," with an attempt to explain some appearances of storms, in consequence of it. Whether electricity is concerned in the production of the expanse vapour, produced by evaporation, which affects the Barometer by pressure, described by M. de Luc in his paper "on Evaporation" in the same collection, is uncertain. He has alluded to it in "*Idees sur le Meteorologie*;" but has so much expanded the subject in the article before us, that we find it difficult to collect any distinct ideas, by which our knowledge is advanced. Earthquakes are now more distinctly known to be electrical phenomena, and their direction probably depends on the nature of the strata, either as conductors or non-conductors, according to the state of the atmosphere; for one, recorded in the present volume of the Transactions, which occurred the 25th of February, 1792, followed the same direction as those of 1703 and 1750. The magnetic, a kindred fluid of equal subtlety and almost equally incomprehensible, has received, in this period, little attention. Mr. Beannet has suspended the magnetic needle, on a spider's web, by which its sensibility is greatly increased. The same author has also shewn, that pure brass is not magnetic. He has constructed too a vane of peculiar sensibility. The

Meteorological Journals, those for instance of the Society, and of Mr. Barker at Rutland, are inserted in the annual volume of the Transactions, but afford little remark, except the very great quantity of rain, which fell at Selborne, in Hampshire, exceeding 44 inches, in the year 1791.

The appearance and transmission of light and heat, subjects within the most common observation, have been probably on that account disregarded. Mr. Wedgewood, jun. in two Papers of the Transactions, has examined "the Production of Light from Bodies by Heat and Attrition;" and his observations on the time, at which bodies, after having been exposed to a given heat, emit light, are curious, and may at some future time illustrate the theory of this dark subject. At present, the observations, little connected with general principles, are less interesting. Sir Benjamin Thomson's Experiments on the conducting Power of different Substances, in other words, on the comparative power of different substances in conducting heat, and inversely of preserving heat, are more entertaining and more immediately applicable. Our knowledge of heat is not greatly improved. It was supposed to add weight to calcined metals; but Dr. Fordyce seems to have shewn, that the increase of weight from calcination is owing to the water; in other terms, we may now be allowed to say, to the decomposed water. The doctrine of airs, which are nearly connected with heat, has received little addition in this year. Dr. Pearson has confirmed Mr. Tennent's experiments, of the decomposition of fixed air, and he has most decidedly shewn that the French chemists were cor-

rect in styling it Carbone; for it is wholly convertible into charcoal, as the charcoal was before found to be convertible into fixed air. Dr. Beddoes has also shown, that airs of different kinds are separated in the process for converting cast into malleable iron: so that, probably, cast iron may be considered as an oxyd. These papers occur in the Philosophical Transactions. Antonini, in his Treatise on Gunpowder, has not greatly contributed to our knowledge of the production of air, though so nearly connected with his subject. The merit of this work, which has been lately translated, consists rather in an accurate estimation of the effects of the evolved air. A new fulminating powder has been discovered by Dr. Pearson in his experiments on the decomposition of fixed air; it is a combination of phosphorus and lime, which explodes in cold water, and more rapidly in hot: it is however apparently less powerful and less destructive than the fulminating silver of Berthollet. The dispute between Mr. Ramsden and Dr. Blagden on the methods of estimating the specific gravity of spirituous liquors, which occur in this volume of the Transactions, it is sufficient to mention.

Of separate productions on air and the chemical nature of aerial fluids, our account must be very short. The attention of the French chemists is unfortunately diverted to less pleasing and less useful occupations, and our countrymen seem to have felt the shock, and it has contributed to render them torpid. A Mr. Bewley has published a Treatise on Air, but has only endeavoured to assist the progress of some absurd fancies of a Dr. Harrington; and Dr. Peart, in his Treatise "on the Properties of Matter and the

Constitution of Aeriform Fluids," though not equally trifling and eccentric, has added little to our knowledge on this subject. In the application of chemistry, we cannot be much more copious. Berthollet's work on the "Art of Dying," is indeed a valuable one; and it is well translated by Dr. William Hamilton. Martin's Essay on the "Art of Dying," is rather practical than scientific, but contains some judicious remarks. So far as chemistry is applied to medical purposes, the prospect is not more favourable. The Analysis of Tunbridge Wells-Water is a very trifling performance, and adds little to our knowledge. The Pharmacopeia Edinensis is indeed a valuable work, and the college have, with ability, availed themselves of the latest discoveries; but the frequent republication of their work, though it enables them to follow up every improvement more closely, prevents any one edition from being very considerably superior to that which preceded it. We must regret, that they have been too much affected with the fashionable mania of innovation in their Nomenclature. A judicious Analysis of the New London Pharmacopeia has appeared in this period by Dr. White; in a very excellent little tract entitled "A New Collection of Medical Prescriptions." It is chiefly valuable for the extracts taken from the practitioners of the continent, which the authors of our best systems of the materia medica and pharmacy have looked at it too cursorily. We have scarcely, in examining the productions of this year, met with any new medicine of importance, or any remarkable discovery in the management and exhibition of those already known. Mr. James' Observations

on the Bark of the broad-leaved Willow, is little more than a republication of Mr. Stone's recommendation of another species of willow, so successfully ridiculed by Dr. Hill. The class of such medicines is already sufficiently large. Simpson's Observations on Cold Bathing are exceedingly trifling and inaccurate. Mr. Latham's Plan of a Charitable Institution for Sea-Bathing is a benevolent attempt, unconnected with medical enquiries. Mr. Chamberlain has again drawn the attention of the faculty to the *Stizilobium* or Cowhage, the hairy pods of the *dolicha pruriens*, as an anthelmintic; and there are some instances in the third volume of the Medical Memoirs, a singularly crude and inaccurate publication, of the utility of electricity in ague and gutta serena. From our censure on this collection, we of course exclude the papers we have just mentioned, and we shall exclude also Dr. Parry's Observations on the Effects of compressing the Carotids in those nervous diseases, which seem to depend on fullness of the vessels of the head, and too great sensibility of the brain. We know not whether the account of the good Effects of oil, used as an unction, recommended first we believe by Dr. Sims, be worth selecting from the same collection. Though the remedy be doubtful, and its effects uncertain, yet the disease is so dreadful, and usually so fatal, that every resource is of consequence: oil cannot more often fail than every other plan. The use of Gum Guaiacum in Dropsy, by Mr. Chamberlain, in which it acted as a laxative, of the white vitriol, in the Chorea St. Viti by Dr. Wright, and in Angina Pectoris, by Dr. William Perkins, in the same collection, must rest

on the merits of their respective recommenders. Each may at times appear to succeed, and each will certainly very often fail. Mr. Griffiths, in relating a case of the reproduction of the sphincter Ani, has informed us of his having experienced the good effects of a fomentation of fresh porter, and of cummin-seed poultice, in cases of mortification; and Dr. Pargeter, in a very useful publication on maniacal diseases, has recommended a new and probably useful form of exhibiting camphor in these cases, combined with vinegar.

Dr. May, in a Treatise on Consumption, has recommended bark, and warm stimulants, and a full diet; it appears one of the weaker sprouts from the dying stock of Dr. Brown: while Dr. White, in a posthumous publication, for which we are indebted to the care of Dr. A. Hunter, of York (who, by the way, has, in an Appendix, very satisfactorily defended himself from the attacks of Mr. Mason, respecting the conduct of the Lunatic Asylum), recommended the bark with more propriety, and apparently more advantage, in the same complaint. He confines it to what may be termed the nervous phthisis, or rather that kind, where inflammation is less conspicuous, the arterial system highly irritable, cough slight, but teasing, and the strength decaying. He gives it in a liquid form, with spirit or elixir of vitriol; and, from some late trials, this plan, it is said, promises to be advantageous. Dr. Wade has appeared before us in different shapes. We are indebted to him for a paper "on the Prevention and Treatment of Disorders in Bengal," for "Select Evidence on the Method of treating the Bengal Fever," and for an Essay on "the Nature and

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Effects of Emetics in diseases of Bengal. He appears to be an attentive careful practitioner; but the great body of information, to be derived from his works, seems to be the observations on the use of purgatives in the fevers of Bengal, and the remarks on the diseases of the liver, with the management of mercury in these complaints. The modes of prevention are not particularly new, nor require particular sagacity to discern, or strength to enforce them; and indeed the same may be said of Mr. Renwick's very benevolent "Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of Sickness in Ships of War." Yet the inconveniences exist, and ought to be remedied; nor should this be considered as tending to depreciate the merit of Mr. Renwick's labours, which deserve more attention, and more ample rewards, than they seem to have yet received. Dr. Trotter's "Observations on the Scurvy;" and Dr. Bell's "Enquiry on the Causes which produce, and the Means of preventing Diseases among British Officers and Soldiers in the West Indies," are works of a similar kind. Dr. Bell's Dietetic Directions are singularly judicious, and merit particular regard from those who cross the Atlantic; but the chief distinguishing feature of Dr. Trotter's work is his system, that scurvy proceeds from a defect of vital air in the fluids; a system which he endeavours, unsuccessfully, to support from the appearances and remedies. If a defect of vital air occurs in any disease, we now know it to be in cancerous cases; but the theory has not yet found its way into medical works, and probably has never yet occurred to the practitioner. If it has occurred, the difficulty of conducting it, and the variety of me-

thods which must offer, may have impeded or perplexed him. We find no traces of it, in Mr. Pearson's very judicious "Practical Observations on Cancers," which contain much sound observation, and many valuable remarks on the effects of different remedies. From the "Plan adopted in the Middlesex Hospital for Persons afflicted by Cancer," so well explained, and indeed probably contrived, by Mr. Howard, we may expect some material assistance in the cure of this dreadful malady.

A disease equally loathsome, though not equally dangerous, as its remedy is better known, has shared the attention of practitioners, in this period. Mr. Jesse Foot has favoured us with his Lectures on the Lues Venerea: and, though there is reason to condemn him for apparently a prejudiced opposition to Mr. Hunter, for a language too pompous, and a style too diffuse, yet many valuable remarks occur in his work. The history of the disease employs much of his attention, and from this, connected with Dr. Sanchez "Historical Investigation of the first Appearance of the Venereal Disease," translated about the same time, the opinion has generally prevailed, that it appeared before Columbus' first return from America; very certainly before his second, when it was supposed to have been conveyed from the American islands. It may be useful to remark, that from various incidental observations during this year, opium does not deserve the credit it has had in the cure. It mitigates irritability, and renders mercury more mild, without apparently destroying its peculiar specific effect: but it does no more. Schrophula, the reputed offspring of lues, has been illustrated by Dr.

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Robert Hamilton, who has collected what authors have said, and delivered the result of his own observations, in a manner equally judicious and instructive. On such a subject it is difficult to add to our knowledge, for it seems beyond the reach of medicine. The terra ponderosa salita seems to be of little service. It has failed in the hands of Dr. Ferriar, whose "Medical Histories and Reflections" occurred in the course of this year, and in the hands of other authors in whose works it has incidentally occurred. Yet it seems sometimes to have done good. Whether Mr. Roberts' medicine, mentioned in his Remarks on Schrophula, remarks published, seemingly, with the view only of recommending it, will succeed better, must be left to experience. We forgot just now to mention Mr. Houlston's Sketches of the Venereal Disease. They relate to different parts of the subject, which are ably treated of. The most particular part of the work to the general reader is, whether what has been styled the local disease is of the same nature with the real lues. It seems probably not to be so; but we shall speak again on the subject in our next volume. Apoplexy and gout are disorders more certainly fatal. We have not greatly added to our knowledge by Dr. Gardiner's or Dr. Jean's treatises; for the former contains little but the Boerhaavian system in a new and less advantageous dress: and the latter is chiefly conspicuous for an affected refinement of language. To Dr. Kirkland we have more obligations, for he has certainly cleared away some difficulties, and made some just distinctions. There is undoubtedly a species of the disease, as he contends, not depending on compression, but on irrita-

tion of the nervous system. This state, in some measure analogous to the effects of concussion, is quieted by opiates; and there is undoubtedly a difference, which he makes, between irritating and animating medicines; in other words, between stimulants and tonics. In persons apparently drowned, the apoplectic symptoms are less violent. This subject, so often brought forward, and so vaguely treated, begins to assume a more consistent form. Mr. Kete's essay, in the third volume of the Medical Memoirs, is a very able one, and Mr. Coleman's "Dissertation on suspended Respiration" is still more accurate in ascertaining the changes that take place, and the remedies best adapted for that state. It will, however, appear surprizing, that prizes and medals have been lavished for dissertations, while, at this moment, we are not in any respect improved in the management of such cases; and that our success is, at this time, not so great as that of the society of Paris, where the rules were plain and simple, the operators most commonly the soldiers of the guard. Dr. Curries' "Popular Observations" on this subject are not peculiarly valuable, or of any great importance.

There are but few more general works on the practice of physic which deserve attention. Templeman's Practice of Physic is a trifling, superficial performance, and Mr. Munro's "Compendious System of the Theory and Practice of modern Surgery," is valuable for its very judicious arrangement of surgical diseases, and for its perspicuity. It indeed aims at no more. The medical commentaries are continued with the usual punctuality; and their merits as well as their im-

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perfections, have received little increase or amendment. Dr. Ferriar's "Medical Histories and Reflections" we have already mentioned: the most judicious remarks in this collection are on dropsies, and lumbago. Dr. Worthington's Treatise on Dorfel Spasim appears to be one peculiar disease, but, from his description, it seems to be only a rheumatic lumbago: but he has not added so much to our knowledge of the method of cure as Dr. Ferriar.

Disorders of the eyes seems to have been peculiarly attended to in this period. We shall first mention Mr. Peacock's Essay on the Blindness occasioned by Cataracts, as he hints at a method of curing the opacity, without an operation. His method appears to consist in the use of general and active stimulants. Mr. Ware, in a paper, inserted in the Memoirs of the Medical Society, has mentioned the dissolution of a cataract by violent inflammation, in one or two instances, and has added greatly to our knowledge of diseases of the eye by his remarks on Epiphora, &c. as well as by many judicious notes, added to a translation of M. de Wenzel, junior, on the extraction of the cataract. M. Richter's "Essay" on the same subject, has been also translated during this year. Mr. Wells, in his treatise on "Single Vision with two Eyes, and similar Subjects," has equally illustrated the physiology of this organ.

Other branches of physiology have not made a considerable progress. M. Blumenbach's Essay on Generation, we have received in an English dress; but this author seems to have been more successful in combating the systems of former authors, than in establishing a more secure one. His "For-

mative Nifus" supplies us with little more than words, like the *Moule Interieure* of Count de Buffon. The theory of generation has been illustrated by an appearance which is præternatural, but not new, an account of an extra-uterine foetus well described and illustrated by Dr. Krohn; another instance occurs in the Medical Memoirs; these however inform us of little more, than that the first rudiments of life do not commence in the uterus itself. Mr. Scaffi's *Treatise de Foetu Humano*, published at Edinburgh, contains a pretty full, and, so far as is known, an accurate account of the first animation and progressive growth of the foetus, till it becomes an infant. Before, however, we can pursue the future man, in his different changes, we must attend to a little controversy between Dr. Osborne and Dr. Hamilton, the present professor of midwifery at Edinburgh, and Dr. Denman his former colleague. Dr. Hamilton had spoken with too little horror, in Dr. Osborne's opinion, of the Cæsarian section, and not with sufficient approbation of the operation of embriuleia, which the latter had recommended, in cases supposed to be desperate. With his former colleague, he differed, respecting the employment of the vectis, an instrument used in delivery, and its preference to the forceps. It is enough to mention this controversy in our present sketch, and to remark, that Dr. Osborne, in each instance, appears a little too irritable, and mixes personal feelings with the cause of science. His observations are, however, in general, judicious; and Dr. Hamilton's Reply, in many respects, just and satisfactory. We may be allowed to mention, in this place, that the latter author has, in this

year, republished his *Treatise of Female Complaints*, which, from the cursory view we have been able to take of it, is greatly improved both in form and substance. The influence of different causes on the constitution, deserves to be noticed, particularly the difference between immersion in fresh and salt water, suggested to Dr. Currie by the effects of shipwreck on some mariners. Immersion in salt water was more easily borne than alternate exposure to water and air, and salt water produced less injury than fresh. These are the principal facts established in Dr. Currie's Paper, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and they are mixed with some inaccuracies, and some errors. Another function of the human body has been illustrated by Mr. Houghton, in the *Memoirs of the Medical Society*, viz. the Influence of the laryngeal and recurrent Branches of the eighth Pair of Nerves on the Voice. The voice was lost on dividing them, and seemingly restored on their union; but, when nerves unite, their functions are not continued. The influence of the mind on the body has been noticed by Dr. Corp, in a vague, trifling essay on this subject; and we shall have no better place of mentioning three inconsiderable works, the late Dr. Hooper's *Discourse on the best Means of Improving the Science of Medicine*; Dr. Vaughans' *Essay on Modern Cloathing*; and Dr. Cadogan's late *Oratio Anniversaria*. In this last we must praise the language; nor can we censure the author for not having advanced any thing new on a subject so hackneyed.

When the last scene of man's life is finished, and he is consigned, in common language, to worms and to the dust, the philosopher has

discovered some singular changes not before noticed. It occurred first in France; and in the last volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, we find this change not confined to man. The human body is gradually converted into a substance resembling spermaceti in all its properties; and, in the collection just referred to, a bird was discovered, whose substance was changed in the same manner.

Having thus followed man from the first dawn of life even beyond the grave, we must next notice the other works of the Supreme Being. Dr. Kerr, is translating the improved edition of Linnæus' *Zoology*, by G. Melin, and has added considerably to the stock. The first part is published, and appears to be executed ably. Mr. Pennant's *Indian Zoology* is an accurate list of the natural animated productions of India, with references to the best authors, and best plates. It is illustrated by sixteen plates, and a short, in some places a very entertaining, account of the objects of these plates. Mr. Forster's *Essay on the Climate of India*, and on the Bird of Paradise, supposed to be the Phoenix of the Ancients, are prefixed, and add to its value. Mr. Walcott's *System of Ornithology* is illustrated with plates, more accurate than elegant; but this work, with Mr. Latham's Index, mentioned in our last volume, furnishes the ornithologist with more information than he will easily meet with at the same rate, and in the same bulk. The failure of haddocks on the coast of Northumberland, mentioned by Mr. Abbs in the *Philosophical Transactions*, belongs to this place; but it was occasioned by lightning, when the swarm of haddocks, if the expression be allowed, was emerging from the

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the shores of the Baltic. Dr. Hunter's Account of Bees, in the same volume, is singularly comprehensive and accurate. We may distinguish, with particular applause, what he says of the queen bee, of the combs, the wax, and the anatomy of the bee. But it is impossible to give even the minutest sketch of the important observations in this Paper, in the present department of our work.

If we descend to the vegetable kingdom, we must first notice the completion of Dr. Darwin's very elegant and beautiful poem, the *Botanic Garden*. The first part, though last published, appeared in this year, and it comprehends not only the theory of vegetation, but a poetical description of natural phenomena, and machinery, whose rugged names, and construction might be supposed least suited to the harmony of numbers. Dr. "Smith's third *Fasciculus*," executed with unimpaired diligence and accuracy, is also published, as well as the second volume of Dr. Woodville's *Medical Botany*, which owes much of its merit to the Linnæan Collection, and its possessor. Sir Richard Clayton has published M. de la Croix's elegant *Georgic*, entitled the *Conubia Florum*, with a judicious Introduction on the Discovery and Progress of the Sexual System, and notes illustrating the poem from the best naturalists and philosophers; nor ought we to forget Dr. Moseley's *Treatise on Coffee*, or Dr. Rush's Account of the very valuable tree, the "Sugar Maple."]]

Among the historical productions of the year, the first in point of order, which we have to announce is, "The History of Rome, from the Foundation of the City by

Romulus, to the Death of Marcus Antoninus, by the Author of the History of France, in 3 Volumes." The History of France, mentioned in the title-page, was noticed by us in this department of our Register for the year 1790. The present work was undertaken by the author, with a view to introduce his readers to an acquaintance with the Roman History, from the earliest periods to the accession of Commodus, when Mr. Gibbon's celebrated work commences. He professes to have made Hooke and Ferguson his principal guides; but not without consulting, occasionally, every Latin and French author, from whom he might expect to derive information. From the extent of the author's plan it will be obvious, that he can have designed nothing more than an abridgment of the principal facts and circumstances which arose during the nine centuries which pass under his view; more full and complete than the compendium of Goldsmith, and possessing greater recommendations to general readers than the extensive and valuable publications to which he has chiefly resorted for his materials. Considered in this light, we have no hesitation in pronouncing this History to be a judicious, interesting, and useful performance. In his style and language the author has evidently taken Mr. Gibbon for his model, of whom he is not an unsuccessful imitator. To the same author has been attributed an abridgment of Mr. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in the year 1789, in 2 vols. which we have heard spoken of in the warmest terms of commendation, but which we have not seen.

The next article which we have

to insert is, "The History of France, from the earliest Times to the present important Æra, from the French of Villy, Villaret, Garnier, Mezeray, Daniel, and other eminent Historians, with Notes critical and explanatory, by John Gifford, Esq. Vols. I. II. Quarto." These volumes, which are very closely printed, contain a vast fund of materials relative to the history of France, from the days of Pharamond to the end of the reign of Charles XI. in 1461, selected with judgment, and arranged with clearness and chronological exactness. The author has also interwoven, with the civil history of the country, a variety of interesting particulars respecting the origin and nature of its laws, the institution of parliaments, the foundation of orders, the state of religion, the progress of commerce and arts, the introduction and prevalence of customs and manners, together with numerous anecdotes and remarks, which are entertaining and instructive. Mr. Gifford's work is not entitled to pre-eminence as a philosophical history; but, as an accurate and dispassionate narrative of facts, it merits the attention of the intelligent reader, and may be perused by the less informed with much advantage. These volumes are written with correctness and perspicuity, and ornamented with engraved heads, and some historical plates.

In our History of the Domestic Literature of the year 1790, we mentioned the pleasure and information which we had received from the perusal of "Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning, and Manners of the Hindoos, with a concise Account of the present native Powers of Hindostan." During the pre-

sent year, Mr. Craufurd, the author of that work, has republished it, with considerable and important additions. These additions consist, partly of new matter interwoven with the former sketches, and partly of two new sketches; one on the affinity between the religion of Siam, Japan, and Thibet, and that of Hindostan; and the other on the affinity between the inhabitants of India, and those of ancient Egypt. For a considerable part of the materials of which these new sketches are composed, Mr. Craufurd is indebted to Mr. Playfair's paper in the Edinburgh Transactions, Sir William Jones's Essays in the Asiatic Researches, the Lettres Edifiantes and Curieuses, and the MSS. of Mr. Bogle, who was admitted to repeated audiences and conversations with the Teshoo Lama. To this account of a republication, which, from its interesting subjects and classical neatness, we thought it our duty to notice, we shall only add, that the author's new matter is highly curious and entertaining.

"The History of the Troubles and memorable Transactions in Scotland, from the Year 1624 to 1645, &c. from the original MS. of John Spalding, then Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen, in 2 Vols." appears to contain a faithful narrative of the public and private occurrences which came within the author's knowledge, delivered with great plainness and simplicity, and in the vernacular dialect of the times. Many of the anecdotes related in it respecting that troublesome period, and the persons who were the most conspicuous actors on the scene, are interesting, and appear to us to be new. The work, however, is too irregular and miscellaneous to be dignified with the

the name of history. Mr. Spalding was a violent enemy to the covenanters, and entertained very high notions of the royal prerogative. His mind, likewise, was abundantly tinctured with the superstition of that ignorant age.

"The History of Political Transactions, and of Parties, from the Restoration of Charles the Second, to the Death of King William, by Thomas Somerville, D. D." is a valuable and important work, and entitled to distinguished notice from the historian and from the politician. Dr. Somerville's principal objects are, to illustrate the national advantages resulting from the Revolution in 1688, and to examine into their political origin; to develop the characters and views of the leading agents in the transactions of the times, and to point out the political instructions which may be deduced from their history. In order to accomplish these objects, he finds it necessary to review the two preceding reigns; to trace the various causes and combinations of parties which co-operated in producing the revolution; and to establish the true history of the subsequent events which took place during the reign of king William. A careful and dispassionate perusal of this history has established Dr. Somerville's claim, in our estimation, to a very respectable rank among philosophical historians. He appears to have investigated, with great diligence, every legitimate source of information; to have stated such political facts as were necessary to be introduced for the elucidation of his subject, with accuracy and impartiality; and to have appreciated the motives and springs of action, and to have drawn his conclusions with penetration, candour, and liberality. To the

friends of civil and religious freedom, the only consistent supporters of the British constitution, and to the enemies of oppression, syco-phancy, and intolerance, the enlarged and manly sentiments which occur throughout the whole work will be peculiarly acceptable. They will find too, with pleasure, that he very ably and successfully defends the character of king William, against the absurd and malevolent aspersions cast on him by Mr. Macpherson: and that he suggests a variety of judicious reasons to shew, why we should be cautious in attaching guilt to the characters of many of the individuals, whom that author is willing to implicate in the charge of maintaining a traiterous correspondence with the court of St. Germain's. The style and language of this history are perspicuous, correct, elegant, and sometimes animated.

"The secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles the Second, by a Member of his Privy Council, &c." is a publication which offers itself to the notice of the public under very questionable circumstances. Whether it be a genuine production of the earl of Clarendon, as the anonymous editor would have us conclude, or whether it is to be ascribed to a more modern author, we will not take upon ourselves to decide: nor do we think that it offers sufficient internal evidence by which to determine the question. The information which it contains is chiefly of a political nature; and that relating to transactions which have been already unveiled before the public eye. The period to which it refers, is confined to the first nine years of king Charles's reign, after his restoration. To this narrative the editor has prefixed a well written summary of the

the reigns of James I. and Charles I. and added a supplement, containing a spirited continuation of the history of the revolution, professedly taken from Mrs. Macaulay. He has likewise accompanied the work by a variety of notes, which evince his zealous attachment to the interests of liberty.

"The History of the principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament, from the Year 1634 to 1666, &c. by the Right Hon. Lord Mountmorres, in 2 Vols." is a compilation that does great credit to the industry, and public spirit of the noble lord, and will afford gratification to the curious student in politics and history. It was Lord Mountmorres's design at first to write a short account of every session of both houses, from the commencement of the Journals. Being however afterwards convinced, that the industry of an individual was not equal to so laborious a work, he confined his plan to the period mentioned in the title-page. To relieve the reader from the dry detail of parliamentary proceedings, his lordship has inserted a short but interesting life of the first duke of Ormond, collected from the papers of Sir Robert Southwell, secretary of state for Ireland. He has likewise introduced into his work, some judicious and pleasing strictures on the principal political characters in the Irish parliament during the last century. The Appendix contains some useful political documents. To the whole the noble author has prefixed a preliminary Discourse on the ancient parliaments of Ireland; and an account of the expedition of Earl Strongbow, and of Henry II. into Ireland, taken from Giraldus Cambrensis.

"The secret History of the armed

Neutrality, together with Memoirs, official Letters, and State Papers, illustrative of that celebrated Confederacy," if authentic, presents us with a curious specimen of the intrigues of courts, and of the sudden revolutions in politics which favourites sometimes create, in order to gratify their personal resentments. This secret history is said to have been originally written in French, by a German nobleman.

The "Review of the Reigns of Geo. I. and II. by a Lady, in 2 Vols." appears to be the production of a person, who is willing to devote the hours which she can snatch from domestic engagements, or from the inanity of common chit chat, to a better employment than reading the trash which modern presses pour forth, to catch the notice of the female world. Some parts of it are written in an agreeable and pleasing manner. But we cannot speak highly of it as an historical work.

In our last volume we announced the publication of "An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America, by Prince Madog ap Owen Gwynedd, about the year 1170, by John Williams, L. L. D." During the present year the same author has published "farther Observations" on the same subject; in which he particularly undertakes to confirm an opinion advanced by him in his former work, that there exists at present a numerous tribe of Indians in the western parts of North America who speak the British language. The evidence to which he principally appeals is that of Bowles, the Creek or Cherokee Indian, lately in London; which is supported by the written or oral testimony of others, who are said to have had frequent inter-views

views with those Indians, and to have discoursed with them in the Welch language. Modern scepticism, however, is still dissatisfied, and will not be convinced till an expedition has been undertaken into the country where this colony is said to be settled. A subscription for defraying the expence of such an expedition, is warmly recommended by Dr. Williams.

The "historical Sketch of the French Revolution from its Commencement to the Year 1792," is the production of a sensible and able writer, who, lamenting that the English nation has hitherto preferred "eloquent declamation or metaphysical discussion of abstract rights, to plain history and chronology," considered it to be his duty to engage in the present attempt. He is frank enough, however, at the commencement of his work, to confess his bias against the principles and measures of the democracy, and that "he heartily espouses the greatest part of Mr. Burke's sentiments, although some of them are carried a little too far." The reader, therefore, will expect to find, that his narrative receives a colouring from the author's prepossessions; and that he depends for his facts chiefly on authorities not the most favourable to the popular cause. This colouring we conceive to be too much heightened, to be consistent with impartiality; and the detail to be too closely copied from those writers, who have not been over scrupulous in using every method in their power to hold out the revolution, and the principal agents concerned in effecting it, to contempt and execration. The author's reflections, when not tinged by his political principles, are frequently judicious and

liberal, and do him credit as a man of humanity and virtue.

"The History of the Revolution of France, translated from the French of M. Rabaut de Saint Etienne," is a work which is distinguished by much higher claims to the attention and approbation of the public. The author, who as a legislator and as an orator, was a conspicuous and very respectable member of the first national assembly, undertook this history, in order to vindicate the character and reputation of his country, from the suggestions of malice, of calumny, and of faction. It was not his design, however, to offer to his readers a complete and finished performance, but "to sketch a rapid picture of the revolution, as an account of the battle is given, on the day following that on which the battle was fought." For this task M. Rabaut seems to have been peculiarly qualified. After a repeated perusal of his judicious, interesting, and animated history, we have no hesitation in subscribing to the character given of him by Mr. White his translator: "Brief, elegant, eloquent, satisfactory, he hath recorded within the compass of this compact and lively volume, the remote origin, the immediate causes, the progress, and the completion of that rapid and renowned regeneration." To the work is added, a chronological table of the principal decrees which were passed, and of the most remarkable events which took place during the sitting of the constituent national assembly, commencing on the 4th of May, 1789, and finishing on the 30th of September, 1791. Mr. White, as a translator, appears to have done justice to his original.

The "Letters containing an Account

count of the late Revolution in France, and observations on the Constitution, Laws, Manners, and Institutions of the English, &c. translated from the German of Henry Frederic Groenvelt," have been perused by us with considerable pleasure and entertainment. Such of them as relate to the French revolution, contain a view of the origin and progress of that astonishing event, to the famous declaration of the rights of men and citizens, accompanied with interesting anecdotes, and well drawn characters of some of the most active and intelligent members of the constituent assembly. In writing the narrative part of his work, the author seems to have had access to the best sources of information. He appears also to have been a spectator of some of the most striking scenes, which he describes with great energy and animation. In his sentiments he discovers a warm and enthusiastical love of liberty; while he execrates, with a humane and becoming spirit, the excesses to which popular fury gave rise, and awards to the obnoxious characters who became their victims, that share of merit which party zealots would deny them. The letters relating to England, contain the author's sentiments on lotteries, on the civil and criminal law of England, on English newspapers, on the British constitution, on elections, on cruelty towards criminals, on commercial restraints, on judicial legislation, on literature and literary societies, on nobility, and on the slave trade, abounding in good sense, enlightened and liberal views, and useful hints, which we recommend to the attention of our countrymen.

The "Letters from Paris, during

the summer of 1791," are written in a lively and pleasing manner, and contain a number of interesting anecdotes relative to the period of the French history, commencing with the escape of the king on the night of the 20th of June, and ending with his acceptance of the new constitution on the 14th of September. Those who are not disposed to look on the revolution with a favourable eye, will be best pleased with the author's political reflections, and the picture which he draws of modern France, and of modern Frenchmen. Allowing, however, for his party principles, and the hue which it occasionally gives to his statement of facts, we can promise the warmest friend to the popular cause, that he may derive much entertainment from these letters.

The "Review of the Proceedings at Paris, during the last Summer, &c. by Mr. Fennel," professes to give us an unbiassed narrative of the situation of France, and of the memorable events on the 20th of June, the 14th of July, the 10th of August, and the 2d of September; which have been "so distorted by party principles on the one hand, and defeated by violent exaggerations on the other, that few of them have appeared in their real shape." We cannot, however, notwithstanding the author's professions, bestow on his work the praise of impartiality. On all the friends to the revolution he pours the most severe and indiscriminate censures; while the advocates for majesty and aristocracy are the subjects of his warm and unmeasured encomiums. His narrative, likewise, differs so widely from other accounts which we have received, and which come recommended by every

every mark of authenticity, that we cannot give it implicit credit. Were it not for these circumstances, and that the scenes which he describes are chiefly scenes of horror, we should pronounce Mr. Fennel's review, on the whole, to be a well written and interesting work.

Mr. Heriot's "Historical Sketch of Gibraltar, with an Account of the Siege which that Fortrefs stood against the combined Forces of France and Spain, &c." contains a well written and interesting abstract of the History of Gibraltar, and its celebrated defence, &c. for which the author acknowledges himself to be under considerable obligations to captain Drinkwater's Journal. His principal object in drawing it up was, to present the public with "an explanatory accompaniment to the admirable print published by Mr. Poggi, descriptive of the fortie made by the garrison of Gibraltar, on the morning of the 27th of Nov. 1781, for the purpose of destroying the formidable works erected by the Spaniards against that fortrefs." That part of Mr. Heriot's work, which describes the fortie, is more minute and circumstantial than any which we recollect to have met with, and will be of considerable use to those who possess Mr. Poggi's print.

"The Marches of the British Armies in the Peninsula of India, during the Campaigns of 1790 and 1791, illustrated and explained by Reference to a Map, compiled from authentic Documents, transmitted by Earl Cornwallis from India, by Major Rennell," is a publication from which the historian, as well as the geographer, may derive much valuable information. The account which it gives of Mysore, the proper country of Tippoo, and its seasons, of the Gauts, that range

of ascents which constitute its natural fortification, and of the adjoining fertile and populous territories which have since been ceded to the East India company as the price of peace, are new and interesting. Major Rennell's narrative of the operations of the British armies is circumstantial, regular, and connected, and clearly illustrated by his accurate plans and map. From this narrative it appears, that the sultans of Mysore have, during their late wars with this country, progressively improved in generalship and in discipline, as well as increased in power, to a degree that is astonishing, and alarming as far as it is of importance to possess our territorial influence in India. "Our former contests were against undisciplined troops, unprovided with manageable artillery, and generally attacking without much system, either of attack or defence. It was reserved for the Mysoreans to put our prowess and discipline to the test." From the statements which major Rennell affords the reader, the reflecting mind will not be led to form very sanguine ideas of the future conquests of Europeans in India.

The "Narrative of the Operations of the British Armies in India, from April 21st to the 16th of July 1791, with a particular account of the action on the 15th of May, near Seringapatam," contains a more general, but apparently faithful, account of the campaign during the period mentioned in the title page; illustrated by a neatly engraved sketch of the position of the British and Mysorean armies at the battle fought May 15th, from a drawing made by captain Agnew, aid-du-camp to general Maxwell, and a plan of the order of battle on that day.

Mr.

Mr. Phillips' "General History of Inland Navigation, Foreign and Domestic, &c." is an ingenious and useful work, from which the legislator, the man of science, the political œconomist, and the general reader, may derive much information and pleasure. After giving a general historical view of ancient canals and aqueducts, the author treats of the canals of China and Indostan, of Russia, of Sweden and Denmark, of Holland and Flanders, and of France and Spain. His account of these is drawn up with great accuracy and perspicuity, and contains much interesting and entertaining matter. But the greater part of his work is employed in giving a copious account of the various navigable canals, either executed or projected in Great Britain and Ireland, describing their course, giving extracts of the acts of parliament relative to each, and offering a variety of remarks concerning them, or the persons by whom they have been conducted. To the whole Mr. Phillips has added practical observations relative to the method of conducting such undertakings; illustrated by useful plates, which will be chiefly valuable to professional men. Prefixed to this history is a map of all the canals in England, distinguished by different colours, as they are already completed, or only projected.

The "Entire and complete History, political and personal, of the Boroughs of Great Britain, &c. in 3 Vols." is a publication the appearance of which is peculiarly seasonable at a period like the present, when the question respecting the necessity of a parliamentary reform is so seriously agitated. What relates to each borough is arranged under the following heads: poli-

tical characters; ancient state and representation; corporation; right of election; number of votes; returning officer; patron. Under these divisions a vast fund of information is presented to the reader, which is not only interesting to curiosity, but which serves to shew, how far the honour and prosperity of the nation are interested in the restoration of parliament to its ancient purity and independence. To this history are prefixed, an original sketch of constitutional rights, from the earliest period until the present time, and the principles of our ancient representation traced from the most authentic records, supported by undeniable testimonies, and illustrated by a variety of notes and references, collected from the most respectable, legal, political, and historical authorities. The editor of these volumes is entitled to much commendation for the diligence and care with which he has collected and combined his facts, and for the sound constitutional doctrine which he avows in every part of them.

In our Register for the last year, we announced the publication of the 1st and 2d vols. of Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the different Parishes," and explained the design and mode of execution of that interesting and patriotic work. During the present year the worthy baronet has published the 3d and 4th vols. which, as well as the former, contain a very valuable collection of facts and observations. The same plan is still followed by the editor, and is intended to be persevered in, until he has given a similar account of every parish in the kingdom. "His object is to lay the foundation of a great, methodical, and complete
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survey of Scotland, and perhaps of England, which he hopes will be undertaken by the government of the country at the commencement of the ensuing century. If periodical surveys are afterwards taken every fifty or an hundred years, they will furnish the best means of ascertaining the progress of national improvement, and will point out the proper system to be pursued in order to bring political society in these kingdoms to the highest pitch of happiness and perfection." The same benevolent spirit which influenced sir John Sinclair to engage his countrymen in such important enquiries, of which the good fruits are already so discernable, has led him to recommend it to foreign nations to imitate the example of Scotland. "For that purpose a specimen of the work has been translated into French, and transmitted to every person of power, political influence, or literary merit, on the continent of Europe. The specimen contains six districts, and is drawn up in such a manner as to give, within narrow bounds, a view of the progress of human society."

The "Geographical Chart of Europe, describing its territorial and political State, &c. by T. Jameson, M. D." is neatly printed on four large sheets of paper, the subject of each of which is complete, so that it may either be kept separate, or joined together on canvas, as an ornamental and useful table of reference for libraries. It contains a great variety of information, selected from the best authorities, and arranged with judgment. The editor's account of it appears to be just; that "by this chart a knowledge of all important facts is acquired without loading the memory; by its comparative view of every interesting particular, much

political information is obtained in a little time; and by its geographical descriptions, the different maps of Europe are concisely illustrated."

The "Survey of the Russian Empire, according to its newly regulated State, divided into different Governments, &c. by Captain Sergey Pleschéef, translated from the Russian, with considerable Additions, by James Smirnov, Chaplain to the Legation of H. I. M. of all the Russias, at the Court of Great Britain," is a publication which will be highly acceptable to the English reader, as it contains a more authentic and accurate account than has hitherto appeared in his native language, of a country which, at the present crisis, makes a very conspicuous figure in the political state of Europe. This survey is divided into two parts. The first part contains an account of the geography of the Russian empire, and a description of the numerous nations within its widely extended boundaries. The second part describes the forty-three governments into which that empire is divided, their situation and limits, their capital and district towns, together with their climates, population, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, revenues, and natural productions. The whole is illustrated by a correct map of Russia, and an engraving, exhibiting the arms and uniforms of the several governments of that empire. We are sorry that the present political aspect of Europe leads us to apprehend, that the next map of Russia which shall be published, will contain a considerable addition of territory, ingloriously and unjustly wrested from the feeble and unoffending kingdom of Poland.

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The "Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, by G. Imlay, Captain in the American Army, and a Commissioner for laying out Land in the back Settlements," is a publication from which we have received much information and entertainment. Mr. Imlay's intimate acquaintance with the interior parts of America, sufficiently qualified him for undertaking its history: and considering the rapid progress which, within these very few years, those parts have been making in population and improvement, and the numerous tribes who are daily emigrating to them from the old world, he could not easily have fixed on a subject more interesting to Europeans. This work is written in the form of a series of letters to a friend in England, and contains a succinct account of the climate of the Western Territory, of its natural history, population, agriculture, manners and customs of the inhabitants, a description of the several divisions into which it is partitioned, and an accurate statement of the various tribes of Indians that inhabit the frontier country. Under these particulars the author has furnished his readers with much matter that is new, and deserving of their attention. He may, perhaps, sometimes be thought to view the scenes, in which the greatest part of his life has been spent, with too prejudiced and partial an eye. In general, his descriptions appear to be taken from nature; his facts are unquestionable; and the sentiments which are interspersed throughout his work, and which are particularly discoverable in his political reasonings, are liberal, open, and manly.

The volume entitled "Ecclesi-

astical Researches, by Robert Robinson," is the posthumous work of an author, who was distinguished by great energy and freedom of mind, accompanied by that degree of learning, and diligence of application, which well qualified him for exploring the records of antiquity, and for drawing the truth of ecclesiastical history from the cumbrous mass of misrepresentation and fiction in which it is involved. This work is divided into sixteen chapters. The first contains cautions necessary to a reader of ecclesiastical history, which abound in acute reflections, and just remarks. The second chapter contains a general view of the Roman empire at the birth of Jesus Christ. The third, a general view of Judea at the same period. The fourth, a view of the new æconomy introduced by John the Baptist. And the fifth, a history of the life of Jesus, from his baptism to his ascension into Heaven. The eleven succeeding chapters are devoted to the history of different churches, in the following order, the Greek church, the African church, the church of Rome, the church of Spain, the church of Navarre and Biscay, the church of Italy, the vallies of Piedmont, Bohemia, Munster, Poland, and Transylvania. In these chapters Mr. Robinson has not confined himself merely to the ecclesiastical history of the countries concerning which he treats, but has interspersed his narrative with many remarks, useful to elucidate his subject, on the geography, government, laws, antiquities, commerce, productions, customs and manners of the inhabitants; which evidence great industry and accuracy of research, and a happy talent at the delineation of character. His language

guage sometimes borders on coarseness and inelegance, but is in general chaste and forcible; and breathes a laudable indignation against every species of oppression, civil or ecclesiastical. We may not always concur with the author in opinion; and may particularly object to his deductions in favour of his own favourite sentiments on the subject of baptism. By these observations we mean not in the least to detract from the characteristic merit of the work, which does great credit to his abilities, his honesty, and his liberality.

Among the biographical productions of the year, the first article which calls for our notice is, "Anecdotes of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of the principal Events of his Time, with his Speeches in Parliament, from the Year 1736, to the Year 1778, in 2 Vols." In the preface to this work the author observes, that "he presumes no more, than having collected a fund of materials, which may afford light and information to the future enquirer; who could not have found them in any of the books hitherto printed." He adds, that "the anecdotes were all of them in their day well known; that they were the subject of public conversation, but have not been published;" and that "his situation gave him a knowledge of them, and a personal acquaintance with several of the events." He has not, however, given his own name as a sanction to their authenticity: which circumstance will produce hesitation and doubt in the minds of many of his readers. Judging nevertheless from internal evidence, those who are well versed in the history of the times, will conclude that the author possessed sufficient

opportunity for acquiring information, and will acknowledge themselves indebted to him for the various entertainment which he has afforded them. Of the intrigues, versatility, and want of principle in courtiers, they present abundant specimens; and supply us with much novel information relative to treaties, secret or avowed, which took place between the British and foreign courts. The sentiments of the author are such as are commonly denominated whiggish; and he is not sparing of his censures on the motives and principles of the leading characters, who opposed the politics of his hero. In an Appendix the author has collected various characters and eulogies of the Earl of Chatham, from different writers, and a number of state papers and curious documents, many of which are not easily to be procured elsewhere.

The "Essays on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun, and the Poet Thomson, biographical, critical, and political, &c. by D. S. Earl of Buchan," form a publication for which the friends of liberty, and the admirers of the northern bard, will thank the noble lord. No person could with greater propriety undertake the eulogy of Fletcher, than the earl of Buchan, who, like the character whom he celebrates, is distinguished in the annals of freedom, for his repeated and arduous struggles in the cause of independence. The account which he has given of that celebrated patriot, is animated and elegant; and the speeches of his, which are recorded, do honour to his talents as an uncorrupt statesman, and genuine unaffected orator. The materials for the life of Thomson chiefly relate to its early period; and are followed by a few original

original papers, in prose and in poetry, which have not hitherto been published. Our readers will find specimens of the latter in our poetical department. In an Introduction, containing an Historical Sketch of the Progress of Liberty in Scotland; and in his Biographical Narratives, Lord Buchan finds frequent opportunities for avowing and enforcing, in an unequivocal and manly manner, the political sentiments which have actuated his own life.

To a new edition of Dr. Doddridge's "Family Expositor," which hath appeared during the present year, we find a new Life of that excellent man prefixed, by Dr. Kippis. The proprietors of that work, desirous of a biographical preface, more compressed in its form, and better adapted to general readers, than the Memoirs published by Mr. Orton some years ago, applied to our author, who, on several accounts, was the fittest person to undertake such a task. For, exclusive of his well known talents for this species of writing, Dr. Kippis was personally acquainted with Dr. Doddridge; was his pupil during the course of studies preparatory to his engaging in the clerical office; and was for many years connected with him in the intimacy of friendship. The manner in which this life is written, does great credit to the author's judgment and impartiality. He is not led by the high veneration which he entertains for the memory of "his benefactor, his tutor, his friend, and his father," to conceal his failings; while, with a commendable ardour, he vindicates him against the suspicions, which calumny or prejudice had propagated, respecting his sincerity and integrity. His intellectual, religi-

ous, and moral qualities, appear to us to be dispassionately and fairly appreciated. In the narrative, the various works of Dr. Doddridge are enumerated, in their chronological order; and several judicious strictures occur, which deserve the attention of the readers of the Family Expositor.

The "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Jortin, D. D. by John Disney, D. D. F. S. A." are a pleasing and proper tribute of respect to the memory of a person, who for extensive learning, critical acumen, elegant taste, and a liberal expanded mind, was an honour to his times and country. It is, however, properly observed by Dr. Disney, "that the life of a literary man is chiefly devoted to his labours in the republic of letters, and therefore seldom affords any variety of incident, unconnected with his writings. On this account, they are the proper objects of his biographer's attention." A specimen of the personal memoirs which this volume contains, our readers will find among our biographical Anecdotes and Characters. Of the literary labours of Dr. Jortin, Dr. Disney has delivered a regular connected history, in chronological order; containing such extracts from several of his pieces, as serve to display the principles and spirit of their author, accompanied with numerous critical observations and remarks, which reflect honour on the abilities, candour, and good temper of our editor. To these Memoirs are added Eulogies of Dr. Jortin, by Dr. Heathcote, and Dr. Knox, in the first edition of his Essays, and the energetic pen of Dr. Parr, in his preface to the two Tracts of a Warburtonian.

The "Sketch of the Life and Writings

Writings of the Rev. Micaiah, Towgood, by James Manning," contains an agreeable and instructive view of the life and conversation of an excellent man, who, beside the very respectable rank which he sustained as a member of society, and a christian minister, was distinguished as an able and successful defender of the rights of private judgment, and religious liberty. Those readers "who are more amused by a succession of glaring incidents, which gratify curiosity, than affected by a history which tends to enlarge their fund of useful knowledge, and excite them to virtuous conduct," will not be much entertained with Mr. Manning's narrative. But those "whose wishes lead them to excel in intellectual and moral accomplishments," will read with pleasure the affectionate tribute which he pays to the memory of his tutor, colleague, and friend; whom he appears without the least flattery, and with the strictest justice, to characterise, as possessing "knowledge untainted by bigotry; ardour in the search of truth, united with tenderness for those in error; a happy mixture of gravity with cheerfulness, and dignity with condescension; acquaintance with the world, felicity of temper, and courtesy of deportment; piety without superstition; devotion without hypocrisy, and faith working by love; distinguished application to the duties of his profession, accompanied by ability, faithfulness, and success in the discharge of them." The character of Mr. Towgood, as an acute, judicious, and formidable, but at the same time liberal, and candid controversialist, was sufficiently established by his celebrated Letters to Mr. White.

"The Life of the late Rev. Philip Skelton, with some curious Anecdotes, by Samuel Burdy, A. B."

contains the history of a popular, orthodox Irish clergyman, who to some striking peculiarities; the account of which is amusing and interesting, united some of the most shining virtues that can adorn the human character; particularly an unbounded spirit of humanity and benevolence. Many of the actions to which that spirit gave rise, are related by Mr. Burdy, and reflect great honour on the memory of Mr. Skelton. To hold up such useful examples to public notice, is conferring a benefit on society. The history of their beneficence, even when carried to a height at which few have courage to arrive, by extorting applause and admiration, may stimulate the reader to virtuous and worthy actions. Mr. Skelton was the author of several volumes of sermons, of which his biographer speaks in high terms; and of Deism revealed, a work which, about forty years ago, acquired a considerable degree of celebrity in the theological world.

"The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M. by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore," deserves attention chiefly as a history of methodism, and as affording an accurate picture of the political system, opinions, language, and spirit of the sect of which Mr. Wesley was the founder. In point of information it contains but little additional matter to what was before published; particularly by Mr. Hampson, in his work which we noticed in our last year's Register. That work, as an impartial and dispassionate narrative, will claim a preference in the estimation of the unprejudiced. For his followers, who could observe nothing but excellence in the character of Mr. Wesley,

ley, and who have been accustomed to the phraseology of the Foundry, his Life by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore will have greater charms.

The "Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. by Arthur Murphy, Esq." was written in order to be prefixed to a new edition of Johnson's works; the proprietors of which thought the Life prefixed to their former edition, too unwieldy for republication. "They wished to have a more concise, and, for that reason, perhaps a more satisfactory account, such as may exhibit the just picture of the man, and keep him the principal figure in the fore-ground of his own picture." To comply with that wish is the object of this Essay, in which the author attempts to give "a short, yet full, a faithful, yet temperate history of Dr. Johnson." This biographical piece contains few new incidents, or relations, which have not already been given to the public. "Every thing has been gleaned." What will principally engage the attention of the reader are his observations on the writings, and character of Johnson as an author. These observations contain much just criticism, and pertinent remarks; not, however, entirely unmixed with the partiality of friendship, and the prejudices which a similar mode of thinking inspired. And we have read them with pleasure, notwithstanding that we were before sated with Johnsoniana. Mr. Murphy's abilities, as a writer, are too well known, to render it necessary for us to pass any judgment on the literary merits of this essay.

The "Memoirs of the Life of Charles Lee, Esq. second in Command in the Service of the United States of America, during the Re-

volution;" are said, in the Preface to have been transmitted to England, for publication, in the year 1786, by Mr. Langworthy, who was a member of the congress of the states of Georgia. They are now published, in consequence of the subject of revolutions being again renewed, by what has occurred in France; as "it is presumed that whatever relates to the mother revolution, that of America, will at least, afford entertainment to the curious, and contribute to increase the general stock of historical knowledge." So much of this volume as is confined to the narrative of general Lee's life, may be faithful and accurate; but we did not find it so interesting as we expected, considering the singular and eccentric character of the subject of it. In the political and military Essays which are added, and particularly in the letters from general Lee to distinguished characters in Europe and America we found more entertainment. The projects which they contain, and the sentiments and observations which occur in them, are strongly expressive of the author's turn of mind, and peculiarity of sentiment. We were likewise amused with the portraits which he has drawn of some dignified and public characters, and of others his quondam companions or rivals in arms.

"The Life of Jane de St. Remond de Valois, heretofore Countess de la Motte, &c. in 2 Vols. written by herself," relate the singular adventures of an extraordinary woman, who for a considerable time attracted the public notice, by the share which she had in the intrigues of the late court of France, the transactions about the celebrated diamond necklace, and her subsequent trial, condemnation, imprisonment

onment, and wonderful escape. This work is written in an agreeable and pleasing manner, and bears very strong internal marks of authenticity. And if authentic, it presents us with a striking picture of the debauchery, and profligacy, which stained some of the most exalted personages of the court: a picture which leaves the friend to virtue, whatever his political sentiments may be, little room to pity the mortification which they must feel under the changes produced by the revolution. In an Appendix to this life we are presented with thirty-one letters, between the queen and cardinal Rohan, which are acknowledged to have been surreptitiously obtained, and which will impress the mind of the reader with the same disgust, as he will feel when perusing different parts of the narrative.

The "General View of the Life and Writings of the Rev. David Williams, by Thomas Morris, Esq." contains a warm panegyric on the literary talents, and personal virtues of Mr. Williams, drawn up at the request of Messrs. Condorcet, Claviere, Mercier, Brissot, &c. for the *Chronique du Mois*, a French periodical publication. If the subject of this publication, who is still living, be a vain man, he will be highly gratified by the portrait which his friend has drawn; if he be a modest man, his eye will be hurt by the glaring colours in which he has dipped his pencil.

The "Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. written by himself," form a curious miscellaneous production, which we have read with a mixture of pleasure, and of pain. For the honest, and independent spirit which it discovers, the author is entitled to our commendation; and to our thanks for the entertainment which

we have received from the numerous anecdotes, and amusing stories with which it is interspersed. It was with pain, however, that we met in it with so many marks of the irritability of the author's temper; and so many instances of the harsh, or contemptuous and illiberal censures, which he pours on those who may not have thought highly enough of his merits; or who have ventured to differ from him in opinion. These Memoirs are accompanied with several of Mr. Wakefield's literary productions, some poetical translations of Odes of Horace, and a republication of a Dissertation on the Origin of Alphabetical Characters, which first appeared in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and which our readers will find in our Annual Register for the year 1785.

Among the publications of the year which relate to Antiquities and Topography, the first which calls for our notice is the Xth. volume of "Archæologia, or miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London." The members of this society continue their researches with unabated ardour, and true antiquarian taste; and the result of them, as laid before the public in this volume, has contributed much to our information and entertainment. Exclusive of an Appendix, containing extracts from letters mentioning various objects of antiquity, which were too voluminous or miscellaneous to be wholly admitted into this work, it contains a variety of papers, in which the erudition and ingenuity of the authors are equally conspicuous. Among the most important and interesting, we may reckon *Derbeiesseira Romana*, by

the Rev. Mr. Pegge, in which he enumerates the several vestigia which have been observed, of the residence and works of the Romans in the county of Derby; a Dissertation on the Hunting of the ancient Britons and Saxons by the same gentleman; an Account of some Antiquities discovered in Englewood Forest, Cumberland, and a Description of certain Pits in Derbyshire, by Hayman Rooke, Esq; an Account of Whitby Abbey, by F. Gibson, Esq; Roman Antiquities discovered in the County of Gloucester, by Samuel Lyons, Esq; an Account of Antiquities discovered at Bath, by Sir Henry Charles Englefield, bart; Observations on the Introduction of Arabic Numerals into England, by the Rev. Mr. North, of Goddicote; and a Description of the great Pagoda of Madura, the Choultry of Trimul Naik, by Adam Blackader, Surgeon.

The next work which demands our attention is, the 1st. volume of "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland." This volume is of a miscellaneous complexion, as our readers will find by turning to our Biographical and Philosophical Departments. We might also have added to our poetical list from the same source, had the pieces which could have been introduced in that part of our work, possessed distinguished excellence. In an Introduction to this volume, we are presented with an historical account of the Society, by Mr. William Smellie; and a chronological list of the members, among whom we observe many respectable names. The papers which have a more immediate connexion with the subject of antiquities are, many of them, curious and valuable; while others might

have been omitted without any prejudice to the reputation of the work. The most interesting pieces, including those of a miscellaneous nature, are, a Plan for a royal Forest of Oak, in the Highlands of Scotland, by John Williams, mineral surveyor; an Account of the Parish of Haddington, by Dr. Barclay, one of the ministers of that parish; Observations on the Hammermen of Edinburgh, by Mr. Little, of Liberton; the Account of the Province of Biscay; Principal Gordon's Remarks made in a Journey to the Orkneys; Mr. Whyte's Account of the Parish of Liberton; Mr. Tytler's Dissertation on the Scottish Music, which has been published before; the Letter from the Countess Dowager of Nithsdale, giving an account of her Husband's Escape out of the Tower, in 1716; and the Address of one Hundred and Two chief Landholders and Heads of Clans to King George I. on his Accession to the Throne, the neglect of which, through the influence of court intrigue, which prevented it from being delivered, produced that dissatisfaction which excited the clans to rebellion in 1715. This volume is illustrated by a variety of plates, on which we cannot bestow much commendation.

"The Account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Burghs, and Magnates of Scotland, by Thomas Aistle, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A. &c. with five Plates," is intended as we are informed by Mr. Aistle to accompany the collection of prints published by the Society of Antiquaries; and we may add, that it forms a valuable Supplement to Anderson's Numismata and Diplomatæ Scotiæ. The seals now engraved, are such as had not been before published; and were selected from

from a number found in the Chapter-House, at Westminster, and other Repositories, by a committee of the council of the Society of Antiquaries. They are accompanied with an illustration by the ingenious editor, which, beside gratifying the taste of the curious, will assist the more learned reader in investigating the historical facts, and in forming an idea of the customs and manners of the middle ages.

To the curious in oriental history, who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the narrations of those early Arabic writers, who sustained a high reputation among their contemporaries, but who are ignorant of the language in which they wrote, the next article which we have to announce will afford some gratification. It is entitled, "Maured Allatafet Jemaleddini Filii Togri-Bardii, seu rerum Egyptiarum Annales, ab Anno Christi 971, usque ad Annum 1453. E. Codice, M. S. Bibliothecæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensi textum Arabicum primus edidit, Latine vertit, Notisque illustravit J. D. Carlyle, M. A. Coll. Regin. nuper Socius." The period to which this publication relates, extends from the three hundred and sixty-first to the eight hundred and fifty-seventh year of the Hegira; commencing with the reign of Almoaz-leddinallah, the first khalif of the Fatemite dynasty who reigned in Egypt, and ending with that of Almalec Alashraf, the twelfth sultan of the Circassian race. This work is part of an abridgment of Jemaleddin's celebrated history of Egypt, made by himself; who, from the stations which he enjoyed in the court of the Circassian Sultans, and his literary acquirements, was well qualified for undertaking

such a task. It may not, perhaps, supply the laborious and minute enquirer with much new information, or tend to throw much light on the motives which led to the events of that dark period. It is, however, a literary curiosity; and much praise is due to Mr. Carlyle for the industry and learning which he has employed in producing an elegant Latin version of the original. The commentary and notes, likewise, with which he has accompanied it, do credit to his erudition and to his taste.

The student in classical antiquities is much indebted to the Rev. John Gerrard, for the immense labour which he has bestowed on his work, entitled, "*Siglarium Romanum; sive Explicatio Notarum ac Literarum, quæ hætenus repiriri potuerunt, in Marmoribus, Lapidibus, Nummis, Auctoribus, abisque Romanorum Veterum reliquiis; Complectens non tantum singulas quæ in Commentariis antiquis inveniuntur, sed etiam quæcunque Viri eruditi, ad hunc usque diem, in lucem profulerunt.*" In this work the editor constantly refers to authorities, which are carefully marked at the bottoms of the pages. From the ample title which we have inserted, our classical readers, to whom alone it can be of use, will perceive the importance and value of such a collection; and at the same time be sensible of the encouragement which Mr. Gerrard deserves, for the expence, as well as patient drudgery, to which he must have submitted in completing his plan.

The next article which we have to introduce to our readers, is entitled "*Roman Conversations, or a short Description of the Antiquities of Rome, and the Character of many eminent Romans, intermixed*

with References to Classical Authors, and various moral Reflections, &c. Vol. I." This work, which is principally intended for the information and improvement of young students, was written about thirty years ago, by the late Joseph Wilcocks, Esq. of Hurley, near Maidenhead, who gave directions that it should be published after his decease. The persons who take part in these Conversations, are a tutor, who is represented as a learned and benevolent clergyman, and three pupils, of noble and opulent families. The conversations in this volume are ten in number; the subjects of which are suggested by particular remains of the ancient Roman grandeur, which are successively visited by our travellers, and which serve to draw their attention, in chronological order, to some of the most illustrious characters in the Roman history. Of those characters our author gives biographical sketches, interspersed with judicious and useful reflections, chiefly of the religious and moral kind. On the whole, we cannot but applaud the design with which this work was written, and recommend it to the classical student, as both a valuable and entertaining companion. We cannot say that it recommends itself by the graces of fine writing. The style and language, however, with the exception of a few incuriæ, are simple, perspicuous, and impressive.

To the lovers of our national antiquities, the first volume of "Topographical Miscellanies", will be an acceptable present. This work is intended to contain ancient histories, and modern descriptions of mansions, churches, monuments, and families; with many engravings, particularly of ancient archi-

itecture throughout England. The present volume consists of seven numbers, which were separately published, and are now collected together, "by such a temporary arrangement as the present materials require. If the whole should ever be completed, which must depend among other things, on the opinion the public shall form of it, the addition of immense quantities of new articles must totally alter the order." We can only say of this work, that as far as the author has gone, he is entitled to the approbation of the public. The information which he has collected, is arranged with perspicuity, compressed into as narrow a compass as was consistent with the nature of his plan, and illustrated by neat and well executed engravings.

"The Environs of London, being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets within twelve Miles of the Capital interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes, by the Rev. Daniel Lysons A. M. F. A. S. Vol. I." is a work which the historian, as well as antiquary and topographer, may read with pleasure and improvement. Of the nature of his design the author's words will convey the best information. He "offers to the public what he has been able to collect, relative either to the ancient history, or present state of the several parishes within twelve miles of the capital, a district which furnishes perhaps, more curious and interesting matter of observation, than any other of the same extent in the kingdom. A brief description of the situation, soil, produce, and manufactures; the descent of the principal, particularly manorial property, the parish churches, and ecclesiastical history; the state of population, and the biography connected with

*each

each parish, are the principal objects of the following work." As far as Mr. Lysons has proceeded in his plan, he has executed it in a manner that proves him fully equal to the task which he had proposed to himself. He has discovered both industry and judgment, in the accuracy of his antiquarian researches, the selection of his numerous entertaining anecdotes, and the apposite quotations which he has introduced to assist him in throwing light upon his subjects. The volume before us contains an account of those parts of the environs of London, which are situated in the county of Surrey; and is illustrated by twenty-seven engravings, many of which possess considerable merit.

The next article which we have to announce is, "The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset, collected from authentic Records, and an actual Survey, &c. by the Rev. John Collinson, F.A.S. in 3 Vols." In these volumes Mr. Collinson places the hundreds, and the towns which they contain, in alphabetical order; which is judicious, and convenient to the reader. From this general observation, we must except the instance of Bath, which from its antiquities and celebrity, might seem to claim precedence in the author's opinion, and to which he devotes, at least its full proportionate share in the pages of his history. Under each of his other divisions, we meet with a vast mass of information relative to the history, topography, antiquities, religious foundations, noble and illustrious families, population, natural history, curiosities of nature and art, and romantic scenery of the country, illustrated with anecdotes, traditions and epitaphs, and adorned with a map, and a great variety

of neatly executed engravings; from which we have received much entertainment. The learning, ingenuity, and application of the author, are visible in every part of his voluminous performance. His style and phraseology, however, are, in numerous instances, exceptionable in the extreme. We are sorry to see such blemishes in a work which, in other respects, is entitled to considerable praise.

The little treatise entitled "Carnarvonshire; a Sketch of its History, Antiquities, Mountains, and Productions," contains a pleasing and interesting account of that part of our island, and of the scenes of picturesque beauty, and rude grandeur which it affords. The compiler of this work intends it as a pocket companion to those who make the tour of that county. Considered in this light, it will be found useful to the traveller; but not so useful as it might have been rendered by the assistance of the engraver. In such a vade mecum, the want of a map is an essential defect.

Among the books of travels which have been published during the present year, our attention is drawn, in the first place, to "Travels during the Year 1787, 8, & 9: undertaken more particularly with a View of ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Property of the Kingdom of France, by Arthur Young, Esq. F. R. S. &c." This work is divided into two parts. The first part consists of the author's journal, during three different excursions which he made through France, which is written with great freedom and spirit, although sometimes negligently and incorrectly. It contains a variety of remarks, on the customs, manners, and political

situation of the country, interesting incidents, and amusing anecdotes, which have afforded us much entertainment in the perusal. The last of Mr. Young's excursions was extended through the northern parts of Italy. The second part of this work contains the result of the author's journeys, and of the minutes and observations he was enabled to make, which "falls into the shape of essays on distinct subjects." That our readers may be able to form a general idea of what they may expect to meet with in this part of Mr. Young's work, we shall insert the titles of the different chapters into which it is divided; premising only, that although on some topics we found ourselves obliged to differ from him, as a politician, and a political economist, we think his labours of great value and importance, and replete with information, deserving the serious attention, not only of France, to whose situation and circumstances they are peculiarly applicable, but of our own country, and of every other country. These titles are, of the Extent of France; of the Soil and Face of the Country; of the Climate; of the Produce of Corn, the Rent and the Price of Land; of the French Course of Crops; Irrigation; Meadow; Lucerne; Saintfoin; Vines; of the Inclosures of France; of the Tenantry and the Size of Farms; of the Sheep of France; of the Capital employed in Husbandry; of the Price of Provisions, Labour, &c; of the Produce of France; of the Population; of the Police of Corn; of the Commerce; of the Manufactures; of the Taxation; and of the Revolution of France. These travels are illustrated by three maps; one of the author's rout, another of

the soil of France, and a third of the climate and navigation.

The "Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands, to Constantinople, through part of Greece, Ragusa, and the Dalmatian Isles, &c. by Thomas Watkins, A. M. in the years 1787, 8, & 9, in 2 vols." are written in the form of Letters to the author's father; and in a style which is perspicuous, correct, and pleasing. The scenes which Mr. Watkins describes, have, most of them, been visited by former travellers, who stand high in the public estimation. There is, however, an air of novelty in his descriptions, of vivacity in his remarks, and an insinuating enthusiasm, which seems wholly to have possessed him when treading on classic ground, that render him a very entertaining companion.

We have likewise read with pleasure, the "Observations and Remarks in a Journey through Sicily and Calabria, in the year 1791, &c. by the Rev. Brian Hill, A. M." Mr. Hill is an ingenious, and observing traveller; and finds opportunity, while passing over ground which has been trodden by modern popular writers, either to add to their stock of information, or to offer apposite and useful reflections, which did not occur to them, or to correct mistakes into which they fell when relying on the information which they received from others. His descriptions of the dreadful effects of the earthquakes in Sicily and Calabria, are highly interesting; the anecdotes which he has introduced, novel and amusing; and the language in which they are clothed is, with a few exceptions, correct and easy.

The account of the "Travels
into

into Norway, Denmark, and Russia, in the years 1788, 89, 90, and 91, by A. Swinton, Esq;" was written, not so much to convey information relative to the history, manufactures, commerce, or forms of government, in the countries through which the author passed, as to afford amusement to the reader, by describing "what the traveller himself observed, inferred, suffered, or enjoyed." And the manner at which the author aims is, "a kind of middle rank between the solidity of studied discourse, and the freedom of colloquial conversation." From the rules which Mr. Swinton prescribed to himself, it will be imagined that the contents of his work must be miscellaneous, and superficial; and that the manner in which it is executed, is not likely to please the fastidious, or critical reader. It will be interesting, however, to those who read chiefly for amusement, and who may not be conversant in the writings of former travellers into these regions.

Mr. Bartram's "Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, &c." commenced in April 1773, and were finished in January 1778. They were undertaken by him, at the request of the late Dr. Fothergill, for the discovery of rare and useful productions of nature, to enrich the doctor's botanical garden, and extensive collections. But Mr. Bartram's account is not confined to the principal object of his Travels. It comprehends various branches of natural history, as well as a history of the manners, customs, and government, of the Aborigines, who live on the borders of the United States; and interesting descriptions of the hazards the author ran, and

of the incidents which befel him in his different excursions. Mr. Bartram is an intelligent and entertaining traveller; but his language is frequently so florid and poetical, that it gives much of the air of the marvellous to many parts of his Narrative. The character, however, which he bears, as an honest man, and the piety and benevolence which breathe through the whole work, satisfy us that his relations are founded in truth, although sometimes too highly coloured by an ardent imagination.

Mr. Eddis's "Letters from America, historical and descriptive, comprizing Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 inclusive," were not written with an intention of being submitted to the public, but are printed at the request of the author's friends, who entertained a favourable opinion of them. Several of them contain an entertaining and well written description of the state of the country, the government, the trade, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, accompanied with judicious and sensible remarks. In other Letters, the author gives an account of the breaking out of the war, which was followed by the independence of America, its gradual progress till he quitted the country, and the difficulties and dangers to which he was exposed from his attachment to the British government, and his refusal to take the oath tendered to him, as surveyor of the customs at Anapolis. Above four hundred subscribers have honoured his work with their names.

The "Journal of Transactions and Events, during a Residence of nearly sixteen Years, on the Coast of Labrador, containing many interesting Particulars both of the Country and its Inhabitants, not heretofore known, by G. Cartwright,

Esq. in 3 Vols." is a valuable publication, as it contains an authentic account of the customs and manners of a people, who have, in general, cautiously avoided any intercourse with Europeans, and adds considerably to our stocks of geographical and natural knowledge. It exhibits, likewise, a striking instance of an unconquerable spirit of enterprize in the author, who was at the same time a man of sense and humanity; and leads the thinking mind to reflect on the benefits which would result to society from the proper encouragement of such characters. We cannot say that we approve of the diurnal form in which it is written, since it gives it too great a sameness of appearance, to be so pleasing and interesting as it might otherwise have been rendered, and is the occasion of introducing into it, too many trifling occurrences. The author deprecates too critical an examination, and solicits the candour and indulgence of the reader, for the many inaccuracies which he may meet with in the perusal of the work. We have not, however, been able to discover many occasions for the exercise of such indulgence. To each of these volumes is prefixed a glossary; and they are ornamented with charts, and a portrait of the author in a winter scene, on the sea-coast of Labrador.

The "Travels through Arabia, and other Countries in the East, performed by M. Niebuhr, now a Captain of Engineers in the Service of the King of Denmark, in 2 Vols." were undertaken about thirty years ago, by five Danish travellers, of whom M. Niebuhr was the sole survivor, at the expence of the king of Denmark, to explore the various curiosities of Egypt, but especially of Arabia. "They afford the latest,

and indeed almost the only topographical account of Arabia, in the hands of the European public. Being the results of the observation, not of one man only, but of a party of travellers, and those all well qualified to direct their attention in a proper line of enquiry; they contain such a body of truly valuable information, as is to be met with in very few other volumes of travels. Relating to a country famous from the earliest ages of antiquity, they are thus rendered more peculiarly interesting, by the nature of their subject." Such are the words of the translator, Mr. Heron, to whom the public are indebted for the first appearance of these travels in an English dress. And we have no difficulty in adopting them, to express our opinion of a work, from the perusal of which we have received much information and pleasure. The first volume contains an account of the voyage of Mr. Niebuhr and his companions from Copenhagen to Alexandria; of Egypt in general, its government, arts, and trade; of the manners of the Orientals, and particularly of the Egyptians; of Egyptian antiquities; of their journey from Cairo to Arabia, and of their excursions through various parts of the country, and to the court of the Imam at Sana. The second volume gives an account of the extent, the divisions, the revolutions, and political constitutions of the country; the religion, character, manners, language and sciences of the inhabitants; the agriculture and natural history of Arabia; and the author's voyage from Mokha to Bombay, and thence to Surat. These volumes are illustrated with good maps, and some tolerable engravings.

The volume of "Voyages to the coast of Africa, by Messrs. Saignier and

and Briffon, containing an Account of their Shipwreck on board different Vessels, and subsequent slavery, &c." is composed of two distinct relations, the latter of which hath already appeared before the English reader. It was noticed by us, in this department of our work for the year 1789. The account of M. Saugnier's voyage contains much interesting matter relative to his personal situation, the customs and manners of the Arabs in the interior part of Africa, and of the negroes of Senegal, the natural history, and the commerce of the country, which appears to be founded on attentive observation, and exact truth. At a period when from the most benevolent, as well as political motives, considerable encouragements are offered in order to promote discoveries in that vast and comparatively unknown continent, such a publication as the present must be acceptable to the public.

In our Register for the last year we announced the publication of "Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, with a general History of the Levant, by the Abbè Mariti, translated from the Italian, in 2 Vols." Of that work we expressed our warm approbation, and our hope that the reception it should meet with, would encourage the translator to lay before the English reader the Abbè's continuation of it. During the present year a IIId. volume hath appeared, in which the author continues his description of remarkable places in Palestine, in the same entertaining and instructive manner as in the former volumes. But the greater part of this volume is devoted to the history of Jerusalem, and the revolutions it has undergone; which is given in a regular connected detail, from its foundation to its conquest by the

crusaders, and from that time to the death of Baldwin III. the fifth Latin king of that city and its dependencies. This history, if we cut off from it a few circumstances, the authenticity of which depends solely on monkish legends, will be found to contain much useful information.

In the same volume we gave a favourable account of "Travels round the World in the Years 1767, 68, 69, 70, 71, by M. de Pagès, Captain in the French Navy, &c. in 2 Vols." Since we published that account, a IIId. volume hath appeared, containing the narrative of two voyages; one toward the south pole, in the years 1773 and 1774, and the other toward the north pole, in the year 1776. In the first voyage, which was undertaken at the expence of the French government, in order to promote discoveries in the unexplored regions of the south, our author was invested with the charge of whatever service on shore the circumstances of such discoveries might require. So little, however, was done in this voyage, through the extreme caution of the commander, that M. de Pagès laments, in poignant terms, the disappointment of the flattering prospects with which he had set out on this service. The voyage to the north pole was undertaken by our author at his own expence, on board a Dutch vessel bound to Spitzbergen. The same ardour for extending the boundaries of knowledge which carried him through the former scenes which he had visited, urged him to this expedition; in which he had an opportunity of observing circumstances, and of making some scientific experiments, which were gratifying to his curiosity, and enabled him to compare the peculiarities of that climate with those of the torrid and temperate Zones.

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The recital of his expeditions, tho' not so full of incident as the former volumes, may, nevertheless, be read with pleasure and improvement; and particularly the episodes introduced into them relative to the dispositions, manners, and customs of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, and in the island of Madagascar.

In our account of the literature of France, for the year 1791, we mentioned "the Appearance of a Voyage to Madagascar, and to the East Indies, by the Abbé Raybon, Member of the Academies of Sciences of Paris and Petersburg, &c." which we recommended as a valuable and interesting performance. We have now before us an English version of that work, which appears to be rendered with fidelity, and is illustrated by an accurate map of the island of Madagascar. To the version the translator has added a short memoir on the Chinese trade, written by M. Brunel, and now translated for the first time into English, which may be useful to gentlemen who go to that country.

In the same department of our work, for the same year, we entered into as large a view as our limits would permit us, of the nature and merits of "Travelsthrough the United States of America, in the Year 1788, by A. P. Brissot, Citizen of France." This work has likewise been translated into English, by a person who seems to have caught much of the spirit of the author, and to have done justice to his most pointed and animated passages.

The "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, &c. by Thomas Forrest, Esq. senior Captain of the Company's Marine at Fort Marlborough in 1770," is a work which contains much im-

portant information for geographers and navigators, and some curious and novel matter, that will interest the general reader. The Mergui Archipelago is a long chain of islands, extending along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, which have hitherto been carefully avoided by seamen, from an ignorance of the shores in their vicinity, and the numerous advantages which they possess. Captain Forrest fell in with them undesignedly, when sent out to survey the Andaman Islands, in the year 1783, and accurately traced the strait between them and the main land, from the latitude of nine degrees, to eleven degrees and twenty minutes north. From his account it appears, that they afford a safe and desirable passage to Europe or China, for ships that may be caught in the Bay of Bengal by the south west monsoon; many excellent harbours, wood, water, and great plenty of fish; and many articles that are important in a commercial point of view. To this account captain Forrest has added descriptions of the island Jan Sylan, Pulo Pinang, or Prince of Wales's Island, the port of Queda, the present state of Atcheen, the island Celebes, and the customs and manners of their respective inhabitants, which will gratify the curiosity of his readers. The æconomical plans, likewise, which he offers, deserve the attention of navigators. This work is accompanied by valuable charts, and neatly executed engravings.

The "Voyage to the South Seas, undertaken by Command of his Majesty, for the Purpose of conveying the Bread Fruit Tree to the West Indies, in his Majesty's Ship the Bounty, commanded by Lieut. William Bligh, &c." consists, partly, of a republication of the account of the

mutiny on board the *Bounty*, and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew, in the ship's boat, to the Dutch settlement of Timor, which was noticed by us in our Register for the year 1790; and partly, of a detail of the occurrences previous to that disastrous event, and a fuller account of the passage from Timor to Europe. This connected history of that whole extraordinary voyage contains many interesting particulars, which add to our stock of nautical knowledge, and to our information respecting the inhabitants of the South Sea islands.

The "Journal of a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope, undertaken in 1792 by Jacob Van Riepen and others of his countrymen, in search of the wreck of the hon. the East India Company's ship the *Grosvener*, &c. with Notes, and a map, by Capt. Edward Riou," recites the detail of measures which were adopted, with the approbation of the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, for the benevolent purpose of discovering if there remained alive any of the unfortunate sufferers, whose melancholy story is well known to our readers. Captain Riou has been induced to publish this Journal, with the view of consoling the friends of those unfortunate people, "by informing them in a direct manner, that they are no longer existing in a state of misery, but that a gracious end has relieved them from their sufferings." The plan and the execution of this difficult and dangerous journey, reflect great honour on the humanity of those worthy persons who engaged in it; and the narrative of it, though simple, is not devoid of interesting circumstances. Captain Riou's map of the eastern part of the southern extremity of Africa,

was compiled by him from authentic materials, and will be useful to navigators.

The "Voyage to the Madeiras, and Leeward Caribbee Islands, with Sketches of the Natural History of those Islands, by Maria R——," afford a pleasing evidence of the useful manner in which a lady of cultivated talents may employ her time for her own improvement, and the entertainment of her friends. The remarks which occur in them shew, that she is a scientific, as well as curious observer, and that she possesses no mean abilities for picturesque description.

The "Remarks made in a Tour from London to the Lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland, in the Summer of 1791, &c. to which is annexed, a Sketch of the Police, Religion, Arts, and Agriculture of France, made in an Excursion to France in 1783, by A. Walker, Lecturer in experimental Philosophy, &c." we have read with much pleasure; as they came "warm from the heart" of an intelligent and liberal-minded traveller, and abound in just and sensible remarks, curious observations, and lively descriptions. The style in which they are written is familiar and sprightly, and diversified according to the circumstances in which the author was placed, or the nature of the objects which induced him to take up his pen. These remarks were originally published in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, and are now reprinted with alterations and corrections.

The "Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cumberland, by a Rambler," contains minutes of a pleasant tour to the scenes mentioned in the title page, written with gaiety,

ty and good humour, and not destitute of amusement for the hour of relaxation. The style and language, however, cannot be recommended as models for the imitation of future tourists, as they are frequently affected, careless, and incorrect.

The "travelling Memorandums, made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe, in the Years 1786, 7, and 8, by the Hon. Lord Gardenstone, in 2 Vols." are written in an agreeable, though desultory manner; and contain a number of miscellaneous observations on men and manners, government and political œconomy, Shakspeare, and the French tragedians, natural history, painting, and agriculture; which are the effusions of a well-informed, liberal, and benevolent mind, and may be read with pleasure and improvement. His account of the ordinary incidents attending his travelling, and the means used by him for the preservation of his health, are chiefly calculated for the benefit of those invalids, whom the cold winter of our northern regions may oblige to resort to the mild climates of Nice, and the south of France.

The "Travels through the Rætian Alps, in the Year 1786, from Italy to Germany through Tyrol, by Albanis Beaumont, in the Service of his Sardinian Majesty," contain a pleasing description of the wild and unfrequented country through which the author passed, and of the manners of the inhabitants; intermixed with geological and philosophical observations, which the professed naturalist will not deem very profound or interesting. The principal recommendations of this work consist in its typography, which is beautiful, and in "ten large aqua-tinta engravings, from original designs by the author,

relative to the picturesque beauties of the most interesting views," which are truly splendid.

The views taken on or near the river Rhine, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the river Maese, by the rev. J. Gardnor; engraved in aqua-tinta by the rev. J. Gardnor, and Richard Gardnor, junior," are accompanied with "hints of occurrences in the tour," which entitle them to notice in the history of the literature of the year. These hints are drawn up in a perspicuous and lively manner, and present us with numerous entertaining incidents, as well as animated pleasing descriptions. The views, which are thirty-two in number, are elegant and beautiful, and represent picturesque castles, abbeys, ruins, and other striking objects of nature and of art.

In politics, the questions which have been agitated during the present year have been so various, and the treatises to which they have given rise so exceedingly numerous, that to attempt a regular classification of them, would be a task neither consistent with our duty, nor inclination; and to insert even a catalogue of their titles, would swell our work beyond all reasonable bounds. We shall therefore do little more, than point out the topics to which the principal of them are to be referred; and proceed to the notice of such publications as are of a less temporary nature, and have a more proper claim to attention in a literary history.

The French Revolution still remains, as it will long remain, one of the most striking objects that can employ the thoughts of political writers. During the present year the defenders of that event have met with an able auxiliary in Mr. Benjamin Flower, whose treatise, entitled "The French Revolution, with

with Remarks on its principal Articles, &c." is a calm, argumentative, and masterly performance, written in a clear and manly style, and deserving of being ranked among the best productions to which Mr. Burke's intemperate attack gave rise. It contains also some very important remarks and reasonings on the subject of toleration, and the necessity of a reformation in church and state in Great Britain. Those individuals, likewise, in England, who with a generous ardour rejoiced at the emancipation of the French from the tyranny of their old government, have had the justice and policy of their conduct ably vindicated, by the rev. Christopher Wyvill, in his temperate and satisfactory "Defence of Dr. Price, and the Reformers of England;" and by Thomas Cooper, Esq. in his "Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt, in the House of Commons, April 30th, 1792."

The same event has employed the pens of F. Stone, A. M. who published "an Examination of Mr. Burke's Reflections;" of F. Hill, Esq. in his "Observations on the Politics of France;" of Count Zeno-bio, in his Treatise entitled "The French Constitution impartially considered;" of J. Barlow, esq. in "A Letter to the National Convention of France, on the Defects of their Constitution;" of the rev. D. Williamson, in his "Lectures on civil and religious Liberty, combined with Reflections on the Constitutions of France and England, and on Burke and Paine;" of the anonymous author of a "comparative Display of Opinions on the French Revolution, in 2 Vols.;" and of various other anonymous authors, some serious, and some satirical.

On the subject of government, likewise, and a reform in the representation of the people, an abundant harvest of publications was produced. Among others appeared, "Rights of Man, combining Principle with Practice, Part II. by Thomas Paine;" a work which has been criticised in our criminal courts, and pronounced to be a wicked and seditious libel; "Observations on Mr. Burke's Appeal, and Paine's Rights of Man, by sir Brook Boothby, Bart.;" "Advice to the privileged Orders of Europe, on the Necessity of a general Revolution in the Principle of Government, by J. Barlow, Esq.;" "a Dissertation on Governments, and Parliamentary Reform, by W. White, Esq.;" "Observations on the Conduct of our political and religious Reformers, by Percival Stockdale;" "Rational Freedom, in Opposition to Paine, by P. White, Esq.;" "Dissertations upon several Subjects relative to the Rights of Man, and his Happiness, by R. Hey, Esq.;" "the inevitable Consequence of a Reform in Parliament, by W. Playfair;" "the proposed Reform of the Representation in Scotland considered, by R. Ferguson;" "desultory Observations on the Situation, Government, &c. of Great Britain, by A. Stokes, Esq.;" and numerous anonymous treatises on the necessity of a parliamentary reform, answers to Paine, addresses, hints and advices to the people of England, and defences of the British constitution.

On the subjects of toleration, the test laws, and the Birmingham riots, the most important treatise which appeared was entitled "High Church Politics, as exemplified in the late Opposition to the Repeal of the Test Laws, and in the Riots at Birmingham;"—to which we have

have to add, "Reasons for petitioning Parliament for the Repeal of the Statutes against Unitarian Christians;" "a Dialogue occasioned by the Application for the Repeal of the Statutes against Unitarians;" "an Address on the Right of Dissenters to a complete Toleration;" "a Reply to Dr. Priestley's Appeal to the Public on the Riots at Birmingham, by E. Burn, A. M." "Letters on the Birmingham Riots, occasioned by Mr. Burn's Reply to Dr. Priestley's Appeal, by J. Edwards;" and "a Letter from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleutheropolis; or a serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham, by a Member of the established Church."

The question of the slave trade, and the necessity of its abolition, was discussed in a variety of pamphlets during the year 1792. On the popular and humane side appeared the following: "an historical Sketch of the Slave Trade, and of its Effects in Africa, by the Right Hon. Lord Muncafter;" "Thoughts in favour of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and the Emancipation of the Negroes, by Francis Stone, A. M.;" "the African Slave Trade, or a short View of the Evidence relative to that Subject, &c. all meant to evince the sound Policy and Moral Obligation of its immediate and entire Abolition;" "an Address to the Right Rev. Prelates of England and Wales, on the Subject of the Slave Trade;" "an Address to her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, against the Use of Sugar;" "an Address to the People of England, against the Use of West India Produce; and "Old Truths, in Answer to a Very New Pamphlet indeed."

In defence of the West India planters, and against the abolition of slavery, and the slave trade, were

published "the Case of the Sugar Colonies;" "a Letter to the Members of Parliament who have presented Petitions to the House of Commons, for the Abolition, by a West India Merchant;" "a Defence of the Planters in the West-Indies, by Jesse Foot, Surgeon;" "an Apology for Slavery, or six cogent Arguments against the immediate Abolition of the Slave Trade;" "the Substance of a Speech intended to have been made on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, April 3d 1792;" "A Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq. on the fatal Consequences of abolishing the Slave Trade, both to England and her American Colonies, by Henry Redhead, Esq.;" "Reasons for not signing the Petition, or the Abolition Scheme taken into cool and candid Consideration;" "an Appeal to the Candour and Justice of the People of England, in behalf of the West India Merchants and Planters, founded on plain Facts, and incontrovertible Arguments;" "An Answer to the Address to the People of England, against the Use of West India Produce;" "the true State of the Question, addressed to the Petitioners;" and a treatise entitled "a Very New Pamphlet indeed," intended for general distribution.

The following publications are on the subject of Indian politics: "a general View of the Variations which have been made in the Affairs of the East India Company, since the Conclusion of the War in India, in 1784. by George Anderson, A. M. Accountant to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India;" "a Supplement" to that work; "a Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Controul, on the Statement of the

Affairs of the East India Company, &c. by George Tierney, Esq." "a Sketch of the Arrangements and and rising Resources of Bengal, by Thomas Law, Esq." "Observations on a Letter of Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors;" "a Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, on his Inconsistency as the Minister of India;" "Strictures and Observations on the British Commerce with the East Indies;" "Rights of Man invaded, an Exposition of the Tyranny of our India Governors, by W. H. Faulkner;" and "a Second Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock, on their shipping Concerns, by Mr. John Piott, of London, Merchant."

To the articles already enumerated we shall only add the titles of the following: "the Patriot, or political, moral, and philosophical Repository, consisting of original Pieces and Selections from Writers of Merit, a Work calculated to disseminate these Branches of Knowledge among all Ranks of People, at a small Expence," published in numbers; "Civic Sermons to the People," published in numbers; "a Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lieut. of the County of Nottingham, &c. &c. respecting his Grace's Conduct in the Disposal of Commissions in the Militia, &c. by Major Cartwright;" "The Confederacy of Kings against the Freedom of the World;" "political Dialogues upon the Subject of Equality;" "Review of Dr. Price's Writings on the Finances, with three Plans communicated by him to Mr. Pitt, in 1786, for redeeming the national Debt, by William Morgan;" "a Review of the Principles of modern Whigs, in a Letter to Lord Sheffield, by J. Alley;" "a Dissertation on the Querulousness of Statesmen;" "the Question considered—

How far the prosperous State of the Nation is to be ascribed to the Minister;" "a Letter to the Society of united Irishmen of Belfast, by W. Todd Jones;" "Address from the Committee of Roman Catholics of Ireland to the Public;" "Letter from the Right Hon. E. Burke, to Sir H. Langrishe, on the Propriety of admitting the Catholics of Ireland to vote in Parliament;" "The Report of the Committee of Dublin, on the Popery Laws in Ireland;" "five Minutes Advice upon the Prospect of War;" and "Is all that we want worth a civil War?"

The first publication which calls for our notice under our next head, of critical, classical, and polite literature, is "the History of Herodotus, translated from the Greek, with Notes subjoined, by J. Lempriere, A. B. Vol. I." This translation is designed to be completed in 2 vols. to which are to be added, two or three more volumes, including notes, dissertations, &c. The prosecution of this design, however, depends upon the encouragement which the author shall receive from the success of the volume before us. As far as this specimen will enable us to judge, we can venture to pronounce, that Mr. Lempriere's translation promises to be a work of considerable merit. From his Life of Herodotus, prefixed to this volume, he appears to possess learning and diligence sufficient to enable him successfully to illustrate his original; and his version is to be commended for fidelity, simplicity, and elegance.

The next publication which we have to announce is, "the Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, a new Translation, from the original Greek, by R. Graves, A. M." These celebrated Meditations, which reflect the highest honour on the imperial

author, and on the Stoic school of which he was a disciple, have been laid before the English reader by a variety of translators. Not one of them, however, wears a modern English dress; and those which have the greatest pretensions to fidelity, cannot be commended for the purity of their style, and the elegance of their language. In these respects, Mr. Graves's translation possesses very superior merits; and at the same time represents the meaning of the original with accuracy and spirit. This translation is accompanied with judicious notes, together with a life of Marcus Aurelius, and an account of the Stoic philosophy, which are drawn up from good authorities, with conciseness and perspicuity.

During the present year Mr. Gilbert Wakefield has published a third volume of his "Silva Critica;" in which his ingenuity and erudition are employed in illustrating passages in the epistles, by numerous quotations from those stores of classic literature, to the accumulation of which he has devoted a considerable part of a very studious and inquisitive life. For an account of the general character of this work, we refer our readers to what was said by us of the former volumes, in our Registers for the years 1789, and 1790.

During the present year likewise, Lord Monboddo has published the sixth volume "Of the Origin and Progress of Language." In this volume, the author treats of the rhetorical style; not by attempting to write a formal treatise upon rhetoric, but to give the philosophical principles upon which it is founded. His plan is divided into five books. The first book treats of the matter and subject of rhetoric; the se-

cond, of the style of rhetoric; the third, of action or pronunciation; the fourth, of those who have excelled in the rhetorical art; and the fifth, of the oratory of Demosthenes, containing observations on his matter and style. To characterise the productions of our very learned, and very singular author, after the repeated opportunities which we have had of introducing him to the acquaintance of our readers, during the progress of the work before us, would be to encumber our pages with needless and improper repetitions. In our Registers for the year 1790, and several of the preceding years, we have endeavoured to give a compressed view of the object and contents of Lord Monboddo's former volumes, of the general merits of his work, as a literary production, and of the peculiarities by which it is distinguished. What we have said in general of those volumes, is applicable to that before us.

The "Juvenile Excursions in Literature and Criticism, by William Tindal, A.M." consist of a number of unconnected pieces, the detached materials of a projected work of a much more elaborate texture, which the duties of the clerical profession in which he has engaged, have rendered him incapable of completing. They contain observations on men, manners, opinions, and books, with anecdotes and extracts; critical remarks on poetry, ancient and modern; and short descriptions of some picturesque scenes, on the northern lakes. It is in the character of a polite scholar and critic, that Mr. Tindal appears to the greatest advantage; and that his little work will afford amusement to those whose reading, or scope of reflection, has not been very much circum-

cumscribed. The language in which these pieces are written, is correct and elegant.

"The Barrister, or Strictures on the Education proper for the Bar, in 2 Vols." is the production of a liberal, sensible, and judicious author, which contains much excellent advice for those intended for the profession of the law: advice apparently dictated by long experience, an intimate acquaintance with the practice of the bar, and the mode of education generally followed in our inns of court. To follow the author in the outlines of his plan, which necessarily includes much miscellaneous matter, would be inconsistent with the nature of our work. His didactic observations are similar with what have been offered by other writers on logic and rhetoric; but happily appropriated to the line of study, which it is his peculiar object to assist. His monitory advice, against the evils to which the law student is exposed by his situation in the metropolis, is friendly and excellent. And his history of the inns of court, and the comparison which he draws between the state of ancient and modern discipline, are interesting and important. From the Introduction it appears, that most of the papers which compose these volumes, were originally published, at intervals, in one of our diurnal prints. As they attracted some attention and applause, the author was encouraged to publish them in this collected form; and to add others, to render his work more perfect and useful.

The "Farrago, containing Essays, moral, philosophical, political, and historical, in 2 Volumes," is a pleasing and entertaining work, consisting, partly of original pieces, and partly of extracts and selec-

tions from writers of acknowledged merit, and on various subjects. In the first volume we meet with a variety of original pieces, on miscellaneous topics, which shew the author to be possessed of an informed and reflecting mind, of a capacity to arrange his ideas with perspicuity, and to cloath them in correct and elegant language. To these the author has added, a succinct chronological History of France, abridged from M. Henault; an Abstract of the first volume of Blackstone's Commentary on the Laws of England; and a View of of the Vicissitudes of this Globe, translated from the French of M. de Pauw. The second volume contains an Abstract of Gibbon's History of the Goths and Vandals, and other barbarous nations; and translations from select passages of M. de Pauw's *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, sur les Egyptiens, et sur les Grecs*, which abound in curious and interesting facts. The editor is entitled to much praise, for the judgment and taste which he has displayed in his abridgments and selections; and for the charitable application which he has made of the profits of his work. It is published for the benefit of the society for the discharge and relief of persons imprisoned for small debts.

"The Literary Museum, or ancient and modern Repository, comprising scarce and curious Tracts, Poetry, Biography, and Criticism," was originally published in numbers, and is now collected into one volume, by Mr. Waldron, the Editor. Some of these pieces are curious, though not very important; and may afford amusement, while they do not add much to our stock of information. From an extract which we have given, under the

head of antiquities, our readers will perceive, that among other tracts which are obsolete, or forgotten, it is intended to preserve a striking monument of the superstition of our forefathers.

"The Grumbler, by the late F. Grose, Esq." consists of a number of detached Essays, which were addressed by the author to the editor of a periodical paper, his intimate friend. They are irregular and unfinished sketches; and are intended to describe uncommon characters, and to point out prevailing absurdities, which struck the author, in his acquaintance with different ranks of men, and in the peculiar pursuits to which he devoted himself. With their humour and sprightliness we have been entertained in our lounging moments.

The volume of "Select Oration, &c. relative to the Swedish Academy, &c. translated by N. G. Agander," contains a number of pleasing compositions, which will be acceptable to the lovers of polite literature. They consist of an introductory oration, delivered by the late king, at the opening of the Swedish academy, instituted for the purpose of improving the Swedish language, and encouraging the productions of genius and taste; and of inaugural discourses, delivered by different members at their introduction into the academy. A specimen of the most valuable piece, entitled, *Observations on Taste and polite Literature*, by M. de Rosenstein, our readers will find among our selections under the head of *Classical and Polite Criticism*.

The "Three Essays on picturesque Beauty, on picturesque Travel, on sketching Landscape, by William Gilpin, M. A." may be considered as containing the

elements of the remarks and observations made by the ingenious author, in his different picturesque tours, which have obtained him so much celebrity among connoisseurs and men of taste; and will therefore be received by them with pleasure and gratitude. "In the first Essay, the distinguishing characteristic is marked, of such beautiful objects, as are suited to the pencil; in the second, the mode of amusement is pointed out, that may arise from viewing the scenes of nature in a picturesque light; and in the third, a few rules are given for sketching landscape after nature." To these Essays are added a poem, on Landscape-painting, which deserves the attention of young artists, on account of the rules and directions it contains, whatever be the merit of the verses in which they are conveyed. This work is ornamented with aqua-tinta prints, intended to illustrate the observations and rules of the author.

The design of the work entitled, "*Hogarth illustrated*, by John Ireland, in 2 Vols. with 92 Plates," is to give a moral and analytical description of the prints of that famous painter of Nature, with such anecdotes relative to the work, as the editor was able to collect. "Where," says he, "the artist has been made a victim to poetical or political prejudice, without meaning to be his panegyrist, I have endeavoured to rescue his memory from unmerited obloquy. Where his works have been misconceived, or misrepresented, I have attempted the true reading. In my Essay at an illustration of the prints, with a description of what I conceive the comic and moral tendency of each, there is the best information I could procure, concerning the relative circumstances, occasionally interspersed

persed with such desultory conversation, as occurred in turning over a volume of his prints. Though these notes may not always have a relation to the engraving, I hope that they will seldom be found wholly unconnected with the subject." What Mr. Ireland proposed to himself, we conceive he has executed with considerable ability. The observations, and reflections which he offers, are interesting and important; and the anecdotes with which they are intermixed, are lively and entertaining. We think, notwithstanding, that his work might have been advantageously compressed into a smaller compass, by the omission of trifling and unimportant matter. The greater part of the plates accompanying these volumes, have already appeared, in a Treatise, entitled "Hogarth moralized;" a very inferior production. The new ones which Mr. Ireland has added, are neatly and elegantly engraved.

In poetical translation, from Greek and Roman authors, we do not recollect the appearance of any work, during the present year, if we except the publications of two different authors, which are professedly offered as specimens of their abilities for giving new English versions of Homer, and, an attempt to cloath, in a poetical English dress, the metres of Boethius. The first of these, by an anonymous author, is entitled, "the First Book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English Verse; being a Specimen of a new Translation of that Poet, with critical Annotations." This work is evidently intended to ridicule literal translations in general, and particularly Mr. Cowper's translation of Homer, in which many of the poetical beauties of the original were con-

siderably injured, by his version's being rendered too close and literal. In our author's version, which is strictly verbal, not the least trace of these beauties is to be found. The other publication, to which we adverted above, is entitled, "the Iliad of Homer, translated into English, by the Rev. William Tremenheere, A. B. Book I." This translation is in blank verse, and was undertaken by Mr. Tremenheere with the design of avoiding the extremes of some of the translations of this admired bard, of being either too paraphrastic, or too literal, "and to render his author with more Homeric spirit than the one, and with less prejudice to the original than the other." If the author is serious, we cannot compliment him on having afforded his readers a pleasing specimen of his abilities, as a translator of Homer. If, like the last mentioned writer he intends only to ridicule literal and blank verse translations, he has been completely successful.

"The Metres of Boethius, on the Consolation of Philosophy," consist of a translation of that writer's beautiful and plaintive poetic effusions, which occur in his Treatise, de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and of the long Preface of Peter Berty; with the original Latin printed on different pages, that the reader may have an opportunity of judging of the fidelity of the present version. We cannot highly applaud the author for the execution of his work; or say that it will enable the English scholar to form a just idea of the spirit and beauty which distinguish the writings of our philosophic poet.

"Rinaldo, a Poem, in twelve Books, translated from the Italian of Torquato Tasso, by John Hoole," will afford much gratification to

those, who delight to read the wild and fascinating stories of the old romance; or who wish to view the dawn of that genius and spirit, which afterward appeared with such charms in the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Tasso wrote the *Rinaldo* while a student in the university of Padua, and published it in the eighteenth year of his age. The hero of the piece was one of the famous Paladins in the court of Charlemagne; whose exploits, achieved by him for the love of fair Clarice, a princess of that court, whom in the end he marries, are detailed in the poem. The circumstances in this poem are often highly interesting, the descriptions poetical, and the episodes truly beautiful. The classical reader will easily trace in this work of Tasso, many imitations of the Greek and Roman poets, particularly of Virgil and Ovid. Mr. Hoole's merits, as a translator of Italian poetry, are so well known to the public, that it is unnecessary for us to attempt to appreciate them. They appear as conspicuous in *Rinaldo*, as in his former translations of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, *Metaasio*, and the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto.—Our general opinion of them, as displayed in the last mentioned work, we have given in this department of our Register for the year 1783.

The volume of "Ancient Songs, from the Time of King Henry III. to the Revolution," contains a number of curious and entertaining pieces of ancient popular poetry, collected by a gentleman of established taste and reputation in this branch of literature, from authentic sources; which may serve to illustrate the history, the superstition, the customs, and amusements of our ancestors. Some

of them, however, are so obscene, that they ought not to have been preserved in this, or in any other collection. To these Poems the editor has prefixed two Dissertations. In the first he contends, with great ingenuity and force of argument, in opposition to Dr. Percy, against the existence of ancient English minstrels, that is, "of a body of our own countrymen, who united the arts of poetry and music, and got their livelihood by singing verses to the harp, of their own composing, in their native tongue." But the strictures which he passes on Dr. Percy, are not very gentle, or liberal. The second Dissertation is on the songs, music, vocal and instrumental performances of the ancient English; from which we have received information and amusement.

The three volumes of "Scottish Poems, reprinted from scarce Editions, collected by John Pinkerton, F. S. A. Perth, &c." will likewise afford entertainment to the philologist and antiquary; especially to such as are well versed in ancient Scottish literature. These Poems are accompanied with illustrations, by the editor, who is well known to possess that species of taste and literature, which eminently qualify him for engaging in such undertakings.

In our Annual Register for the year 1789, we announced the publication of "the Botanic Garden, Part II. containing the Loves of the Plants;" and explained to our readers the design of that philosophic poem, the manner of its execution, and the just and high claims to poetic fame, which it secured to the author. During the present year, the first part of that work has made its appearance, after being delayed for reasons which

which the author assigns in a preliminary advertisement, and of which we took notice. This part of the Botanic Garden displays equal erudition, taste, and poetic fire, with the former; and from the greater diversity of subjects which it embraces, has afforded us greater pleasure and entertainment. For the author does not strictly confine himself to the œconomy of vegetables, which was all he promised, but brings into view the most important phenomena connected with the four elements. This gives a wide scope for the exercise of his imagination, and descriptive powers, by which he illustrates and embellishes, in the happiest and most beautiful manner, the driest and most barren subjects. To this poem, the author has added a variety of illustrations, which shew him to be intimately acquainted with modern philosophy, and which contain a number of observations, conjectures, and facts, that are interesting and important.

"Calvary, or the Death of Christ, a Poem, in Eight Books, by Richard Cumberland," is written in Miltonic blank verse, and is intended to blend, what to the author appears to be scripture doctrine, and scripture history, with those embellishments of fable, and poetic machinery, which have a powerful effect in arresting and entertaining the mind. The subjects of the different books are; the assembling of the Devils, in which the Death of Christ is resolved on; the last Supper; the Condemnation of Christ; the Crucifixion; the Descent into Hell; and the Resurrection from the Dead. In this work the author discovers considerable powers of invention, and of language. His descriptions are frequently sublime,

his images striking and beautiful, and many of his reflections just and proper. We cannot say, however, that as a whole we greatly admire this poem. The narrative part is too diffuse, and defective in that simplicity which is so strong a recommendation of the evangelical writers; the speeches of the author's demons and angels, are too laboured and tedious to be interesting; the characters do not appear to us to be sufficiently novel, and discriminated; and the negligencies and inaccuracies which we have observed in it, are very unworthy the rank which has been assigned to Mr. Cumberland, in the literary and poetical world. We apprehend that he might have chosen many subjects more congenial to the course of studies which he has successfully followed, than that of the Poem before us; on which the greater variety of ideas which would have occurred, would have given more unexceptionable scope for the exercise of his inventive faculty, and the display of those poetical talents which he is known to possess.

The volume of "Poems, by F. Sayers, M. D." consists of the dramatic sketches of northern mythology, noticed by us in our Register for the year 1790, which have been carefully revised and corrected; and some other poems, distinguished by the same energy, elegance, and classical taste.

The two vols. of "Poems, chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall," contain a great variety of pieces of different merits, under the titles of Lyric Pieces, Pastoral Pieces, Heroic Pieces, Epistles, Addresses, Sonnets, Songs, and Epitaphs. Some of the poems, under the different heads which we have mentioned,

are entitled to a very high degree of applause, from the true spirit of poetry which they discover, their beauty of sentiment, harmony of versification, and elegance of diction. Others, as may be expected, possess little more than negative merit. The principal contributors of the most valuable pieces are, Mr. Hole, Dr. Downman, Mr. Polwhele, Mr. Warwick, Mr. Emmett, Mr. J. Bampfylde, and Mr. Drew.

The "Poems by G. Dyer, B. A.," were composed, as the author informs us in his Preface, "as a relaxation from severer studies; to raise his spirits when they have been low; to amuse himself in illness; or to pass away the languor of sleepless nights." And he modestly observes, "that as his addresses have of late years been made to the muse, merely to suit his own convenience, and sometimes only when he could find pleasure in no other company, he cannot reasonably complain if she be not over liberal in her favours." She has not, however, been unkind to our author. His poems are sensible, nervous, and spirited; and abound in liberal, manly, and generous sentiments. His versification is, in general, harmonious and pleasing, and his diction simple and chaste. Though well acquainted with the best writers of antiquity, Mr. Dyer has very judiciously avoided the too common fault of modern poets, that of aiming at a studied and servile imitation of them.

"The Pleasures of Memory, a Poem, in Two Parts, by the Author of an Ode to Superstition, with some other Poems," is a production which exhibits the marks of genius, and a cultivated taste, pleasing imagery, beautiful and pa-

thetic description, delicacy of sentiment, and harmony of versification. The first part of the Poem illustrates the power of memory, as called into action by the presence of sensible objects; the second part, as excited by an internal operation of the mind. A charming tale, illustrating the influence of memory in solitude, sickness, and sorrow, our readers will find among our poetical selections. The author's Ode to Superstition, was noticed by us in our Register for the year 1786.

"The Songs of the Aboriginal Bards of Britain, by George Richards, A. M." will not diminish the fame, which the author acquired by his prize poem, spoken in the theatre at Oxford, July 8, 1791, of which we gave an account in our last volume. It affords ample evidence of the author's diligence in making himself acquainted with the history, mythology, and customs of the ancient Britons; of a vigorous fancy, just poetic taste, and a mind fraught with noble, and elevated sentiments. The first piece in this collection is entitled the Battle, and consists of a number of songs, in which the British bards animate their countrymen to deeds of heroism. The second poem is entitled the Captivity of Caractacus, and contains the consolations of the bards to that prince, when just embarking for Italy, drawn from the principles of their religion.

Mr. Jerningham's "Abelard to Eloisa, a Poem," is a work which, like the other productions of that author, possesses considerable merit. It will be read with particular pleasure by those who are chiefly delighted with the effusions of the tender and plaintive muse.

Mrs. Robinson's "Monody to the Memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds,"

nolds," is elegant, harmonious, and pathetic; and offers deserved incense at the tomb of our celebrated British artist.

Peter Pindar's muse has been unusually prolific during the present year. Her productions are, "More Money, or Odes of Instruction to Mr. Pitt;" "Odes of Importance;" "the Tears of Saint Margaret;" "a Pair of Lyric Epistles to Lord Macartney and his Ship;" "Odes to Kien Long, Emperor of China;" and "the Loufiad, Canto IV."

To the articles already enumerated, we can only add the names of the following: "the Adventures of Telemachus, in Blank Verse, by the Rev. J. Youde, in 3 Vols;" "Charlotte, or a Sequel to the Sorrows of Werter, and other Poems, by Mrs. Farrell;" "Poetical Thoughts, and Views on the Banks of the Wear, by Per. Stockdale;" "the Comparison, or England Greatest and Happiest, by William Whitmore;" "Sedition, an Ode, by J. Delap, D. D.;" "Virginus and Virginia, from the Roman History, by Mrs. Gunning;" "the Voyage of Life, by the Rev. Dr. Lloyd;" "Invitation, or Urbanity, by the Author of Wenfleydale;" "Painting a Poem;" "Flagellation, or the Whigs, by J. Dryden, Jun.;" "Bagshot Battle, a Burlesque;" "the Conspiracy of Kings, by J. Barlow, Esq.;" "the Fate of Empire, by the Rev. J. Palmer;" "Eighty-nine fugitive Tables, in Verse;" "the Gibraltar Monkeys, or the Rights of Man, a Fable;" "Reform, a Farce, modernized from Aristophanes;" "a Norfolk Tale, or Journey from London to Norwich;" "Shrove Tuesday, a Rhapsody, by A. Pasquin;" "Casino, a mock Heroic Poem;" "Divine

Poems and Essays, by Maria de Fleury;" "a Collection of Poems, by a young Lady;" and "Poems by a Lady, revised by Mr. Cowper."

The Dramatic publications of the year 1792, were "Zapphira, a Tragedy;" "Sir Thomas More, a Tragedy, by the Author of the Village Curate;" "the Battle of Eddington, or British Liberty, a Tragedy;" "Columbus, an historical Play, by T. Morton;" "a Day in Turkey, or the Russian Slaves, a Comedy, by Mrs. Cowley;" "the Fugitive, a Comedy, by J. Richardson, Esq.;" "the Road to Ruin, a Comedy, by Thomas Holcroft;" "Cross Partners, a Comedy;" "Helvetic Liberty, an Opera, by a Kentish Bowman;" "Just in Time, a Comic Opera, by T. Hurlstone;" "the Prisoner, a musical Romance;" "the Enchanted Wood;" "the Intrigues of the Morning, by Mrs. Parsons;" "All in Good Humour, by C. Oulton;" and "the Dreamer awake, or Pugilist matched, a Farce, by E. I. Eyre."

Among the few articles which we have reserved for our Miscellaneous list, we meet with "the Lounger's Common Place Book, or Alphabetical Anecdotes; being a biographic, literary, political and satirical Vade Mecum, which he who runs may read." This literary hodge-podge, among a variety of articles unworthy an editor of taste and discrimination, presents us with a great number of anecdotes, remarks, and observations, relative to living characters, as well as defunct, from which we have received much entertainment. To "an idle or forgetful man, who lolls his morning on sofas, in Hyde-Park, the coffee-house,

house, the fruit-shop, or St. James's street," it will be particularly acceptable.

The "Plans of Education, with Remarks on the Systems of other Writers, &c. by Clara Reeve," contain a number of observations which well deserve the attention of the public. Her remarks on the manner in which the female part of society are educated, and the plans which she offers of a female community, and a seminary of female education, will supply those who have turned their thoughts to that important subject, with some useful and valuable hints.

The "Letter from Lady Wille to Captain —" abounds in much excellent maternal advice, on the subjects of religion, the government of the passions, true honour, moral rectitude, and manners, which is worthy of the serious notice of young men, and particularly of such as are intended for a military life. This advice is enlivened with historical anecdotes, political disquisitions, and portraits of eminent, or conspicuous characters.

The "Vindication of the Rights of Woman, with Strictures on political and moral Subjects, by Mary Wollstonecraft," is a treatise on female education; which, among some singularities and fanciful opinions, that we think objectionable, contains much judicious reasoning, and important reflections, on the absurdity of the systems generally followed; the degradation of the female character to which they give rise; the importance of a well cultivated understanding to the proper discharge of the personal duties; and on the improvements necessary to be introduced to render the female character respectable and useful, as well as amiable and pleasing. These reasonings and reflections we

warmly recommend to our readers; assuring them, that they discover much energy and originality of sentiment, and acuteness of observation, recommended by the graces of an animated, elegant, and flowing style. They may be perused with advantage by the male sex, as well as those for whose use they are principally designed.

"Marcus Flaminius, or a View of the military, political, and social Life of the Romans, &c. by E. Cornelia Knight, in 2 Vols." is a pleasing mixture of historical facts and information, with fictitious incidents, something in the manner of the travels of the younger Anacharsis into Greece; which displays much ingenuity and fancy, and may be read by young students with pleasure and improvement. The narrative is supposed to be written in a series of letters from a young patrician, who served with Varus in his unfortunate expedition into Germany, where he met with numerous adventures, before his return to Rome in the reign of Tiberius. Those adventures, the æra of his return, the changes which had taken place during his absence, the manners and the principal characters of the period, are the subjects which have employed Miss Knight's powers of imagination and description. For her historical information she has chiefly depended on the annals of Tacitus.

The "Instances of the Mutability of Fortune, selected from ancient and modern History, and arranged according to their chronological Order, by A. Bicknell," do not bring before the public any characters with which they were not previously acquainted, or throw any new light on the principal circumstances which distinguished their lives. The author's remarks

on

on them, however, are of an instructive and moral tendency; and as they are introduced in his simple and pleasing sketches, are calculated to make good impressions on young minds.

In our Register for the year 1799, we introduced to our readers a volume of "Letters written in France, &c. containing many Anecdotes relative to the French Revolution, by Helen Maria Williams." During the present year, that elegant and lively writer has published a second volume, under the same title, containing new anecdotes relative to the revolution, and the present state of French manners. This volume we have read with the same pleasure as the first; and have been sensibly struck with the picture which it affords, of the wonderful changes already produced in the mode of thinking and behaviour, of the different classes of people in that country; and of the advantages which have arisen to the lower ranks, on being elevated from the most humiliating state of vassalage to that of freedom. The stories which she has introduced, and the anecdotes which she has related, to illustrate the effects of this change, are highly interesting and entertaining.

The "Essay on Archery, describing the Practice of that Art, in all Ages and Nations, by Walter Michael Mosely, Esq." is a work that will afford pleasure, not only to the lovers of what is now become, from a military exercise, a fashionable diversion, but to the historian, and the antiquary. The author has employed much elaborate research in collecting his materials, which are curious and interesting. His incidental reflections are ingenious and amusing; and

his arrangement, style, and language, perspicuous, elegant, and classical. This essay is illustrated by some well-executed plates.

The "Sequel to the printed Paper lately circulated in Warwickshire, &c." by Dr. Parr, is partly of a personal nature, containing animadversions on the want of delicacy and honour in the conduct of a Birmingham rector, relative to some papers of Dr. Priestley, which fell into his hands at the time of the riots in that place and neighbourhood and a vindication of himself against an attempt to fix "a deep and deadly wound on his moral feelings." These animadversions are pointed and severe in the extreme, but fully justified by the occasion which called for them; and the Doctor's defence of his own character, is open, manly, and unanswerable. The rest of this Sequel is miscellaneous, consisting of observations on the commotions in Warwickshire, the character of Dr. Priestley, the necessity of improving our civil and ecclesiastical systems, toleration, the revolution of France, and the writers who have engaged in discussing the merits of that event. On these topics Dr. Parr displays wonderful powers and energy of mind, and a liberality and candour, which we cannot but highly commend, notwithstanding that we occasionally differ in opinion from the learned author. The style of this work is bold, masculine, and splendid; and it is embellished with a profusion of quotations from Latin and Greek authors.

The pamphlet entitled "Curtius rescued from the Gulph, or the Retort courteous to the Rev. Dr. Parr, &c." is intended to ridicule the Doctor, for the erudition displayed by him in the above-men-
tioned

treatise; and to convince him that he has not made a monopoly of wit and literature. But it does not overturn his strong facts, or combat his masterly reasoning in defence of injured innocence, just policy, and the irrefragable rights of mankind.

Among the Novels which were published during the year 1792, either as original, or translations from foreign languages, the following have been spoken of, as possessing superior merit in this style of writing: "Desmond, in 3 Vols. by Charlotte Smith;" "the Romance of the Forest, in 3 Vols." "Vancenza, or the Dangers of Credulity, in 2 Vols. by Mrs. Robinson;" "Anecdotes of the Delborough Family, in 5 Vols. by Mrs. Gunning;" "Anna St. Ives, in 7 Vols. by Mr. Holcroft;" "Arabian Tales, translated from the French, in 4 Vols. by R. Heron;" "Gonzalva of Cordova, or Granada reconquered, an historical Romance, from the French of Florian, in 3 Vols;" "New Tales, from the French of Florian:" and "the German Gil Blas, from the Ger-

man of Baron Kuiege, in 3 Vols."

—To the same class belong, "the Castle of St. Vallery, an ancient Story;" "Frederic and Louisa, in 4 Vols;" "the History of the Dukes of York, in 2 Vols;" "the noble Enthusiast, in 3 Vols;" "Modern Miniature, in 2 Vols;" "Manas He is, in 4 Vols;" "the Fair Impostor, in 3 Vols;" "Elizabeth Percy, in 2 Vols;" "Juliana Ormeston, the fraternal Victim, in 4 Vols;" "Slavery, or the Times, in 2 Vols;" "the Count de Hoenfder, a German Tale, in 3 Vols;" "the peaceful Villa, in 2 Vols;" "the Excursion of Osman, a political Romance;" "Adelfrida, in 4 Vols;" "the Family Party, in 3 Vols;" "Fanny, or the distressed Daughter, in 2 Vols;" "Lady Jane Gray, in 2 Vols;" "the Double Marriage, in 3 Vols;" "Philario & Eleanora, in 2 Vols;" "Leon, a Spartan Story, in 2 Vols;" "the Rock of Modrec, in 2 Vols;" "Delineations of the Heart, in 3 Vols;" "Elvina, in 2 Vols;" "Terentia, in 2 Vols;" "Butler's Diary, in 2 Vols;" "the Female Werter, in 2 Vols;" and "Memoirs of a Baroness, in 2 Vols."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1792.

OUR account of the Foreign Literature of the year 1792, we shall endeavour to compress within as narrow limits as possible, on account of the bulk to which this volume hath already been extended, from the accumulating mass of materials for our British and Foreign History, and the considerable space which we have been obliged to allot to the numerous and increasing productions of our domestic press.

The information which we have received from the Russian dominions, will oblige us to devote but a very small part of our work to the account of the literature of that empire. At Riga hath appeared "a Paraphrase on the First Epistle of John, with Prolegomena and Annotations, by Dr. J. S. Semler; to which are prefixed an Account of the Author, and of his Genius and Merit in interpreting Scripture, by J. Aug. Nosselt." Dr. Semler supposed that this Epistle was written by St. John to the Jewish converts to christianity, who lived out of the boundaries of the Roman empire; and on this supposition he explains several passages, in a sense different from that in which they have been commonly understood. The account of his Life, by the editor, will afford pleasure to the reader.—At Petersburg hath been published "An abridged

Description of Slavonic Mythology; a work derived from various Authors, and arranged according to alphabetical Order, by Michael Popoff," translated from the Russian language into French, by M. Chirokoy. This is an instructive and entertaining work, from which the antiquary as well as philologist may derive valuable information. The sources whence the author selected his materials are, the native historians, the customs of the common people, and traditionary heroic ballads.—At Moscow, Dr. F. Stephani, Professor of Botany, has published "a List of Plants growing near Moscow," with descriptions drawn up on the principles of Linnæus and Hedwig; which is offered as the precursor of a larger work, intended soon to make its appearance. This article contains fifty-nine genera of plants, containing eight hundred and sixty species.—At Petersburg hath been published "the Recreation Room, or, a Continuation of the Speaking Wall;" the nature and design of which was explained by us, in our View of the Literature of Russia for the last year.

In Swedish literature, the first publication which demands our notice is, "the New Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Vol. xiii. Part I." published at Stockholm. The papers in this part of the Academic Transactions, are

are on subjects in natural history, natural philosophy, botany, and political economy. Among their principal authors we recognize the respectable names of M. A. Modeer, M. Cl. Bjerkander, Prof. Thunberg, M. C. N. Hellenius, and M. J. A. Norberg.—At the same place hath appeared a sensible and ingenious “Discourse on the Importance of continuing astronomical Observations, delivered by M. Melanderhielm, as President of the Swedish Academy of Sciences.” The learned president is apprehensive, that the great discoveries lately made in astronomy, may tend to propagate an idea, that the cultivators of that science are arrived at their *ne plus ultra*. With great propriety he exposes the unphilosophical nature of such an opinion; and from the new regions which are continually opening to the patient and attentive observer of the heavens, urges the importance of prosecuting astronomical studies, and with increasing ardour.—At the same place M. A. Modeer has published an important and interesting “Essay on various Products in the three Kingdoms of Nature, that have a wonderful similarity both in external Appearance and Use.” In the true spirit of philosophy, this ingenious author, who perceives organization in the mineral kingdom, does not content himself with a plausible theory, founded on hypothesis, but illustrates and confirms his remarks by experiments.—At the same place Vice Admiral Nordenancker, has published a “Discourse delivered by him, as President of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, on the Currents of the Baltic,” which is the result of accurate and attentive observation, and promises, when the charts which he has delivered to the Aca-

demy are made public, to be of considerable use to the navigators in that dangerous sea.

At Stockholm have been published “Memoirs of the Swedish Society pro Fide & Christianismo, concerning Religion, Morals, and Education, vol. I. Part II.” This useful and patriotic Society is composed of private individuals, who aim at the diffussion of knowledge, and particularly of that kind of theological knowledge which is adapted to the improvement of the lower orders of the community, by the publication of useful books, either original, or translated from foreign languages. The formation of a library also makes a part of their plan.—At Upsal hath been published “an historical Essay on the German Community and Church of St. Gertrude, at Stockholm, by L. A. A. Ludeke,” which is illustrated by two elegant engravings.—At Lund, the celebrated bishop Olof O. Celsius has published “the History of the Swedish Church from the Year 1000 to 1022,” which is the continuation of a work begun by him in the year 1757, and received with much approbation in Sweden. Beside curious researches into the ecclesiastical history of Sweden, it contains a short view of the early state of christianity in Denmark, Norway, England, Russia, and Iceland.—At Upsal, Professor Thunberg has published the III. vol. of his “Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, in the years 1770–9; containing a Voyage to Japan, and Travels in that Empire in the years 1775–6.” From the account given of this long expected volume by the foreign journalists, it will afford abundant gratification to the curious and inquisitive reader; and we shall be anxious for the time when we may

may become acquainted with it in an English dress. — At Stockholm, General Baron de Siegeroth has published "a Sketch of the History of the Regiment of Sudermania, Part VI," which includes in it a considerable part of the military history of Sweden, to the close of the reign of Charles XI. This work was begun in the year 1786. — At the same place M. Uggla has published "a Catalogue of Swedish Senators, from the most remote Times, Parts I. and II. To this work is prefixed a curious and well-written View of the Origin and History of the Senate, of Sweden, and of the Struggles for Power between that Body and the different Monarchs." — At Upsal, M. Knoes has published the III^d. Fasciculus of his "Analecta Epistolarum, &c." in which the reader will meet with curious remains of the epistolary correspondence of princes and dignified characters, from the time of Gustavus I. to the reign of Charles IX.

At Stockholm hath been published "a Catalogue of a Collection of MSS. and Letters formerly belonging to Archbishop Eric Benzelius the Younger, now in the Library of Linköping, by J. H. Lidén," in which we have an account of the contents of those valuable relics, and literary remarks by the editor. — At Upsal, "a Latin and Swedish Dictionary," hath been published by the Academy of Upsal, in two volumes, by order of the late king; which is formed on the Thesaurus of Faber and Gesner, with assistance borrowed from Ainsworth's Latin and English, and Scheller's Latin and German dictionaries. — At Stockholm have been published a volume of "Philosophical, Historical, and Political Reflections, presented to a young Prince on his

Accession to the Throne," of which the foreign Reviews speak in respectful terms; and a poem called "The Agricultor," which they represent to be a judicious, animated, and patriotic performance.

In turning our attention to Danish literature, we meet with "an Essay on the Nature and Destination of Brutes, and on the Duties of Man towards them, by L. Smith," published at Copenhagen. In this work the ingenious and humane author argues strongly in favour of a merciful treatment of animals, to whom he assigns a sort of soul, imagination, and a capacity of enlarging their ideas, to a certain degree. His reasonings he supports by an appeal to striking facts. — At the same place have been published several treatises in political economy, which possess considerable merit. One of these contains "three Prize Essays on the Question, Is it beneficial or injurious to introduce a National Dress? The ingenious authors all agree in reprobating such a political measure. Another of these treatises is the II^d. volume of "the Statistical works of L. Christ. Fabricius, public Teacher of political Economy," the contents of which are important and valuable. Another is "the Account of the New Regulations adopted agreeable to the Instructions of the King's Commissioners, &c. by M. Hausen," which gives us an interesting account of the methods adopted for ameliorating the condition of the Danish peasantry. Another treatise of this description is entitled "Remarks on the Spirit of the late Laws relative to rural Economy, &c. by G. U. D. Von Eggers," which effectually overthrow the objections of the interested or prejudiced, against the reforms intended to promote the happiness of the lower classes

classes of the people.—To the same head are we to refer the “patriotic Thoughts of a Dane, on standing Armies,” published at Altona, dictated by an enlarged and liberal mind, and containing sound and just maxims of policy; and the valuable, but “Short Introduction to the statistical and literary History of the Kingdom of Denmark, by Fred. Thaarup,” published at Copenhagen.

The “*Symbolæ Botanicae, &c. i. e. botanic Characters, or more accurate Descriptions chiefly of Plants collected by P. Forstkaol, in his Travels in the East, or of Others more recently discovered, by Martin Vahl, Part I. with 25 Plates,*” published at Copenhagen, is a work which the well-known abilities of the late celebrated author, and of the present editor, will render highly valuable to the botanist. The corrections which M. Vahl has introduced into the original of Forstkaol, were made by him some years ago; but the publication of them was deferred till after he had an opportunity of making a botanical tour to Barbary, and the south of Europe.

At Copenhagen hath been published a German edition of “historical Essays of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Copenhagen, translated from the Danish, with occasional Additions and Corrections by their Authors, and Remarks by the Translator; by Dr. Val. Aug. Heinze, Professor of Philosophy at Kiel, Vols. IV. and V.” This work is a valuable selection, and is ornamented with maps and plates.—At the same place hath appeared “the History of Mohammed Ben Abdallah, Emperor of Morocco, by G. Host, secretary for foreign Affairs,” which, beside

the life of the late emperor, contains valuable and entertaining information respecting the state of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants.—At the same place have been published “the Mohammedan Annals of Abulfeda, Volume III. containing the Events from the Year of the Hegira 401, to the End of the Dynasty of the Fatemite Caliphs, A. H. 567, in Arabic and Latin.”—The next work which we shall notice, published at Copenhagen, will be highly prized by the medalist and historian, both on account of the collection itself being complete, and the important observations on the Danish coinage, from the remotest periods, by chancellor Suhm, and various particulars respecting the history of the Danish mint, by the late M. L. Prætorius, which are prefixed to it. It is “a Description of the Danish Coins and Medals in the royal Collection, in two Volumes Folio, with 319 copper plates.”—“The Labyrinth, or a Tour through Germany, France, and Switzerland, by J. Baggesen, vol. I.” published at the same place, is spoken of in warm terms of commendation in the foreign journals.

At Copenhagen, likewise, have been published, the VIIth volume of the “miscellaneous Works of Chancellor Suhm,” consisting of literary Essays, and antiquarian Researches; “The Spectator,” a periodical work, conducted by professor Rabec, which contains much information concerning the manners of the country, and numerous excellent disquisitions on different subjects; and the IVth vol. of the “miscellaneous Works of J. Ewald,” the celebrated Danish poet, who, like many other men of superior genius and talents, was neglected

ed when living, and fell a sacrifice to poverty and misfortune in the year 1781.

The first work which demands our notice in the history of the literature of the United Provinces, is the II. d. Vol. of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the New Testament," by G. Hesselink, A. M." published at Amsterdam, which completes the plan of the learned and ingenious author. Of the nature and design of this Dictionary, and the manner in which it is executed, our readers may form a judgment from the account which we gave of the I. st. vol. in this department of our literary history for the year 1790.—At Haarlem, Teyler's theological society have published their twelfth volume of "Prize Dissertations relative to natural and revealed Religion." The important subject which hath been adjudged to be most ably and satisfactorily discussed in these Dissertations, is included in the following questions: "Did not Christ in his Discourses, and the Evangelists and Apostles in their Writings, sometimes accommodate their Expressions and Arguments to the popular Notions then prevalent?" If so, in what particular instances, and how far did they act thus? Of what use is this hypothesis, well defined and rightly apprehended, in explaining the Scriptures of the New Testament? Two Dissertations on this subject are here published; one by the Rev. Paul Van Hemert, professor of philosophy and literature in the Society of Remonstrants at Amsterdam, to whom the gold medal was awarded; the other by the Rev. William De Vos, minister of the baptist congregation in the same city, who received the silver medal. The first of these Dissertations is a master-

ly performance, equally distinguished by erudition, and logical reasoning; and admirably calculated to assist the inquisitive student, in separating pure christianity from many notions which obscure its excellence, and which supply the sceptic with objections against the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament. The second Dissertation affords us numerous evidences of solid learning, and liberal sentiments; but it is not so precise and determinate as the former one. It shews that the author was apprehensive of pushing the enquiry to a length that might endanger the authority of Scripture. For such an apprehension we cannot see the least reason. We are convinced that narrowing the ground of discussion, will only strengthen the prejudices of the enemies of revelation; and that the Scriptures, with respect to their sentiments and language, will bear the test of the most critical and rigid investigation; when candour and frankness are placed in the seat of judgment: when ridicule and unprincipled sophistry usurp it, the advocate for truth will least of all oppose to them hesitation and timidity.—At the Hague, M. Rutz has published, "Fragments of Demonology," intended to illustrate the history of the Demoniacs of the New Testament, of which we have not seen any account.—At Amsterdam, the Rev. B. C. Sowden, minister of the English episcopal Church in that city, has published "A Discourse delivered before the literary Society, denominated *Felix Meritis*, on the Innoculation of the Small-pox, in which the moral Obligation to the Practice is proved and enforced." This argumentative and popular treatise is drawn up with great skill and ingenuity, and is

admirably calculated to convince the religious and conscientious, that the discovery of inoculation ought to be contemplated and employed with gratitude, as a most efficacious means held out by Providence, to escape one of the most dreadful disorders that can afflict mankind. We are happy to learn that the publication of this discourse has had a surprising effect in removing the prejudices against inoculation, which, before its appearance, prevailed almost universally among our Belgic neighbours; as they did but a few years ago in our own country.—At the same place, professor Paul Van Hemert has published “An Oration on the Death of Abraham Arent Vander Meerfch, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the Society of Remonstrants at Amsterdam;” which is a just and proper tribute to the memory of a worthy man, who was distinguished, by his love of free enquiry, and his zeal for rational christianity. The Oration is in pure and elegant Latin.

At Amsterdam, M. Vander Woort has published a work entitled, “Principles of the Knowledge of Man, &c. in 2 Vols.” which is employed in discussing the nature of the faculties of the soul, the origin of our sensations and ideas, the nature of the will, and its operations; and is represented to be a work of considerable merit.—In the same place hath appeared a work, pretendedly printed at London, entitled, “Letters on the Danger of altering the primitive Constitution of an established Government, written to a Dutch Patriot.” The author of these letters, who is a shrewd and able writer, from the evils which political revolutions have produced, endeavours to con-

vince his readers of the benefits attending passive obedience and non-resistance to the powers that be, in any country; having, doubtless, a particular reference to his Belgic brethren. The enlightened Dutchman will disdain or pity the timid politician, or the parasite, who would persuade him of the great comforts of wearing fetters.—At the same place have been published, “Essays on the best Means of forming Youth at School to the social Virtues, by the Society for promoting the public Welfare.” The patriotic object of this society, which was instituted in the year 1785, is to encourage and promote the diffusion of knowledge throughout the United Provinces, by the publication and distribution of proper and useful books. The Essays before us, which they have patronized, point out judicious methods of instilling valuable knowledge into the undebauched minds of youth.—At the same place hath been published, “Duties of Workmen and Domestics, by Dirk Boing;” a treatise to which the same society adjudged a prize, which they offered for the best moral instructions for servants and workmen. To this Essay, a Poem is added, by Mrs. A. Deken, which appears well calculated to add efficacy to the advice it is meant to convey.—At Utrecht, Dr. Matthew Van Geuns, professor of medicine, has published “Orations concerning Medical Policy,” which contain a variety of ingenious and important observations, relative to government and political œconomy, deserving the attention of statesmen in every country.

The XXVIII. Vol. of “Memoirs by the Philosophical Society of Haarlem,” is wholly taken up with discussions on the merits of professor Kant's

Kant's system of moral philosophy, which is at present the fashionable system among the German literati. The dissertations which compose it are, by professor Schwab, of Stuttgart, who received the gold medal, by Dr. Behn of Lubec, and by professor Jacob of Halle, who was rewarded by the silver medal. Those of our English readers, whose curiosity may prompt them to enquire into the nature of Kant's fundamental principles, we refer to the Appendix to the Tenth Vol. of the Monthly Review enlarged, where they will find a judicious abstract of them.—At Amsterdam hath appeared an account of some curious philosophical experiments, carried on under the direction of Messrs. Deiman, Troostwyk, Nieuwland, and Bond, in order to extend the boundaries of science, entitled, "Physico-Chemical Enquiries, Memoir I." The expence attending these experiments, which is likely to prove considerable, is defrayed, much to their honour, by Henry Hope, Thomas Hope, Henry Muilman, Peter Muilman, Peter de Smeth, and William Six, Esqrs.—At Haarlem hath been published, "A Letter from Dr. Van Marum to M. Berthollet, containing a Description of a new Gasometer," which may prove of considerable utility to the experimental philosopher.—At Amsterdam, Dr. Aenæ, A. L. M. has published a translation of the "Essay on Vision, by George Adams," a treatise well known in England; to which he has added several useful observations and illustrations, which considerably enhance the value of the work.

At Haarlem hath appeared the II. vol. of "Memoirs relative to Naples and Sicily, &c. by F. Munter, Professor of Divinity at Co-

penhagen," the character of which work was given by us in our account of Danish literature for the year 1790, and in this department of our last volume.—At Amsterdam, "A Short Description of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries" hath been published, which in its geographical part appears to be correct, and well adapted to the information of young persons.—At the same place a work hath been published, which unites politics with Geography, and, from the care and accuracy with which it is compiled, is deserving of commendation: it is entitled "Tables of the Possessions of the Dutch, Prussians, French, and Austrians, in the Ten Provinces of the Catholic Netherlands, and in Upper Gelderland, by an attentive Traveller."—At the same place the Hon. Joachim Rendorp, L. L. D. burgomaster of Amsterdam, left for publication after his death, which happened during the present year, 2 vols. of "Memoirs tending to elucidate Events which took Place during the late War with England," which are highly interesting and important. The author, from his situation, and the negotiations in which he was personally concerned, possessed every advantage for acquiring accurate information; and his pen appears to have been guided by truth and impartiality.—At Haarlem have appeared 2 vols. of "Travels, by George Forster, translated from the German;" consisting of letters written during an excursion along the Rhine to Brabant, Flanders, Holland, England, and France, in the year 1790, which are the productions of a man of judgment and taste, and abound in valuable observations, as well as pleasing and interesting descriptions. The in-

genious author, together with his father Dr. John Reinhold Forster, accompanied capt. Cook in his second voyage round the world.

At Amsterdam M. J. G. Hufschke has published "a Critical Epistle on Propertius, addressed to the learned Laur. Van Santen; to which are added some Remarks on Catullus, and Tibullus." This work, which is partly composed from some literary fragments of the late celebrated Peter Fontein, and partly the result of the editor's own studies, will be an acceptable present to the learned world. It contains some excellent observations on the style of the Latin poets and their imitation of the Greeks.—At the same place, a piece hath been published entitled "The modern Helicon, a Vision, by Arend Fokke Simon's Son," in which the author, with considerable humour as well as judgment, exposes the affected and false taste of some of his countrymen, who have enrolled themselves among the votaries of the muses.—At Haarlem a publication hath appeared entitled "the Art of Theatrical Imitation, by J. J. Engel, translated from the German, in 2 vols." which is a work of great judgment and taste, and written in a pleasing and agreeable manner.—At Groningen, M. Gerh. Nic. Heerkens has published "a Poem, on the Influence of Study on the Health of the Learned, in 3 Books," which is a pleasing and interesting work, illustrated with notes containing curious and entertaining literary anecdotes.

Among the literary productions of Germany, the first in point of order which claims our notice, is "a New Translation of Joel, with Illustrations, by C. W. Justi," published at Leipzig. The abilities of M. Justi as a critic in Hebrew

literature, and the execution of this version, which is in a kind of blank verse, are spoken of in terms of commendation in the foreign journals.—At the same place, professor Christ. Fred. Matthæus, assessor of the imperial Russian colleges, has published "The Commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus on the four Gospels, in Greek and Latin, in 3 Vols." This edition contains the hitherto inedited Greek text, revised from two MSS. on vellum, in the library of the holy synod at Moscow, written in the time of the author, to which is added the Latin version of J. Hentenius, with remarks by the editor.—At Gottingen, M. J. God. Eichhorn has published "A Commentary on the Revelation of John, in 2 Vols." which is distinguished by great learning and ingenuity, and deserves the attention of Biblical scholars. Our author considers the spiritual victory of christianity over judaism and paganism, to be the true subject of the apostle's prophetic drama.—At Tübingen, M. Chr. Fred. Weber has published a volume of "Essays on the History of the Canon of the New Testament," which are replete with solid learning, and valuable information. On some points M. Weber differs from our learned countryman Dr. Lardner.—At Sorau, M. J. Gottl. Worbs has published a treatise entitled, "On the Tokens of Friendship and Alliance among the Orientals, in Explanation of several Passages of Scripture;" in which the author's learning and reading are applied with great success, to the illustration of various passages of the Old and New Testaments.—At Kirchheim Bolander, M. J. Fred. Des Cotes has published a treatise entitled, "The Resurrection of the Dead, according to the Doctrine

trine of the New Testament." In this work the object of the ingenious and liberal author is to shew, that the explanation of Jesus Christ respecting that doctrine was intended to be a mean between the opinion of the Sadducees, as attributed to them by Semler and others, and the hypothesis of the Pharisees. That in opposition to the former he taught, that a body will be united with the immortal soul in a future state; and in opposition to the latter, that an immortal body, totally different from the fleshly body, would arise at the instant of death, not first at the day of judgment.—At Königsberg, an anonymous author has published "A Sketch of an Examination of Revelation in general," which in a concise, connected form, contains every weighty argument that has been adduced in defence of revealed religion, and a masterly refutation of the objections of unbelievers.—At Nuremberg, and in other parts of Germany, hath appeared an edition of the celebrated work of Servetus, entitled, "Restitution of Christianity, &c." for which the author suffered death, and which the zeal of Calvin and his orthodox brethren had nearly exterminated. From one of the four or five copies only which escaped the flames, this edition is a faithful transcript.—At Frankfort, an anonymous author has published "A critical History of the Infallibility of the Church, as an Incentive to a free Investigation of the Catholic Religion." This work is spoken of by the foreign Reviews, as one of the most important productions of modern theology; as displaying an enlightened love of truth, calm inquiry, acute penetration, extensive learning, great knowledge of history, and an inti-

mate acquaintance with the principles of exegesis.

At Aurich, and at Lingen, several publications have appeared relative to a schism which has taken place among the Lutherans at Amsterdam, of which the two principal are the following: "The Causes which have moved a great part of the Members of the Lutheran Community to separate from it, &c. translated from the Dutch, by Franc. Jac. Müller;" and "a Report of the general Convocation of the Evangelico-Lutheran Community at Amsterdam, to the impartial Public, on the present Dissensions in their Community, translated from the Dutch, by E. H. Mutzenbecher." The former pamphlet is the defence of the seceders, who were alarmed at the progress of Arian and Socinian heresy among the members of the Lutheran community, and came out from among them, that they might continue firm to the pure Lutheran, or genuine Augsburg confession of faith. These men act like the major part of sound orthodox men in all communities. They are staunch defenders of protestant infallibility, i. e. of their own church protestant infallibility. The pamphlet translated by M. Mutzenbecher, which is distinguished by sound sense, irrefragable reasoning, and a spirit of candour and moderation, contends for the unrestrained exercise of private judgment, and a total disregard to human authority in the pursuit of religious truth.—At Berlin, M. Ja. El. Troschel, preacher at St. Peter's church, has published a work in 2 vols. entitled, "Lazarus of Bethany; a pure Christian Book, for those who are suffering and dissatisfied, for those who are in Doubt or in Error, and

for those who are afraid of Death and wish to be Assisted." This is the production of a sensible and liberal man, who is not a bigot to any sect, who disdains the trammels of human authority, and is zealously attached to the simple principles of christianity, as they appear in the scriptures.—At Gottingen, M. Spittler has edited a volume of "Sermons by J. E. Koppe, first preacher to the Court of his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Brunswic, &c." which have been selected from his MSS. by persons of known judgment, and deserve a high rank in this class of compositions. Mr. Spittler's opinion of them is "that they reach the heart through the understanding."—At Leipzig, Dr. J. G. Rosenmüller has published a volume of "Sermons on Fasts and Feasts," which are sensible, interesting, and practical.—At Dessau, M. J. Casp. Haefeli has published, "Three Sermons on the Reformation, preached in the Town Church of Worlitz, and published by Command of the reigning Prince;" which contain an impartial narrative of the circumstances connected with the event mentioned in the title-page, and an animated manly defence of the rights of conscience, and of the conduct of those consistent protestants who are for pushing forward the Reformation to improvement, to perfection.

Under the head of speculative and moral philosophy, we meet with a treatise published at Jena, "On the Ground of Philosophical Knowledge," by C. L. Reinhold; with some Elucidations of the Theory of the Faculty of Perception." This work is intimately connected with the former treatises of our author in defence of Kant's system, which we have noticed in the order of their appearance; and gives fresh

evidence of his acuteness and energy of mind, and of the unconquerable ardour with which he is inspired in what he deems to be the cause of truth.—At Dresden, prince Beloselsky, Envoy from Russia to Saxony, has published a work entitled, "Dianyology, or a Philosophical View of the Understanding;" in which a considerable degree of judgment and wit are displayed, in classing and discriminating the various degrees of human understanding. The general divisions to which the author assigns them are, those of inert, stupid, simplicity mingled with judgment, rational, perspicuous, and ingenious.—At Halle, M. J. C. G. Schaumann has published a work entitled, "Psyche, or Discourses on the Mind, for general Readers, in 2 Vols." in which he has not attempted to give any thing new upon the subject, but to reduce to regular order what other writers have said, and to deliver it in that popular style, that may render it intelligible to those who are not qualified for engaging in abstract studies.—At Berlin, an anonymous author has published a treatise entitled, "On Man and his Relations," in fourteen dialogues, which is principally valuable as a moral production, and offers a variety of hints and observations, an attention to which may produce useful and important consequences.—At Nuremberg, an anonymous author has published an "Essay on the Impossibility of proving the Existence of God from Reason;" which is a sensible and ingenious work, and will be read with pleasure by those who may not concur with the author in opinion.—At Jena, M. W. G. Tonneman has published a work entitled, "The Doctrines and Opinions of Socrates and his Followers,

Followers, relative to the Immortality of the Soul;" which is a learned and ingenious performance, on which the author has evidently bestowed considerable pains, and which will gratify the curious and philosophical reader. We think, however, that he goes farther than the writings of Plato, history, or analogy will justify him, when he makes the ideas of the heathen philosopher relative to the soul's immortality, and immateriality, nearly similar with those which have been entertained by christian philosophers.

In jurisprudence and political œconomy, one of the most important works of the year was Vol. VIII. of "Annals of Legislation and Jurisprudence in the Prussian States, by Ernest Ferd. Klein," published at Berlin, and Stettin. This work, beside a short historical account of the new Prussian code of laws, contains a selection of many curious cases illustrative of its practice, remarkable ordinances of Frederic William I. and various essays on juridical subjects, which will be interesting both to the lawyer and philosopher.—At Berlin, the new "Code of Laws for the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Electorate of Brandenburg," has been published, which was composed by the grand chancellor Carmer, and Messrs Klein and Suarez. On particular parts of this code, high commendations are bestowed by the foreign journalists. They state, that its uniform object is the prevention, rather than the punishment of crimes; and that it abolishes, as much as possible, every species of punishment that borders on inhumanity or rigour.—In Hungary, without any place being mentioned where they were printed, two publica-

tions have appeared, of considerable importance; one entitled, "On the Diets of Hungary, and their Organization;" the other "A Political Dissertation on the Extent of the regal Power in Hungary;" which to those who wish to have a proper idea of the constitution of that part of the dominions of the house of Austria, will be highly acceptable.—At Leipzig, M. P. A. F. Von Münch-hausen of Steinberg, has published a treatise "on Feudal Lords and Vassals;" in which, after exposing the hardships and impolicy of the feudal system, he strongly urges the necessity of a radical reform, and successfully combats the arguments of those who object, that the present is not a proper time for such reform.—At the same place, M. J. G. Meusel a veteran in science, has published an "Introduction to political Economy," which is judiciously and perspicuously arranged, and though brief, contains much useful and valuable information.—At Dresden, Dr. Ch. Von Römer has published a treatise "On the Decline of Towns, particularly in the Electorate of Saxony;" which is deserving of attention, not only as it applies to a particular case a set of principles relative to trade, manufactures, and police, but as it displays the internal state and constitution of a country, which, on many accounts, claims as much notice as any part of the Germanic body.—At Gottingen, M. Arn. Wagemann has published a valuable work, "On the fashioning of Peasants to Industry." In this work the author presents us with a variety of important observations on industry as it respects peasants; their character; the influence that physical, moral, political, and conventional causes have upon it;

the various objects to which the industry of both sexes should be pointed; and the means of effecting the object proposed.—At Freyburg and at Dresden, M. Luder Hermann J. Von Engel, who is a sensible practical farmer of more than forty years experience, has published some treatises on arable land, cattle, and sheep, which will be valuable to the agriculturist; and at Munster, M. Ant. Bruckhausen has published a work in 2 vols. on "The Improvement of Agriculture," which contains much useful instructions in every branch of husbandry.

On turning our attention to the publications in mathematics, and the different branches of natural philosophy, which have appeared in Germany during the year 1792, the first that demands a place in our catalogue is the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Berlin, for the years 1786-7, with its History for that Time." This work includes in it a variety of important papers in physics, mathematics, speculative philosophy, and the belles lettres. The principal contributors to it are, Mr. Achard, M. Silbenschlag, M. Klaproth, Prof. Beidler, M. J. Trembley, M. Lhuillier, M. Abel Burja, M. Formey, M. Bitaubé, and Count Hertzberg.—At Gottingen, M. H. D. Wilkens has published, "Mathematical, Physical, and Chemical Essays, Pt. I." which contain solutions of some useful trigonometrical problems, and elucidate some important topics in mechanics, and mechanical chemistry.—At Dusseldorf, M. C. F. Weibeking has published, "Essays on practical Hydraulics, and the Theory of hydraulic Engines," illustrated with plates, which the hydraulic architect will find to be an interesting and

valuable work.—At Berlin, M. G. U. A. Vieth has published, "Miscellaneous Essays for the Lovers of the Mathematical Sciences, Vol. I." which beside being scientific and instructive, are amusing and entertaining.—At Erlangen, Prof. J. Tob. Mayer has published a treatise "on the Laws and Modifications of the Matter of Heat;" which is a sensible and ingenious work, and intended to supply deficiencies which the author apprehends he observes in the works of Crawford, Fontana, Gadolin, and the other modern philosophers who have made light and heat the subject of their enquiries.—At Berlin, Dr. Christ. Girtanner has published, "The Elements of the Antiphlogistic Chemistry;" which is spoken of as in many respects an excellent work, giving a concise and perspicuous view of the principles of the antiphlogistic chemistry, and containing much original matter, which affords evidence of the industry and acuteness of the author.—At the same place, M. J. C. Bode has published his "Astronomical Ephemeris, for the year 1795," which contains many valuable mathematical and philosophical calculations and remarks.—The same author has published, at the same place, "General Examination and Remarks, on the Situation and Distribution of all the Orbits of Planets and Comets with which we are yet acquainted, with a Plate two Feet five Inches Square," which will be acceptable to the astronomical student.—This list of German productions in mathematics and natural philosophy, we shall close with the following articles, the "Theory and Use of the Hydrometrical Vane, or a certain Method of observing the Velocity of Wind, or of running Water, by Rheinhard Woetmann;"

mann," published at Hamburg; "Philosophy for Children, by J. G. W. Mayer," published at Nuremberg; "On Modern Subjects of Chemistry, in two parts, by Dr. J. B. Richter," published at Breslaw and Hirschberg; "J. C. W. Voigt's Explanatory Catalogue of his New Cabinet of Mountain Stones," published at Weimar; "Observations relative to Mineralogy and Mining on some of the Mountains of Hesse, by J. P. Reifs, with Remarks by Theodor L. G. Tharsten, Phil. D." published at Berlin; "The Miner's Journal, by A. W. Köhler, the third Year, in 2 Vols," published at Freyberg and Annaberg; "The Botanic Manual of most Plants growing wild in Germany, or foreign ones, that will live in the open Air, by Christ. Skuhr, Vol. I," published at Wittenberg; "A Catalogue of Bohemian Insects, by J. Dan. Preysler, Cen. I." published at Prague; and "the first Six Tables of Shells of Sea Sand, drawn from Nature, and engraved on Copper-Plates, &c. by Prof. A. J. G. C. Batsch," published at Jena.

Among the German publications which belong to the department of History, we meet with "A History of the Decline of Manners, Sciences, and Language, among the Romans, during the first Ages of the Christian Era, by M. Meiners, Aulic Councillor, and Professor in the University of Gottingen," intended to serve as an introduction to Gibbon's history. This work is replete with valuable facts, selected with judgment, and arranged with order and perspicuity; and is calculated to gratify curiosity, to excite useful reflections, and to give a full and distinct view of important circumstances, which were passed over very slightly by Mr.

Gibbon in his celebrated history.—"The History of Hereditary Nobility among the Gauls, Franks, and other people of Europe, &c. by the Abbe J. C. de Bevy," published at Liege, is a tedious prolix work in defence of hereditary aristocracy, by an appeal to antiquity and prescription; and full of abuse on the Reformation, the French Revolution, and the struggles which have been made at different periods, in different nations of Europe, in support of the civil and religious rights of mankind.—At Hanover, M. Meiners has published, "A History of the Inequality of Conditions among the principal Nations of Europe, in 2 Vols." This work contains a judicious and interesting view of the causes of the inequality of conditions in Europe; their diversity in the Kingdoms founded by the Germans; the changes produced under the descendants of Charlemagne, and in the progressive anarchy which followed; the re-establishment of liberty among the inhabitants of burghs; the influence of royal authority; causes and effects of the abolition of slavery; progress of illumination and industry; the present state of the nobility in many countries of Europe; and the beneficial and injurious effects of their prerogatives.—At Pesth, professor Koppi has published, "The History of the Wars between the Cossacs and Poles, written in the Year 1674, by Samuel Grondski de Grondi, a Polish Gentleman; which begins with the year 1647, and continues to the end of the war carried on by the prince of Transylvania. As this work was written by a person much interested in the events of that war, and who sustained, at different periods, a public and ostensible character in the

the service of his country, his history cannot fail of proving acceptable to the reader.—At Leipzig, M. G. H. Martini has published “an Account of the Beghards, and Beguines, by J. L. Mosheim, Chancellor of the University of Göttingen, a Fragment published from the MS. of the celebrated Author, with two Appendixes, several Documents, various Readings, some Notes and a necessary Index.” This work fell into the hands of the editor, on the death of the author’s son; and like every remain of that excellent writer, will be read with pleasure by the learned world. The editor, likewise, is entitled to their thanks for the pains which he has taken to render it more complete.—At the same place, Dr. F. C. Gotth. Hirsching has published “An historico-geographico-topographical Description of Monasteries and religious Houses, &c. of Germany, that have been formerly, or at present exist; with their Sites, their Founders, their Date, &c. their Rights and Liberties, Men of Learning, Libraries, &c. &c. vol. I.” The praise of industry and diligence in collecting his materials, unquestionably belongs to our author; and to the curious reader they will afford much entertainment.—At Nuremberg, M. C. F. C. Hummel has published “a Description of Antiquities discovered in Germany,” by his father, the late B. F. Hummel, which is said to be a judicious work, including every important object referred to in the title-page, and overlooking trifling things.—At Halle, M. C. Sprengel has published “a History of the principal Geographical Discoveries, till the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan, in 1542;” which is highly interesting and instructive, and illustrated with a great variety of

historical and critical observations.—At Frankfort, Professor Bruns of Helmstadt, has published “An Essay towards a systematic Geography, of the three Parts of the World which are yet but imperfectly known to us, beginning with Africa; vol. I.” This work from the known talents and industry of the author, promises to be a very important addition to the common stock of geographical productions.—At Züllichau an anonymous author has published “the History of the Emperor Fred. II.” which has considerable pretensions to merit as a biographical work. The historical part details, with fidelity and perspicuity, the disputes of Frederic with Rome and Milan, the Croisades, and the war of Lombardy.—At Düsseldorf appeared the III. vol. M. of Klein’s “Lives of the great Men of Germany, with their Portraits,” which contains the Lives of George de Frönsberg, Count de Tilly, and Mengs the painter.—At Göttingen, M. Wackerbach has published “a Parallel between Peter the Great, and Charlemagne,” which is a work of considerable labour and ingenuity.—In addition to the articles already enumerated, we can only add the titles of the following: “Illustrations of History, and Records, by P. Ernest Spiess,” published at Bayruth; “An Essay on the Religion of the ancient Hungarians, &c. by Dan. Corneides, A. A. L. L. & P. M.” published at Vienna; “the History of the War between Austria, Russia, and Turkey, in the Years 1787—92, with State-papers and Documents,” published at Leipzig; “a Chronological Index of Treaties of Peace, Defence, Navigation, &c. entered into by the kings of Denmark and Norway, with European or other nations, &c. by Ivarus Quistgaard,” pub.

published at Gottingen; "the History of Navigation among the Nations of Antiquity, by M. Berghaus, in 2 vols," published at Leipzig; "the ancient History of Printing at Mentz, &c. by G. W. Lapf, vol. II," published at Ulm; "a General Geography of the Towns and Villages in Germany, in 2 vols," published at Erfurt; "Repository for modern Geography, political Economy and History, by Prof. P. J. Bruns, of Helmstadt, and Prof. A. W. Zimmerman of Brunswick, vol. I," published at Tübingen; the "Study of the Beautiful in Nature and in the Arts, and moral and political Remarks during a Journey to Denmark, by M. Ramdohr de Hoya," published at Hanover; "Letters on the United Netherlands, by M. Grabner," published at Gotha; and "Excursions in Switzerland, by C. Spazier," published at the same place.

The last article which we have to insert in our catalogue of German productions for the year 1792, are such as belong to the head of classical, critical, polite, and miscellaneous literature. At Leipzig, professor Paulus continues the publication of his "Memorabilia," which were noticed by us in our last volume. The two parts which have already appeared, contain much valuable criticism in Biblical, classical, and oriental learning, curious selections from Arabic MSS. and other miscellaneous pieces, which reflect honour on his industry and abilities, and on those of the gentlemen who have concurred with him in his plan.—At the same place, Dr. Fred. Rinck has published, in Arabic, "some Geographical Tables of Abulfeda, and other Specimens on the same Subject, from MSS. in the Library at Leyden." The tables of Abulfeda,

are such parts of that author's geography as had not before been published. Of the additional specimens, one, which relates to the history of the Arabs in Spain, appears to be curious and interesting.—At Halle, M. J. G. C. Rudiger has published "moral Sentences, translated from Tamul Palm Leaves, with Remarks on Indian Literature."—The sentences were transmitted to Mr. Rudiger, by a missionary at Tranquebar; and appear to be a collection formed for the use of schools.—At Leipzig, Prof. C. D. Beck has published "The Odes and Fragments of Pindar, in Greek, with the entire Scholia collected, various Readings, critical Remarks, and Indexes, vol. I." The manner in which this work is executed, does the greatest credit to the professor, as an industrious, learned, and impartial critic, and will secure him the thanks of every classical scholar, who may have the opportunity of reading and consulting it.—At the same place, and at Königsberg, the same learned editor has published the first volume of "the Tragedies, satyric Drama, and Fragments of Euripides," in Greek. His plan is to publish the text in four volumes with various readings, Brunck's criticisms, and a few conjectural emendations at the bottom of the page; a circumstantial argument, and a critique on the plan and principal character prefixed to each piece; a glossary of the uncommon words; and a perpetual commentary, in four additional volumes.—At Berlin, an anonymous author has published an ingenious and entertaining work, entitled "Dialogues on Fauns, Satyrs, Sileni, &c." in 2 vols.—At Witzburg, M. Christ. Fescl, Professor of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, has published "a Theory of

of Painting, or a Guide to Beginners in that Art," which contains much valuable information for young artists.—The following publications likewise, are to be referred to this department of our work: "M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum, Libri Quinque, ex Recensione Frid. Aug. Wolfii published at Leipzig; "Fragments of the History of Literature and the Arts in Germany, by J. Frid. Köhler," published at the same place; "New Fragments of Literature, &c by G. Theod. Stobel, in 2 vols," published at Nuremberg and Altdorf; "Sophron's Lessons of Wisdom and Virtue for his grown up Daughters, &c. by J. Ad. Schmerler," published at Erlangen; "the leisure Hours of a Father consecrated to the Instruction of his Daughters, by J. J. Ebert," published at Leipzig; "Letters on the Education of a Princess, by Julia Duches of Giovane," published at Vienna; "an Almanack for Physicians, and for those who are not, by Dr. Grumer," published at Jena; "Domestic Scenes to form the Heart of young People," by Mrs. Ludwig, in 4 vols. published at Leipzig; "Scattered Leaves, by J. G. Herder, vol IV." published at Göttingen; and "literary Amusements, or reading Hours of Fred. II. by C. Dantel, formerly Reader to that Monarch," published at Elbingen.

The first work which calls for our notice in the history of Switzerland, is "a Treatise on the executive Power in large States, by M. Necker, in 2 vols," the place where printed not mentioned. This work, which is sometimes augmentative, and elaborate, and sometimes highly declamatory, abounds in much political information, and important remarks, which deserve the atten-

tion of persons under every form of government, and particularly of the French nation. Its good things however, are far from being unmingled with prejudices, and errors. The enlightened English politician will easily detect his mistakes, while appreciating the merits of the British constitution.—At Geneva, M. Mounier has published "an Enquiry into the Causes which have hindered the French from acquiring Liberty, and into the Means by which they may still attain it, in 2 vols." This Enquiry is sensible, calm, and well written; and is intended to set before his countrymen, the French, the superior advantages of a limited monarchy, like the British, to any of the republican forms of government. The author offers many powerful arguments to shew, that whatever be the issue of the present state of things, a despotic government can never again be established with any permanence, over the French nation.—At Zurich, Dr. Paul Usteri has published "Annals of Botany, Parts I. and II." of which the foreign journals speak in terms of approbation.—At Winterthur, two numbers have appeared of a work entitled "Plants and Shrubs, engraved and coloured from Nature, with an account of the best Method of cultivating them, &c." This work which is executed in a very beautiful manner, is said to be conducted by some amateurs, and to be intended chiefly for the use of ladies, or others who are not deeply conversant in natural history. The names of the flowers, &c. are given in Latin, English, and French; the descriptions in the last of those languages.—At Zurich, M. J. Meyer has published "a picturesque Tour in Italian Switzerland, with twelve Plates and Vignettes." The views given

given in this work are well chosen, and the engravings neatly executed. The text is only a complement, for the sole purpose of illustrating the plates.—At the same place hath appeared the IVth and last volume of a “general History of the Jesuits,” which was announced by us as an anonymous work, in our Register for the year 1790. The learned and ingenious author, M. Pet. Ph. Wolf, who has collected in it a mass of important and interesting information, has affixed his name to the volume before us.—At the same place, and at Winterthur, M. Leon Meister has published the IVth part of the IIIrd. vol. of “Portraits of celebrated Men of Switzerland, by H. Pfenninger; with short biographical Accounts,” by the editor. This work is executed in an elegant and brilliant style, and will find a place in the cabinets of connoisseurs.—At Winterthur, an anonymous author has published “A model for Youth,” which in the form of short stories, conveys good moral and virtuous instructions.—“The Sage Village Curate, a Story for the Country Clergy, and for the Peasants,” published at Zurich, contains much useful moral and economical advice, clothed in the simple and pleasing style of a “history, as it is, and as it everywhere ought to be,” which is illustrated with plates.

Among the publications of Italy for the year 1792, of which we have had any information, the first which we have to announce is “the Bramanic System, liturgical, mythological, civil, from Indian Monuments in the Museum of cardinal Borgia, by the friar Paulino de St. Barthelemy, Carmelite Missionary to the Coast of Malabar, with Plates,” published at Rome. This is a curious and splendid work, which will be acceptable to the philologist, the historian,

and antiquary. The first seven prints, which are accompanied with long explanations in the text, represent the religious customs of the Bramins, and many singularities of their philosophical sects. Several other prints are filled with Indian mythology. These are followed by an account of the Indian tribes, government, military establishments, finances, and coins; and a supplement in which the author undertakes to prove, that the Greek and Egyptian mythology originated in the Bramanic, which he asserts to be the same with the Sabæism of the ancients.—At Pavia hath appeared a treatise “on the Laws of the Beautiful, as applied to Painting and Architecture, by the Marquis Malespina.” This work has met with a very favourable reception in Italy. It is divided into three parts. In the first the author endeavours to demonstrate, why the beautiful makes an agreeable impression on the sight. The solution of this problem leads him to several discussions, which are followed, as their result, by the analysis of beauty in the arts. In the second part the author makes a particular application of his principles, in explaining the causes of beauty in invention, in disposition, in expression, in design, &c. In the third part, after giving a general idea of the beautiful in architecture, he treats of invention, disposition, and expression in that art; and lays down certain rules for the direction and assistance of the student.—At Rome, M. Gagliardo, professor of agriculture at Tarento, has published “Theoretical and Practical Instructions on Agriculture;” which display extensive knowledge, and a commendable zeal to promote the practice of the most honourable, the most beneficial, and the most innocent of the arts of life.

In mathematics and natural philosophy, the Italian press has been unusually barren during the year 1792. The only mathematical work of any importance, of which we have heard, is "An Essay on parallel Curves, by Father Ang. Lotteré," published at Pavia. In this work the author, whose abilities as a mathematician are well known, has given a method of finding a parallel to any regular curve, of which the equation is given. He proves also, that no curve, the circle excepted, has the same equation as its parallel.—At Rome, father Patrini has published a work in 2 vols, entitled, "The Mineralogical Cabinet, of the Nazarene College, described according to the external Characters of the Minerals, and arranged according to their constituted Principles."—At Naples D. Cyrillo continues the publication of his "Elementary Plates of Botany," and maintains the credit which he acquired by his first specimens. The eighth number of this work is the last which we have seen announced to the public.

Among the historical productions of Italy and Sicily, we meet with "A Chronological History of the Viceroys, Lieutenants, and Presidents of the Kingdom of Sicily, by D. Giovanni Evangelista de Blasi, in 4 vols," published at Palermo. This work appears to be executed with great care and judgment, and details the history of the government of Sicily, from the year 1409, to the year 1786.—At Parma, father Ireneo Affò has published "An Historical Essay on the Typography of Parma, in the 15th century," which contains the best and most accurate account that we have met with, of the progress of the art of printing in Italy, the introduc-

tion of it into Parma, and its gradual approach to that high degree of perfection, to which it is arrived in that city.—At Lucca, M. Angelo Maria Bandini has published "A History of Printing, under the Direction of the Juntae of Florence." This book is entertaining and useful, not only as it exhibits the progress of the art of printing in Florence, but as it tends, from the extracts and anecdotes which it contains, to elucidate the history of literature, and of learned men.—At Bergamo, the abbe P. A. Serrassi, has published a new edition, in 2 vols. of his "Life of Torquato Tasso," which has undergone such alterations and enlargements, that it may be considered as a new work.—At Rome, D. de Rossi has published "The Life of the Chevalier John Pikler," a celebrated engraver of gems, some of whose works have been compared with the finest remains of antiquity.—At Milan, the abbot Clement Bondi, has published "A funeral Oration on the Emperor Leopold II." which is an eloquent eulogy on the talents and virtues of that prince.—The two volumes folio of "Egyptian Monuments, engraved on two hundred Plates, comprehending about seven hundred Subjects, with their historical Explications," published at Rome, constitute a splendid, instructive, and entertaining work, which illustrates the industry, the ingenuity, the fancy, and the superstition of a people, among whom the arts and sciences flourished, to a considerable degree, at a very early period.—At Naples the society instituted by the king, for the express purpose of promulgating and elucidating the curious remains of antiquity discovered near that city, have published the eighth volume of

"The

* The Antiquities of Herculaneum; containing an Account of the Lamps and Candelabri, found in that place, and its neighbourhood." This volume contains ninety-three splendid folio plates, beside head and tail pieces.—At Naples, M. Gaetano d'Aurora has published "a descriptive Guide to the Antiquities and natural Curiosities of Puzzuoli, and its Environs;" which is spoken of as the best vade mecum which has hitherto been offered to the curious traveller.—At Palermo, M. Castelli, the prince of Torre-Moufa, has published "a First and Second Supplement to the ancient Coins of the People and Cities, Kings and Tyrants of Sicily, previous to the Time of the Saracens," illustrated with eighteen folio plates.

The last articles which we have to mention in our view of Italian literature, are classical, critical, or poetical. At Parma, Signor Giambattista Bodoni has printed a splendid edition of "the Hymns and Epigrams of Callimachus in Greek and Italian;" which for beauty of the paper and type, and correctness and elegance of the workmanship, ranks with the former productions of his celebrated press. The Italian version, which is executed with spirit and fidelity, is the work of Father Pagnani, Professor of eloquence in the University of Parma.—At Florence, Signor Alexander de Sanctis has published a work, which, under the title of "a Treatise on the Passions and Vices of the Intellect," contains an ingenious defence of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, against the censures which have been passed on them by different critics.—At Verona hath appeared the II^d. vol. of "the works of G. Pompei of Verona;" whose skill in Greek literature

is displayed in a spirited and successful translation of a variety of Greek epigrams and pastorals.—At Parma, a treatise hath been published by Ang. Mazza, Greek professor in the university, entitled, "the Human Faculties, in twelve Sonnets," which is a work of considerable merit.—At Venice hath appeared "the poetical Journal, or Italian Poems, before inedited, by living Authors, third Year;" which contain some favourable specimens of the abilities and taste of the different authors.

When we turn our view to the literature of France for the year 1792, the first work which offers itself to us is intitled "universal Morality, drawn from the Scriptures." This work consists of a free translation of those passages of scripture, which inculcate the moral duties; apparently published with a view to convince the sceptics in France, of the reasonableness and beauty of christianity, when separated from the debasing mixtures of priestcraft and superstition, and its admirable tendency to promote the virtue and true happiness of society.—"The philosophical works of M. F. Hemsterhuis, in 2 vols" are a posthumous publication. They contain a variety of ingenious and pleasing dissertations and dialogues on metaphysical, moral, and literary subjects, and on subjects of taste, written in a lively style, and in elegant language.—The "political Essay on the unavoidable Revolutions incident to Civil Society, by Antoniode Giuliani, translated into French by E. T. Simon," is a whimsical and absurd production, in which the author has the vanity to suppose that he discovers to the world, for the first time, the true science of politics. His leading positions are, that human wisdom and political sagacity neither impede nor hasten the fate of

of societies; that ministers and statesmen, who suppose that they govern the world, are mistaken, for the world governs itself; that there is a propelling force, of which politicians are ignorant, that drives all societies to their destruction; that from the excess of their strength, arises their decay; and that all our pretended knowledge, is useless if not hurtful.—The work entitled “My Republic, the Author Plato, the Editor J. de Sales, in 7 Vols.” is employed in investigating the merits of the French revolution, and laying down the principles of that form of government, which he supposes to be most favourable to liberty, and most likely to be permanent. His doctrines, however, bear a greater resemblance to those of Raynal, Guibert, and Mounier, than to those of Plato.—“The Universal Republic, or an Address to Tyrant-killers, by Anacharsis Cloots, the Orator of Mankind,” contains the dreams and ravings of a political enthusiast, who is for uniting the whole world in one fraternal confederacy, which is to rest on the solid pillars of atheism!!—“The works of Jerome Petion, Member of the Constituent Assembly, of the National Convention, and Mayor of Paris, in 3 Vols,” consist of a number of very important and valuable papers, on the subjects of government and political œconomy, which were published at different periods, and contributed much to bring about that change of sentiment in France, which led to the revolution of 1789. In these volumes they are arranged in the order in which they were written and published; and are followed by a selection of M. Petion’s able speeches in the convention.—“The Navigation Act: Report and Project of a Decree of the Navigation of France, presented to the Nation-

al Assembly, in the Name of its marine, agricultural, and commercial Committees, &c.” contains “important observations on the maritime state of Britain, the benefits which have arisen from its navigation act, and the means of improving that of France, together with a new mode of measuring the tonnage of vessels,” which were printed for the public information, by order of the national assembly.—The treatise entitled “the Fanaticism of Libertinism confounded, or Letters on the Celibacy of Priests,” is intended to defend that unnatural and impolitical part of the constitution of the Romish church, which has been wisely abolished in France. The author declaims like a zealot; he does not reason like a politician.—The object of the treatise, entitled “Means of removing the Abuses and Effects of Mendicancy, by a voluntary Emigration to French Guiana, &c. by M. le Blond,” is sufficiently described in the title page. How far the remedy prescribed by the author would correct the evil, we cannot take upon ourselves to decide. Of Guiana, where M. le Blond resided for some time, he speaks in very favourable terms.—The “Essay on Woods and waste Lands, Highways, and Beggars, by M. Paulmier,” proposes that the beggars shall be employed in cultivating the waste lands, and that the produce should be applied to their support: a proposition which deserves the attention of statesmen, on the ground of humanity as well as of policy.—The “Memoir on the Woods of Corsica, &c. by M. Cadet,” is intended to point out the important economical advantages which France might derive from the possession of Corsica, to which no attention has hitherto been paid, notwithstanding the immense expence incurred on account of that island.—The “Re-

marks

marks on the Question of the alienation of the National Forests, presented to the National Assembly, by the Royal Agricultural Society, Feb. 3, 1792." are intended to shew, that it is not for the interest of the public that the national forests should become private property. The Venetian plan for managing the public forests is recommended by them as the most judicious one which the legislature can adopt.—The "meteorological and æconomical Observations, made in the Course of the Year 1791, in the Department of Upper Vienne, by M. Juge," are highly important and valuable. A continued series of such observations, in different districts of any kingdom, would prove of the greatest national benefit, as it would enable the agriculturist, in many instances, to expect the returns made to his industry and attention, with fewer hazards of a disappointment.

Under the head of Mathematics and Philosophy, our attention is drawn, in the first place, to the "History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the Year 1788; extracted from the Registers of the Academy." This volume contains a variety of important and valuable papers in general physics, chemistry, natural history, astronomy and geography, and mathematics, which reflect great honour on the society, and on the individuals who have contributed so much to support its reputation and utility. Among other names, dear to science, we meet with those of M. Briffon, M. Coulomb, M. Sage, M. Fourcroy, M. Fougereux de Bandaroy, M. Duhamel, M. le Gentil, M. Monnier, M. Cassini, M. de la Lande, M. de la Place, M. le Gendre, and M. Charles. The historical part of the volume is composed of two

reports of a committee consisting of Messrs Borda, La Grange, Lavoisier, Tillet, and Condorcet, who were appointed by the academy for the investigation of some important questions relative to the standard of metals for coins, and the most convenient scale of division for coins, weights, and measures; and of four eulogies on deceased members, drawn up by the elegant pen of the ingenious secretary.

The "Transactions of the Society of Natural History at Paris, Vol. I." are the first fruits of an institution which promises to be of essential service to the interests of science. In the French Journals we are informed, that it owes its origin to a number of gentlemen attached to the study of natural history, who in the year 1788 formed a society under the name of the Linnean. The affronts, however, to which that society was exposed, not enjoying the privileges of royal protection, and several of its members being even threatened that they should be excluded from all that were established by the government, soon occasioned its dissolution. But when, in consequence of the Revolution, individuals were at liberty to pursue plans for the general good of science, without the sanction of government, the members of that society again united, and somewhat enlarged their scheme. In the preface to this first volume of their Transactions, an account is given of the origin and progress of natural history in France, by M. Aubin Lewis Millin. The body of the volume consists of a variety of papers on subjects within the province of the society, from which the naturalist will derive information and entertainment. The authors of these papers are professor Desfontaines,

fontaines, M. Bosc, M. Latreille, M. Lefevre, M. Geoffroy, junr. M. Labillardiere, M. J. Ch. Fabricius, M. Lermina, M. Pinel, M. Richard, M. D. Andrada, M. Lamarck, Father Cotte, and M. le Blond.—M. le Français la Lande has published a new edition of his "Astronomy;" which is noticed by us on account of the considerable additions which it contains, and the celebrity of the author in the mathematical world. The present edition is in 3 vols. in 4to.—"The Ephemerides of the Movements of the Heavenly Bodies, for the Meridian of Paris, Vol. IX. containing the Eight Years 1793—1800, revised and published by M. de la Lande," is a work the importance and utility of which are so obvious, that it is sufficient in this place barely to announce its publication. One thing we are sorry to observe, that M. de la Lande should have reason to lament that the confined sale of the Ephemerides would not permit him to add some new and useful tables to this volume.—The treatise entitled, "New Elements of Fortification, containing every thing necessary to be preserved of the Works of la Blond, Deidier, and other Authors, &c. by A. P. Julienne de Belair, formerly a Captain in the Dutch service," is spoken of as an highly interesting and important work to the student in military science. So likewise, is the "Complete Treatise on Fortifications; &c. Pt. I. by M. **, second Captain of the second Class in the Royal Corps of Engineers."—In natural history the following publications have appeared: "Phytological Essays, by J. E. Gilibert, &c. Vols. I. and II. the Plants of Lithuania compared with those of Lyons;" and "An Abstract of the French Flora, of the Chevalier de la Marck, containing

an Analysis of Vegetables, as a mean of obtaining a Knowledge of their Genera."

Among the publications in French literature belonging to the heads of history, biography, and antiquities, we meet with "A Summary of the civil and Ecclesiastical History of France, by J. Mich. Lorentz, Public Professor of Rhetoric and History at Strasburg, in 4 Vols." This Summary was originally composed by the professor, for the use of his lectures; and is principally valuable on account of the critical accuracy with which he has investigated his authorities. For general readers it does not possess very attractive charms.—The abridged "History of the South Seas, embellished with several Charts, by M. de la Borde, in 3 Vols." is an instructive and entertaining work, which is calculated to be of considerable benefit to the student in geography, as well as the young mariner. It contains an abstract of the discoveries made by the different navigators in the South Seas, from Balboa in 1513, to lieutenant Riou in the Guardian frigate, in the year 1799, which will be acceptable to every reader who is not in possession of the numerous and expensive volumes in which they are more minutely detailed.—"The History of the pretended Revolution of Poland, with an Examination of its new Constitution, by M. Mehee," contains much new and curious information relative to that event; and a dispassionate appreciation of its merits, especially when compared with those of the French Revolution. Such a comparison may be read with advantage in this country, where a considerable party has affected warmly to applaud the former, while they avow themselves inimical in the extreme to the latter. M.

Mehee

Méhée conducted for some time the gazette de Warfovie, and from his situation and connexions had the best opportunities of collecting materials for such a work as the present.—“The History of the Revolution of 1789, &c. by two Friends to Liberty, in 5 Vols,” appears to be an impartial and candid work; and will be acceptable to those who wish to possess a minute detail of the occurrences attending that extraordinary event.—The work entitled “Pictures of the French Revolution, &c. Vol. I. consisting of Twelve Numbers,” is chiefly valuable on account of the splendid and interesting prints which it contains, descriptive of the principal and most striking scenes, from the meeting of the national assembly at the tennis court at Versailles, on the 20th of June 1789, when they took an oath not to separate till they had formed a constitution for France, to the expedition of the Parisians to Chantilly, to seize the cannon at that palace, on the 9th of August in the same year. These prints are twenty-four in number, arranged in chronological order. The narrative accompanying them is drawn up with conciseness and elegance, and printed on a large folio paper, with the famed types of Didot.—The “National Antiquities, or a Collection of Monuments. &c. in the Kingdom of France, by Aubin Louis Millin, Vols. I. II. III.” are part of a valuable and splendid work, which, from the diligence, reading, and taste discovered by the author, and the interesting nature of the principal objects which he has described, is secure of a favourable reception with the public. The author’s design is, to give an accurate account of such public buildings, monuments, inscriptions, dresses, usages, and of the persons,

circumstances, and events to which they relate, as will serve to illustrate the internal history of France, private and public, and occasionally elucidate that of other nations. The volumes already completed abundantly supply the reader with amusement and instruction; and they are illustrated with a vast number of elegant engravings, which cannot fail to recommend them to the lovers of the fine arts.—The “Secret and interesting Anecdotes of the Court of Russia, &c. in 6 Vols.” contain many historical particulars, and observations relative to the customs and natural history of the several nations of the Russian empire, which are curious and important. The author appears to have had access to authentic sources of information; and his narrative throws considerable light on the history of the country, and particularly the political intrigues by which it has been agitated from the time of Peter the Great, to the reign of the present empress.—“The Memoirs of the Minority of Louis XV, by J. B. Massilon, bishop of Clermont, &c.” are said by the French journalists to be the genuine production of that celebrated prelate. They deserve attention, as they present us with many new anecdotes and facts, with which the historian of that period, whether describing the political state of France, or the neighbouring countries, may considerably enrich his narrative.—“The Memoirs of the Administration of the Duke d’Aiguillon, Peer of France, and of his Government of Bretagne,” are the production of an anonymous writer, who is the zealous and fulsome panegyrist of that nobleman, while every other contemporary minister is the object of his censure and aversion.—“The Memoirs of the Count de Mau-

repas, Minister of the Marine of France, in 4 Vols." consist of the disgusting annals of the intrigues and vices of the principal persons who composed the French court, from the time of madame de Montespan's disgrace to the peace of Aix la Chapelle. If they contain anything which the historian might value, it is scarcely worth extracting from the filth and rubbish in which it is buried.—The "Essay on the Life of M. Thomas, of the French Academy, by M. de Breze," is a pleasing and well written account of a person who was highly esteemed, not only for his literary talents, but for the amiable and useful virtues which distinguished him in private life.—The "Travels in Tuscany, Mineralogical, Philosophical, and Historical, by Dr. John Fargioni Tozzetti, in 2 Vols." possess considerable merit, as they contain the factual observations of an eminent naturalist and physician, in a country rich in materials for gratifying the curiosity of the philosophical traveller. These travels were undertaken so long ago as the year 1742; which circumstance, considering the nature of the principal objects of them, will not diminish their value in the estimation of the scientific reader.—The "Letters on Italy, written in 1785, by M. du Paty," are interesting and pleasing in the descriptive part, and abound in valuable and useful reflections on works of art, government and manners, legislation, police, and civil and criminal jurisprudence.

In the list of such miscellaneous publications as call for our notice, we may place the "Memoirs of a celebrated Society, considered as Literary and Academical, &c. by the Abbe Grosier, in 3 Vols."

These volumes, among many papers which deserve to be consigned to oblivion, contain a few on subjects in history, mythology, antiquities, mathematics, and criticism, the utility of which is in a great measure if not entirely superseded by more modern efforts in the republic of literature. They are extracted from the *Journaux de Trevoux*, a periodical work published by the Society of Jesuits, for whom the editor offers a laboured apology in his Preface.—The "Dictionary of the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and engraving, by M. Watelet, Member of the French Academy, &c. and M. Levasque, Member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, &c. in 5 Vols." is a most useful and entertaining work, which deserves to be recommended not only to the student in the arts, but to philosophers, and men of taste, and to those who wish to acquire a general knowledge of the subjects on which it treats. It may be properly characterised as a judicious and interesting collection of historical and philosophical dissertations, and critical remarks, on the principal subjects relative to painting, sculpture, and engraving, arranged in alphabetical order.—The treatise entitled, "Modern Modulation, or the Art of Singing reduced to Principles, by M. Martini," is spoken of as one of the most important elementary and didactic works on the arts of teaching and composing music, that has yet been published. It is particularly calculated for those who would accompany their voice with the piano forte, or sing to a full orchestra; but it is not adapted to those who have no previous knowledge of the art.—The "Original Letters, of Mirabeau, written from the Prison of Vincennes, during the

the Years 1777, 8, 9, and 80, containing the Particulars of his private Life, his Misfortunes, &c. collected by P. Manuel, in 4 Vols." possess every internal mark of authenticity, and exhibit many of the striking features of that extraordinary character, and an interesting detail of the events of his life. There are some, however, in this collection, which never could have been intended for the public eye. And it was injudicious, as well as unfriendly in M. Manuel, to expose to the world such sentiments and actions of his deceased friend, as cannot but be injurious to his reputation, and to the general interests of morality.—To the articles enumerated we have to add, "The Wishes of a Solitary, intended to serve as a Supplement to the Work called the Studies of Nature, by M. de Saint Pierre;" "Reflections on Education, by J. B. Mandru;" "The Happy Nation, or an Account of the Government of the Felicians, a People Supremely Free, under the absolute Dominion of their Laws, in 2 Vols." "Moral Fictions by M. Mercier, in 3 Vols." "St. Flour and Justina, or the History of a young Frenchwoman in the Eighteenth Century, with a Dialogue on the moral Character of Women, by M. de F. in 2 Vols." "New Tales, by M. de Florian;" "The Garden of Betz, a Poem, with Notes, by M. Cerutti;" "Abdelaziz and Zuleima, a Tragedy by M. de Murville;" and "John Lackland, or the Death of Arthur, a Tragedy, by M. Ducis;" which is chiefly borrowed from Shakspeare's King John, but with very considerable alterations, both in the characters, and the progress of the plot.

Before we conclude our view of the foreign literature of the year

1792, we shall insert the scanty information which we have obtained relative to the publications of Spain, and of Portugal. In Spanish literature we meet, in the first place, with the XIIth. vol. of "Instruction, useful, and curious Memoirs on Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Economy," which are valuable and interesting.—The "Account of the last Voyage to the Streights of Magellan, in the Years 1785, and 1786, &c. with Maps," was undertaken with the view of exercising the young officers of the marine, and of taking accurate charts of the coasts. But beside what is strictly scientific, this vol. contains much information concerning that part of America, its inhabitants, climate, and productions.—M. Masdeu, continues his "Critical History of Spain, and of the Progress which the Sciences and Arts have made there." We have seen the Xth. vol. of that sensible and ingenious work announced to the public.—The "Familiar Letters from the Abbot Don Juan Andres, to his Brother Don Carlos Andres, during a Journey to Italy, in 3 Vols." are employed in describing the customs and manners, literature, and state of the arts, at Rome, Florence, Naples, and Venice. The author, however, omits no opportunity of contributing to the improvement of the literature of his native country, by an examination of such uncommon Spanish books, as he meets with in the libraries to which he obtains access during his tour.

In Portugal, a curious work hath been published by the direction of the academy of sciences at Lisbon, by Jos. Correa da Serra, secretary to the academy, entitled, "Collections of inedited Works relative to the History of Portugal, from

from the Reign of John I. to the End of that of John II. in 3 Vols. Folio." In the same kingdom have been published, by F. R. J. de Souza, "Arabic Documents relative to the History of Portugal, copied from the Original Pieces preserved in the Archives of the Realm, and translated into Portuguese, at the Request of the Aca-

demy of Sciences," which consist chiefly of letters from different princes of Asia and Africa; and "Traces of the Arabic Language in Portugal, or an Etymological Dictionary of Words and Names of Arabic Origin, composed by the Order of the Royal Academy of Sciences," by the same gentleman.



PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1792.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock	13 per c. red.	ditto conf.	4 p. c. conf.	5 p. c.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India An.	India bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 209½ 199½ }	{ 93½ 88½ }	{ 93½ 89½ }	{ 103½ 102½ }	{ 119½ 115 }	{ 26½ 25½ }	{ 13½ 12½ }	{ 192½ 184 }	{ 89½ 85½ }	{ 99 85 }	{ 100½ 98½ }	{ 92½ 88½ }	{ 92½ 91 }	{ Par. ½ dif. }	{ 19 17 }	{ 17 15 6 17 5 0 }
Feb.	{ 219 210½ }	{ 97 94 }	{ 96½ 93½ }	{ 105½ 102½ }	{ 121½ 116½ }	{ 27½ 26½ }	{ 13½ 12½ }	{ 212½ 193½ }	{ 92½ 88 }	{ 104 95 }	{ 106½ 101½ }	{ 96½ 93½ }	{ 96 93½ }	{ Par. ½ dif. }	{ 17 12 }	{ 18 1 0 17 19 0 }
Mar.	{ 219½ 213½ }	{ 97½ 96 }	{ 97½ 95½ }	{ 105½ 104 }	{ 121½ 119 }	{ 28½ 27½ }	{ 12½ 12½ }	{ 216½ 210½ }	{ 92 91½ }	{ 115 105 }	{ 106½ 105½ }	{ 97½ 90½ }	{ 96½ 91½ }	{ ½ Pre Par. }	{ 7 5 }	{ 16 19 6 16 13 6 }
Apr.	{ 217½ 202½ }	{ 95½ 89½ }	{ 96½ 90½ }	{ 104½ 98 }	{ 120½ 117½ }	{ 28 25½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 215½ 205 }	{ 91 84½ }	{ 116 100 }	{ 105½ 100 }	{ 94½ 88½ }	{ 96½ 91½ }	{ Par. ½ dif. }	{ 7 5 }	{ 16 19 6 16 13 6 }
May	{ 209½ 192½ }	{ 94½ 86½ }	{ 94½ 87 }	{ 104½ 96½ }	{ 119½ 117½ }	{ 26½ 24½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 213½ 199 }	{ 88 84½ }	{ 108 98 }	{ 103½ 99½ }	{ 99 89½ }	{ 93½ 8½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 7 4 }	{ 16 17 0 16 3 0 }
June	{ 206½ 202½ }	{ 93½ 91½ }	{ 94½ 91½ }	{ 100½ 99½ }	{ 120½ 119½ }	{ 26½ 25½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 212½ 205½ }	{ 87 85½ }	{ 107 99 }	{ 101½ 91½ }	{ 92½ 91½ }		{ ½ def. ½ dif. }	{ 7 5 }	{ 16 14 0 16 8 6 }
July	{ 208½ 203½ }	{ 93½ 91½ }	{ 94½ 92 }	{ 103½ 100½ }	{ 118½ 117½ }	{ 26½ 26½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 213½ 203½ }	{ 87½ 86½ }	{ 117 104 }	{ 102½ 99½ }	{ 92½ 91½ }	{ 92½ 90½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 17 17 }	{ 16 12 6 16 6 6 }
Aug.	{ 207½ 199½ }	{ 92½ 89 }	{ 93½ 88½ }	{ 102½ 100½ }	{ 118½ 116 }	{ 27 25½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 200½ 200½ }	{ 87½ 85½ }	{ 117 108 }	{ 101½ 98½ }	{ 92½ 89½ }	{ 91½ 90½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 30 22 }	{ 16 12 0 15 10 0 }
Sept.	{ 206½ 202½ }	{ 91½ 90 }	{ 91½ 89½ }	{ 102½ 101 }	{ 117½ 116½ }	{ 26½ 25½ }	{ 12½ 11½ }	{ 211 202 }		{ 110 102 }		{ 91 89½ }	{ 90½ 89½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 22 7 }	{ 16 16 0 16 12 0 }
Oct.	{ 206½ 200½ }	{ 90½ 89½ }	{ 91 89½ }	{ 102½ 100½ }	{ 118½ 116½ }	{ 25½ 25½ }	{ 11½ 11½ }	{ 212½ 209½ }	{ 85½ 85½ }	{ 111 101 }		{ 90½ 88½ }	{ 90½ 89½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ do. }	{ 23 10 }	{ 16 16 6 16 13 0 }
Nov.	{ 200½ 173½ }	{ 89½ 76½ }	{ 90½ 77½ }	{ 100½ 90 }	{ 118½ 111 }	{ 25½ 22 }	{ 11½ 10½ }	{ 212½ 182 }	{ 85½ 79½ }	{ 111 48 }	{ 99½ 89 }	{ 89½ 79½ }	{ 90½ 82½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 25 pre. ½ dif. }	{ 16 16 6 16 10 6 }
Dec.	{ 179½ 166 }	{ 82½ 75½ }	{ 81½ 74 }	{ 96½ 88½ }	{ 114½ 104½ }	{ 24½ 21 }	{ 10½ 9½ }	{ 191 170 }	{ 74½ 72½ }	{ 3c prem 3c dif. }	{ 85 84½ }	{ 80½ 73 }	{ 75½ 5½ }	{ ½ dif. ½ dif. }	{ 2c dif. 3c dif. }	{ 16 12 0 16 6 6 }

